CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS,

SEU POTIUS

HISTORICA FIDES

IN

REBUS HIBERNICIS GIRALDO CAMBRENSI ABROGATA;

IN QUO

PLERASQUE JUSTI HISTORICI DOTES DESIDERARI, PLEROSQUE NÆVOS INESSE,

OSTENDIT

GRATIANUS LUCIUS, HIBERNUS,

(Lynch John)

QUI ETIAM ALIQUOT RES MEMORABILES HIBERNICAS VETERIS ET NOVÆ MEMORIÆ PASSIM E RE NATA HUIC OPERI INSERUIT.

"Posuit mendacium spem suam, et mendacio protectus est."—*Isaiæ* xxviii. 15.

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WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES,
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St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

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MATTHEW KELLY,
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LEOGARIUS Nelli noviobsidis filius rerum administrationi post Dathiam extinctum admotus, eum honorem annis triginta gessit. Quarto regni ejus anno, Christi 432, et mundi 5631. S. Patricius Christianæ Religionis disseminandæ causâ in Hiberniam venit. Leogarius majorum superstitionibus ità mordicus adhæsit, ut non nisi prodigiorum terroribus à S. Patricio adhibitis, illas ægrè sibi evelli passus fuerit. Christianismi, et non mediocris literaturæ specimen edidit, cum veteribus legum Hibernicarum monumentis excutiendis sedulò incumbens, Ethnicis legibus aboletis Christiana instituta surroganda esse sancivit.[2] Eum comitia Teamorica bis indixisse Ketingus insinuat, in quibus collapsæ desuetudine leges instaurabantur, et novæ cudebantur. Illo etiam rege, Catholica fides longè latèquè diffusa est, et Episcopatus Armachanus, Athrimensisque instituti, Ecclesia Saballa pluresque aliæ erectæ sunt. Ille censum vulgò Boarium à Lageniensibus repetens, secundum prælium fecit. Sed bello ab illis postea impetitus, et captus, lunam, et ventos dejeravit mulctam illam Boariam in perpetuum iis se condonaturum. Quod juramentum postea violaturus, fulmine afflatus interiit, propè Cassiam in Ibhfoelan, inter duos montes Eran et Alban dictos, eluso vaticinio illo, quo inter Hiberniam, quæ Ere,

[1] Vide Usherum de Primor. pag. 724. [2] Trias Thaumat. pag. 41, 51, 130.

[a] To save space and trouble in the annotations on this chapter, the reader will please to remember that the accession of Laeghaire, A.D. 428, and the battle of Clontarf, A.D. 1014, are cardinal points in Irish chronology admitted by all. The intermediate 568 years are arranged by different chronologists with as few important discrepancies as are found in an equal period of any contemporary history. O'Flaherty's chronology is retained in our English margin. The differences between him and Ware are inconsiderable. In more than 30 out of 44 regal chronological dates from A.D. 428 to A.D. 1014, they coincide; in eleven they differ only by one year. Where they differ, Ware's date is given in the margin under O'Flaherty's, or explained in a note, and in these cases, it must be observed, Ware has frequently the authority of higher note as arranged by Dr. O'Conor. Where the contrary is not expressed in the margin or a note, O'Flaherty's chronology is one year in advance of the Ulster Annals. Had Ware followed Tighearnach in all

rather less in Ireland than in other countries.—Roman Emperors slain by their successors.—English Kings slain by their successors.

LAEGHAIRE, son of Niall, succeeding to the crown on the death of Dathi,[a] governed the kingdom during thirty years.[b] It was in the fourth year of his reign, in the year of our Lord, 432, in the year of the world, 5631,[c] that St. Patrick came to establish the Christian Religion in Ireland. Laeghaire was so obstinately attached to the superstition of his fathers, that hardly even the terror of the miracles of St. Patrick could pluck it from his heart. He gave proofs of his Christianity, and of considerable love of learning, by a diligent examination of the old compilations of Irish laws, and the substitution of Christian institutes for the Pagan code.[d] Since, as Keating assures us, he assembled the convention of the States at Teamhair, in which laws, long obsolete, were revoked, and new laws established. During his reign also, the Catholic faith was diffused far and wide, the Sees of Ard-Macha and Truim were founded, and the Church of Sabhall and many others erected. He defeated the Lagenians and received the Boromean tribute, but they rose against him once more, and having gained a victory, compelled him to swear by the moon and the winds, that he would never more demand that odious tribute. In violation of his oath he marched against them, but was killed by lightning near Caissi in Ui-Faelain, between the two mountains Eire and Alba, according to the

O'Fl. Chr. A.D. 428.

cases, I would adopt his chronology. A few special chronological difficulties require a note. Dr. Lanigan and Ussher of course are consulted, but the former frequently disclaims the intention of "diving," as he expresses it, into the civil history of Ireland, and does not appear on that subject to have consulted the original authorities; the latter did not undertake to compile a complete chronology. See note e.

b See note e *infrà*.

c In the preface to his translation of Keating, Dr. Lynch explains why he adopted this chronology.

d It is highly improbable that Laeghaire embraced Christianity. St. Patrick, who in his confession, written at the close of his life, mentions the sons and daughters of *Scots* and petty kings (regulorum) as converts, would not omit the Arch-king. But all authorities agree that at a very early period, and frequently in the lapse of time, the clergy revised the Irish Brehon code, according to the Christian law; Tribes and Customs of Ui Fiachrach, pp. 75, 76, note. Rer. Hib. ii. p. 101. Our author discusses the same subject in the Supplement to his Alithonologia.

et Alba, quæ Albania Hibernicè dicitur, moriturus fuisse præsagiebatur. Anno Domini 458, mundi 5657.

[N]iellides [e]x Dathi. Olillum sive Ailillum Molt successorem in regno Leogarius habuit, Molt inde dictum, quod matrem illum utero gestantem ovillæ carnis manducandæ cupido incessit. Ille comitiis Teamoricis semel indictis, et cum Lageniensibus prælio sæpè congressus, in octava pugna occubuit. Anno regni vigesimo, Christi 478, mundi 5677.

[N]iellides [e]x Leoga[r]io. Lugadius Leogarii filius Ailillum in regno excepit, qui S. Patricii imprecationibus poscentibus ut patris ejus Leogarii posteritas regis dignitate nunquam honestaretur exemptus, et cum puer bolo faucibus inhærente moreretur, in vitam ab eodem S. Patricio revocatus, in eundem inter cælites jam relatum voces blasphemiam redolentes evomuit.[3] Quare justas ingratitudinis, et blasphemiæ pænas dedit, tonitru animam illi excutiente apud Achachfarcha, id est collem fulminis in orientalis Mediæ finibus anno regni. 25. Christi 503.[4]

Decimo quinto regis hujus, et Christi 493. anno, divus Patricius è corporis ergastulo in cælos evolavit. Anno autem post Christum natum 498. et post regnum à Lugadio initum vigesimo, annales nostri Fergusium magnum filium Erci, nepotem Eochodii Munremorii, cum fratribus in Albaniam trajecisse memorant; Tigernachus res peregrinas

[3] Trias Thau., pag. 128. [4] Ketingus.

[e] The date assigned by the four Masters, from whom Dr. Lynch never departs, though in a few instances he cites with approbation the chronology of other annalists. Dr. O'Conor writes, Rer. Hib. vol. III. p. 106, that down to the 11th century the Four Masters depart from the common æra frequently, "aliquando annis quinque, nonnunquam, sed rarò, annis sex, pluries annis quatuor." Understood of the dates of *accession* and death of kings, this assertion is nearly correct. The Masters always style the year after a king's death, the *first* year of his successor; hence to find their *first* year of any king, you must add one year to their obituary year given by Dr. Lynch, thus—first year of Olill Molt, 459, of Lughaidh, 479, &c. &c. This discrepancy affects but slightly the absolute order of events, as the same chronological differences run constantly through certain periods. Moreover, in the length of the reigns, our author and O'Flaherty differ only in twelve cases, and in six of these by one year only.

[f] Dr. O'Conor rejects this ridiculous derivation, and interprets, without any

ambiguous prophecy that he would be slain between Eire and Alba, the Irish names of Ireland and Scotland. A.D. 458.[e] A.M. 5657.

463. Olill Molt[f] succeeded Laeghaire in the throne. He was surnamed Molt from the singular relish which his mother had for mutton, while she was bearing him. The Convention of Teamhair was held once during his reign, and he fought many battles with the Lagenians, but they slew him[g] in the eighth fight, in the 20th year of his reign. A.D. 478,[h] A.M. 5677.

483. Lughaidh, son of Laeghaire, succeeded Olill. When a child he was in danger of being choked by a bolus that stuck in his throat, but he was relieved by St. Patrick, who exempted him moreover from the malediction pronounced against Laeghaire, and excluding his posterity from the throne.[j] After the ascent of St. Patrick to heaven, the ungrateful Lughaidh uttered blasphemies against his benefactor, but the lightning of heaven slew him at Achadhfarcha, that is, the hill of lightning, in East Meath. A.D. 503.[k]

508. In the 15th year of this monarch's reign, A.D. 493,[l] St. Patrick ascended to heaven from his mental prison. The Annals state that Fearghus the Great, son of Earc and grandson of Eochaidh Muinreamhor,[m] passed over to Albania with his brothers in the 20th year of the reign of Lughaidh, A.D. 498[n] Tighearnach, who usually chronicles foreign events

authority, molt, laudabilis, i.e. beautiful in person. *Proleg.* pars. 1. p. clxvii.

[g] He was the only monarch of Ireland of Dathi's family, which however always retained great power in Connacht, *Tribes and Customs of Ui Fiachrach*, pp. 17, 18.

[h] The annals of Ulster record the death of Olill Molt, A.D. 482, and the accession of Lughaidh, A.D. 484, thus leaving an interregnum of two years.

[i] Laeghaire's progeny, though excluded from the throne, except Lughaidh, often figure in history.

[k] Annals of Ulster, A.D. 506, and again according to others, A.D. 507. Ware and O'Flaherty allow an interregnum of five years after the death of Lughaidh, but I know not on what authority. Tighearnach records the death of Lughaidh, A.D. 508, the accession of Muircheartach, A.D. 509, and his death, A.D. 534. They have no authority from the poem of Gilla Modud or the Annals of Ulster, note [e] *infrà*.

[l] Dr. Lanigan, against nearly all authorities, ancient and modern, rejects this date.

[m] Note *suprà*.

[n] A.D. 502, according to O'Conor's edition of Tighearnach, but the difference of five years arises from the cause assigned, note [e] *suprà*.

Latino, patrias Hibernico sermone prosequi solitus, quæ subjicio Latinè profert. "Fergus Mor mac Erca id est Fergusius magnus Erci filius, cum gente Dalrieta partem Britanniæ tenuit, et ibi mortuus est,[5] sub primum pontificatus Simachi annum," qui est, ut rectè Usherus observavit, annus Domini 498. Est penes me libellus Hibernicus non novitius author, ut Usherus loquitur, qui monarcharum et provincialium Hiberniæ, nec non Albaniæ regum Synchronismos complectitur, qui tradit vigesimo post prælium Ochanum anno, sex filios Erci, duos En-
[74] gusios, duos Loarnos, et duos Fergusios | in Albaniam trajecisse. Prælium autem Ochanum, in quo Ailillus Molt Rex Hiberniæ cecidit anno ut paulo ante videras, 478. commissum est : à quo anno ad annum 498. annos viginti affluxisse quis non videt ? huc accedit quod Nennius Hibernicè versus (Nennium enim latinum nondum vidi) O'Duvegani Miscellaneis insertus narrat, sexta ætate Dalriedos venisse in partem Pictorum, et Saxones venisse in Britanniam.[6] Certè O'Duveganus migrationem hanc filiorum Erci minutatim prosequitur, et in quas familias eorundem filiorum soboles propagata fuerit, et quas in Albania terras singulæ familiæ capessiverunt, quas copias in aciem terra, vel mari eduxerunt, uberrimè narrat. Nomina locorum ibi memorata præter Ilam, et Cantiram haud novi.

Murchertachus, Muredatio patre, Erca matre genitus, Lugadio mor-
Eoghan talibus adempto, regnum iniit, vir bello clarus, ut qui septemdecem præliis hostes profligaverit. Non adeo tamen pietatem aversatus est quin fidem quam susceperat christianam piis operibus jugiter exornarit,[7] ut de illo Capgravius loquitur. Sina quædam Sighi filia vehementer illum exosa, ob patrem suum olim neci datum, mortem illi præstigiis intulit, et effecit ut lemurum operâ, internicione, submersione, et flammis extinguëretur. Nimirum ædibus ab eo insessis, apud Toecletaich (vel, ut Tigernachus habet Mullachcletaich) propè Boinum amnem conflagrantibus, telo confossus, et vini dolio immersus fuit, anno regni 24. Christi nati 527.

[5] De primordiis, pag. 610. Ibid., p. 1029. [6] Fol. 91. [7] Colgan 20 Mart. pag. 679, c. 1. vitæ Cuthberti.

[o] See Ogygia, p. 427. The best authorities admit but three sons of Earc, Loarn, Fearghus, and Aenghus.

[p] See Irish Nennius, p. 59, ci. civ. The sixth age was from John the Baptist to Doom's-day.

[q] Tighearnach, 534, gives extracts from a few historical poems on this

in Latin and domestic in his native tongue, has the following in Latin: Fearghus Mor, mac Earca, that is, Fearghus, the great, son of Earc, occupied a large portion of Britain with the Dalridians and died there," in the first year of Pope Symmachus, which agrees, as Ussher truly observes, with the year of our Lord, 498. I have in my possession an Irish book, "no modern authority," as Ussher says, which in the synchronisms[o] of the Monarchs and Provincial Kings of Ireland and Albania, asserts, that the six sons of Earc, two Aenghuses, two Loarni, and two Fearghuses passed over to Albania in the 20th year after the battle of Ocha. This battle, in which Olill Molt King of Ireland was slain, was fought, as you have seen above, in the year 478, between which and 498, there intervened, as every one knows, 20 years. The Irish version of Nennius, as given in the Miscellany of O'Dubhagain, (for I have not seen the Latin of Nennius), also states that in the sixth age,[p] the Dalriedi entered Pict-land, and the Saxons Britain. O'Dubhagain follows in minute detail the history of the Dalriedan colony, and the different families descended from the original settlers, what lands they held in Albania, and what forces they were able to bring to battle by sea or land. Of the names of places mentioned by him, I know none, except Ila and Cantire.

MUIRCHEARTACH, son of Muireadheach and Earca, after the death of Lughaidh, ascended the throne. He was highly famed in arms by seventeen victories over his enemies, and was attentive enough to his religious duties to merit the eulogium of Capgrave, "that his good works gave edifying proof of the Christian faith which he professed." One Sina, a daughter of Sighi, conceived a mortal hatred against him, on account of the death of her father, and worked his ruin by her spells. With the aid of spirits, sword, fire and flood, were armed against him, for the palace in which he dwelt at Toecletaich, (or as Tighearnach calls it Mullachcletaich) near the Boyne, taking fire he was pierced through with a spear, and drowned in a cask of wine,[q] in the 24th year of his age, A.D. 527.[r]

event, but in Dr. O'Conor's version they are not very clear. Until poems of the kind are published Irish history is a skeleton.

[r] The annals of Ulster record this event at 533, or 535, and Tuathal's accession, A.D. 536, thus allowing an interregnum of one or three years.

Niellides ex Carlreo

Tuathalius Moelgharbh regnum, quod illi matris uterum nondum egresso S. Patricius portendit assecutus, undecem annos administravit. Mortem tum denique oppetiit à Moelmoro Argetani filio, Dermitii filii Kervalli nutritio; ut alii volunt collactaneo, ut Tigernachus uterino fratre apud Grallachelt non procul à Clonmacnosiâ cæsus; Moelmorus autem facinus illud aggressus, ut maturius regno Dermitius frueretur, breve facinoris gaudium retulit à Tuathali asseclis illico conscissus. An. Dom. 538.[8]

Hibernia, hisce quinque regibus ei moderantibus, religione plurimum inclaruit: cum trecentis in ea cathedralibus Ecclesiis à S. Patricio institutis ipse totidem Episcopos præfecerit, tria hominum millia sacerdotio ad populum religionis informatione, sacramentorumque administratione cumulatius muniendum initiaverit.[9] Inusitata tum pæne dixerim profusa et immoderata hominum liberalitas erat largiendi modum sibi non præscribere, sed à S. Patricii arbitrio pendere volentium. Ille vero largitiones eorum inauditâ prudentiâ certis coercuit finibus. Nam decimum quemque hominem numinis cultui, et decimam agri partem, ac decimum animal eorum alimoniæ addixit.[10] Quod si ultro donata in suum peculium S. Patricius retulisset, duorum equorum pastum sanctis post eum adventuris non reliquisset. Deinde angulus quisque regni multitudine sanctorum ita consitus fuit, ut Hibernia sanctorum Insula ubique gentium audierit. Eorum verò sanctorum erat cor unum et anima una ut in Catalogo sanctorum Hiberniæ apud Usherum videre est.[11]

[8] Trias. Thau., p. 132, c. 27. [9] Jocœli. c. 174. Ibid., c. 176. [10] c. 174.
[11] Act. 4. de primordiis Ecclesiarum Brit. p. 913. Vita S. Columbæ l. 1. c. 36.

The latter number and the two years, note [h] *suprà*, make up the whole interregnum admitted by Ware and O'Flaherty after Lughaidh. This Muircheartach Mac Earca was the first monarch of the northern Ui Neill of the family of Eoghan, son of Niall of the nine hostages. The family gave sixteen kings to Ireland as our Latin margin shows.

[s] Tuathal was the only Irish monarch of the race of Cairbre, son of Niall of the nine hostages. His family had extensive possessions in Connacht.—*Tribes and Customs of Ui Fiachrach.*

[t] This and the preceding date, A.D. 527, are the only two instances in which the difference between O'Flaherty and our author is five years.

Tuathal Maelgarbh governed eleven years the kingdom, which St. Patrick had predicted for him, while he was yet in his mother's womb. He was slain by Maelmor, son of Airgeadan, and foster-father of Diarmaid mac Ceirrbheoil, at Greallacheillte, near Cluainmicnois. According to some accounts, Maelmor was foster-brother, and according to Tighearnach, uterine brother of Diarmaid. But the traitor, who had murdered his king to accelerate the accession of Diarmaid, did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime, for he was hewn to pieces on the spot by the retinue of Tuathal,[s] A.D. 538.[t]

During these five reigns, religion made great progress in Ireland. St. Patrick founded three hundred Episcopal Sees, and consecrated as many Bishops, and ordained three thousand priests to instruct the people in the truths of the Gospel, and administer to them the abundant grace of the sacraments. So great was the unprecedented, I would almost say, the lavish and excessive generosity of the people, that the will of their Apostle was the sole rule and limit of their munificence. But with singular prudence he confined the current of their liberality within certain bounds. He selected and directed one man in every ten to the service of God, and ordained, for their support, the tenths of the fruits of the earth,[u] and of flocks and herds. Had he accepted all the donations laid at his feet, "he would not have left for the saints who came after him, so much as would feed two horses." Every corner of the Island was thronged with such a multitude of saints, that Ireland was known universally as the "Island of Saints." "One heart and one soul" reigned in those saints, as we learn from the Catalogues of the Saints published by Ussher.[v]

[u] Some of these assertions rest on the authority of Jocelyn, who, like many of his contemporaries, made the history of distant ages according to notions of his own.

[v] Alludes to the three orders of great Irish saints. The first order lasted during the reigns of Laeghaire, Olill Molt, Lughaidh, Muircheartach Mac Earca, and Tuathal. They were all Bishops, Romans, Franks, Britons, or Scots. They had in all things the same ecclesiastical rites and discipline. Their splendor, says the old annalist, "was as of the sun:" more than forty of their names have been preserved. *Ussher's Antiq.* pp. 473, 490, 492. See notes *suprà* g, h.

Crimhthan. Tuathalo cæso, Dermitius filius Kervailli rex Hiberniæ salutatus, sive totius Scotiæ regnator (S. Adamnanum audis) Deo authore ordinatus est, qui à piis largitionibus initium regnandi duxit, aræâ enim Ecclesiæ Clonmacnoensis delineatâ, prima ejus fundamenta jecit, et Temoriam appulsus tria, vel quatuor loca, et postea agros monti Usnachæ finitimos in S. Keranum, et Kenanusam in S. Columbam contulit; et sub S. Kerani patrocinium concessit, ut est apud O'Duveganum, qui dicit nullum Hiberniæ regem, post illam fide illustratam fuisse illo aut prudentiorem, aut formosiorem, aut potentiorem, aut cudendis legibus accuratiorem, ut qui comitiis Teamoricis bis indictis, plures leges tulerit.[12] Adeo acris earum cultor, ut ob unam vaccam viduæ ademptam, Guario Connaciæ regi bellum, et ob simile facinus, Bressallio filio necem intulerit. Hoc verò justitiæ studium aliis vitiis, sanctorum [75] Columbæ, Kerani, et Ruadani | execrationes promeritus maculavit, quæ funestam illi mortem compararunt. Etenim in Banuani cujusdam ædibus apud Rathbeggam de Muighlinne positis constitutus, ubi domum flagrasse persensit, extra portam se proripere conatus, ab Aido Nigro Dalaradiæ regulo, suo quondam alumno hasta confossus est.[13] Quare pedem infra tecta referens cadô aqua pleno incendium declinans immersus, laqueari in ejus caput corruente peremptus est, anno regni vigesimo, et Christi 558, ut habent Annales nostri. Sed Annalibus Ultoniensibus ab Ushero prolatis magis credo, S. Columbæ discessum ex Hibernia in annum 563, referentibus, duobus ante quem annis, pugnam Culedrebhnensem gestam fuisse S. Adamnannus narrat; ut hinc perspiciatur Dermitius vitam et regnum saltem ad annum 561, et

[12] S. Ennius in vitâ S. Patricii, p. 3, c. 28, fol. 132. Odonel, in vitâ S. Columb., lib. i., c. 64. Warræ de antiq., p. 166. [13] Oduveg. ubi suprà.

[w] The first monarch of the southern Ui Neill descended from Conall Crimhthainn, son of Niall of the nine hostages. There were seventeen Irish kings of this family. I know not what Dr. O'Conor means by his note. *Rer. Hib.* II. p. 243, in which he asserts that Domhnall III. was the first Irish monarch of the southern Ui Neills. For he there traces Domhnall III. to this Domhnall I. and both are expressly classed by Gilla Modud among the southern Ui Neill. Perhaps he means that Domhnall was the first of the Meath branch which Gilla Modud distinguishes from the Bregian.

[x] It is at O'Flaherty's date of Diarmaid's death, A.D. 565, that our annalists generally record the cursing of the Royal palace of Teamhair, by St.

DIARMAID I.[w] mac [Fearghusa] Ceirrbheoil, after the death of Tuathal, was proclaimed king of Ireland, or, in the words of St. Adamnan, "by the ordinance of God he was instituted king of all Scotia." The commencement of his reign was signalized by pious munificence. He marked out the site for the church of Cluainmicnois, and laid its foundation stone. During his residence at Teamhair he conferred three or four grants, and afterwards the lands around the hill of Uisneach, on St. Ciaran, and Ceanannus, [Kells] on St. Columba, and placed himself under the patronage of St. Ciaran. Never, says O'Dubhagain, since the light of faith shone on Ireland, was there a king more prudent, more noble in person, more powerful or more provident in the enactment of laws, many of which he promulgated in two conventions held at Teamhair. So severely did he enforce them that he waged war against Guaire, king of Connacht on account of a heifer stolen from a poor widow, and put his son Breasail to death for a similar offence. But his love of justice was disgraced by other crimes which drew down on him the maledictions of Columba, Ciaran, and Ruadhan,[x] and brought him to a tragical end. For, while he was sojourning with Banuan in Rathbeag of Maghline, discovering the house to be in flames, he rushed out through the door; but was pierced through with a spear by Aedh the black, prince of Dalaradia, who had formerly been his foster-son. Returning into the house he plunged into a large vessel of water to save himself from the flames, but one of the falling rafters crushed him to death, in the twentieth year of his reign, A.D. 558.[y] This is the date in our Annals, but I am more inclined to believe the annals of Ulster published by Ussher, which refer the departure of Columba to Albania to the year 563, two years previous to the date assigned by Adamnan to the battle of Cuildreimhne, so that Diarmaid must have reigned at least until the year 561,

Ruadhan of Lothra and the Saints of Eire, from which date Teamhair ceased to be a royal residence. Subsequent monarchs selected their residence wherever they pleased. *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 5, note f.

[y] The only date in which our author differs from O'Flaherty by five years; observe that though Dr. Lynch inclines in the next sentence to the year 561, he adheres nevertheless to the four Masters and 558, by making Domhnall and Fearghus, the successors of Diarmaid I. die in 561, the third of their reign.

ipsis annalibus nostris testantibus ad binos post memoratam pugnam annos produxisse.[14]

Eoghan. Domnaldum et Fergusium Muchertachi filios Dermitius successores habuit, qui bello insignes triennium regnando permensi placidâ morte quieverunt, Anno Domini, 561: eorum S. Adamannus meminit. L. I. c. 7.

Eoghan. Eochodius, et Boethanus hic fratribus, ille patri Donaldo successit, quos decapitatos, S. Adamnannus, cæsos vero fuisse à Cronano Dynasta Kiannachtæ de Glingemhin, Anno 563, et regni sui secundo Annales nostri narrant.[15]

Gulban. Ainmirus Sednæ filius his suffectus est, vir sacrorum studiosissimus ut qui minimos nævos in Ecclesiæ ritus irrepsisse conspicatus, è Britannia Gildum Badonicum, ad eos abstergendos literis accivit; Adamnanus mentionem illius facit. Illi, post tertium regni annum, Boetano successore sollicitante, Fergusius Nelli filius vitam eripuit, Anno Domini 566.[16]

Gulban. Boetanus Nennedi filius annum duntaxat unicum in regno egit: cum duo Cuomoini, alter Colmanni parvi, alter Libhreni filius Colmanno parvo stimulante, illum ad Leimaneih aggressi vitâ regnoque spoliarunt, Anno Domini 567.

14 Pag. 692. Præfa. 2, ad vitam S. Columbæ. 15 Vita S. Columb., lib. i., c. 12. 16 9 Jan. lib. i., c. 7.

z At this date 565 (6) our chronology not inaptly represents the confusion which the desertion of the old palace of Teamhair must have caused at the time. The best guides part company here and do not meet until 572. Ware and Ussher, on the authority of Tighearnach, assign the death of Domhnall I. A.D. 565, the accession of Ainmire, A.D. 566, and his death, A.D. 569, when Baedan and Eochaidh succeed and reign until 572. See *Ann. Innisfallen*, A.D. 563. *Cod. Bod.* O'Flaherty agrees with the text, and with justice I think, note e *infrà*.

a Fearghus is not mentioned at all in Messingham's Adamnan, nor Domhnall in the 7th chap. Lib. 1. But in chap. VI. a Domhnall, son of Aedh, is blessed by St. Columba. He is manifestly, as Ware states, Domhnall II. son of Aedh I. Ainmire. Dr. O'Conor, according to his custom, copies this incorrect reference of Dr. Lynch, *Ep. Nuncup.* p. lxxvii. See *Lanigan*, vol. II. p. 146.

b Not in Messingham, lib. 1, c. ix. but in c. v. an Eochaidh, son of King Aidan (Domhnall) is predicted by St. Columba, as Aidan's successor.

since our own annals record his death two years later than the above- A.D.
mentioned battle.

DOMHNALL I. and FEARGHUS, the sons of Muircheartach, succeeded 565
Diarmaid; after a reign of three years, during which their arms were always successful, they died a natural death, A.D. 561.[g] They are mentioned by St. Adamnan. L. I. C. 7.[a]

EOCHAIDH, son of DOMHNALL I. and BAEDAN I. brother to the 566
Domhnall I. succeeded to the throne. Adamnan writes that "they were decapitated,"[b] but our Annals state merely that they were slain by Cronan dynast of Kiannachta of Gleanngemhin, A.D. 563, in the second of their reign.

AINMIRE,[c] son of Sedna, succeeding to the crown, was so zealous 568
for the interests of religion, that having discovered some trifling irregularities[d] in the ceremonies of the church, he invited over Gildas Badonicus to reform them. He is mentioned by Adamnan. In the third year of his reign he was slain by Fearghus, son of Niall, at the instigation of Baedan who succeeded him, A.D. 566.

BAEDAN II., son of Ninnidh,[e] reigned only one year; he was de- 591
posed and slain by the two Comains, the son of Colman, the Little, and the son of Libhren, at Leim-an-eich, A.D. 567.

[c] The first of the Tirconaill branch of the northern Ui Neill, descended from Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the nine hostages. Ten kings of their race enjoyed the Irish throne. St. Columba was of this royal tribe.

[d] The nature of those irregularities is amply discussed by Dr. Lynch in another chapter.

[e] Ware omits this Baedan altogether, though Tighearnach mentions his accession, A.D. 573, and his death, A.D. 586, styling him king of Teamhair. The Ulster Annals also, though they record Ainmire's accession, A.D. 565, his death A.D. 568, and the reigns of Eochaidh and Baedan, A.D. 568—571, give another date of Ainmire's accession. A.D. 575. Ware cannot therefore strictly claim the authority either of the Ulster Annals or of Tighearnach for his arrangement. Moreover from note [b] *supra*, it is more probable that Eochaidh succeeded Domhnall I. Dr. Lanigan explains the difficulty, by saying that the Eochaidh and Baedan, whom O'Flaherty places before Ainmire, are the same as those whom Ware places after them; but Tighearnach clearly distinguishes Baedan Mac Muireadhach from Baedan Mac Ninnidh. Neither can Ware, by omitting Baedan II. complete the 48 kings from Laeghaire to Maelseachlainn II. given by Gilla Modud, whose authority, moreover, directly confirms the order

Gulban. Aidus Ainmiri filius rerum summæ præficitur, qui ante regnum susceptum, in S. Columbam munificus, cænobium ei Dorense, fundumque redditus cænobitis alendis cumulatè subministraturum, et alia post munera elargitus est. Is in solio regio collocatus Reip. administrationi totus incubuit, Hiberniæ proceribus eo convocante Drumkeatham, ad leges condendas, coeuntibus, et quatuordecem menses illic hærentibus, Aidanoque Gaurani filio Scotorum Albiensium Rege illi se cætui aggregante. Aidum Hiberniæ regem cæsi filii pænas, et Boarium censum à Lageniensibus bello repetentem Brandubhus Lageniæ Rex annum regni vigesimum septimum agentem occidit, decimo Januarii: Anno Domini 594.[17]

Crimhthan et Eoghan. Aidus cognomento Slanensis Dermitii, et Colmanus Rimiedus Boethani primi filius, collegæ in regno constituti sunt. Illum matri sterili preces divi Aidi antistitis impetrarunt, et eidem intra materna viscera nondum efformato idem Aidus, adulto autem S. Columba, Hiberniæ regnum obventurum vaticinatus est, et cucullo suo, ac monitis præmunivit. Ambo sexennium regno potiti, vitam regnumque terminarunt: hunc Lochano Diolmhono, illum Conallo Suibhnei filio, propè Lochseimhdighe, interimente. Anno Domini 600.[18]

Eoghan. Aidus Uarinoch Domnaldi filius ad regni culmen evectus est; ejus agnomini ea notio subest, ut innuat illum profligatissimis morbi paroxismis agitatum fuisse. Vir fuit æquitatis stabiliendæ studiosus; qui septennis rex propè Athdafeartam, è vita migravit. Anno Domini 607.

[17] Odonelli vita S. Columb., lib. i., cap. 48, 56. Adamn., lib. i., c. 10 and 49.
[18] Colg. 18 Februarii. O'Donel.. lib. i., c. 84. Adam., lib. i., c. 4.

of the reigns here adopted by our author and O'Flaherty.

[f] Tighearnach, A.D. 598, allows Aedh I. only nineteen years reign, which must commence at the battle of Druim mic Earca, A.D. 580, in which Aedh, defeated Colga, son of Domhnall I. Tighearnach, therefore, makes Aedh I. and Baedan II. colleagues, from 580 to 586, note [e] *supra*. See *Annals of Innisfallen*, A.D. 573, 580, *Cod. Bod.*

[g] With this reign ends the second order of Irish Saints, whose "splendor was like the moon." They had the same Easter and tonsure, but different masses and rules introduced from Wales. Few of these Saints were bishops, but 300 of them were priests, amongst whom are many whose names are still embalmed in popular tradition and associated with Irish ecclesiastical ruins; two Finnians, two Brendans,

AEDH I. son of AINMIRE, who was next raised to the throne, was before his elevation a great patron of St. Columba, on whom he conferred a grant of Doire with revenues for the support of the monks, and many other gifts. On his accession he devoted himself exclusively to the affairs of government, and convoked the nobles of Ireland to Drumkeath, where, together with Aidan son of Gauran, king of Albania, they remained fourteen months, discussing and enacting laws. Aedh, having attacked the Lagenians, for the murder of his son, and also the recovery of the Boromean tribute, was slain by Brandubh, king of Leinster, in the 27th[f] of his reign, on the 10th of January, A.D. 594.[g]

AEDH II. surnamed SLAINE, son of Diarmaid I. and Colman Rimidh, son of Baedan I. were next colleagues in the throne. Aedh's mother, who had been childless, obtained him by the prayers of St. Aedh, who predicted even before his conception, as Columba did when he was a young man, that he would one day wear the Irish crown. Columba blessed and strengthened him with his cowl and his advice.[h] After a joint reign of six years, Colman was slain by Lochan Dilmana, and Aedh by Conall, son of Suibhne, near Loch Semhdidhe [Sewdy], A.D. 600.[i]

AEDH III. surnamed UAIRIDHNACH, son of Domhnall I. who succeeded, acquired his surname from the terrific paroxysms of illness under which he suffered. He was distinguished for his love of justice,[k] and after a reign of seven years died near Ath-da-fearta, A.D. 607.[l]

Columba, Kevin, Congall, Kiaran, Canice, &c. *Ussher Antiq*. p. 474. The chronological discrepancies from A.D. 565 to this date, arose perhaps from the conflicting claims of the three great branches of the Ui Neill, who began at the former date, and continued for more than 200 years to enjoy the crown nearly in equal succession.

[h] This reference to Adamnan, Lib. 1. c. IV. is not correct.

[i] Tighearnach records the accession of Aedh III. A.D. 605, and the deaths of Aedh I. and Colman, A.D. 604, "What availeth king? or judge? or power of princes? Colman the munificent hath fallen by the hand of Lochan the hireling." *Old poem. ibid.*

[k] "He judged justly and according to laws"; Gillamodud, apud O'Conor.

[l] Tighearnach, A.D. 612, records his death; but at A.D. 605, calls him Aedh Allan. Aedh may have had two surnames, and thus Dr. O'Conor's criticism on Ussher, who calls Aedh III. *Allan*, falls to the ground. *Ep. Nuncup*. p. lxxviii. and vol. II. p. 183.

Gulbau. Moelcobhus Aidi filius Ainmiri nepos rex inauguratus triennium regnando transegit; cum Suibhneus Meannius regnum ei vitamque, in prælio de Sliabhtoadh ademisset; Anno Domini 610: virum strenuum fuisse magnoque cleri Leithcuinensis desiderio peremptum Gillemodudus narrat. Alii tamen Moelcobum hunc teneros adhuc annos agentem [76] à | morte per S. Columbam excitatum, postea regno non cæsum excidisse, sed eo ultro se abdicasse, monachorumque cætui se aggregasse, ac deinde Clochorensem Episcopum renuntiatum, in cælitum tandem numerum relatum, eique Drumliasensem Ecclesiam sacratam esse narrant.[19]

Eoghan. Suibhneus Mennius regnum morte decessoris partum, et tredecem annos retentum amisit, à Congallo Scanlani filio Ultoniæ rege, apud Traighbrene, cæsus; Anno Domini 623.[20]

Gulban. Donnaldus Aidi filius, Ainmiri nepos regiam dignitatem, et placidam mortem à S. Columba illi præsagitam nactus est. Toto sexdecem annorum quibus regnavit decursu, multa præclarè gessit, victoriâ de hostibus crebro reportatâ. Sui contemptus in eo maximè tum emicuit, cum delicti veniam à S. Fechino demissius efflagitans ad pedes ejus prostratus collum suum ab eo calcari passus est.[21] Ille præter alia pie-

[19] Odonel, l. i. c. 56. [20] Trias Thau. pag. 450. num. 50. [21] Adamn. c. 10. Idem l. 3. c. 5.

[m] "Three years, years of war, reigned the brave Maelcobha; the clergy of Leath Cuinn mourn for him, slain in battle." Dr. O'Conor erroneously translates "O Cuinn," "O Connorum." *Proleg. par.* 1. p. clxix.

[n] They deserve no credit. Tighearnach and the Annals of Ulster record his death, A.D. 615 (4). Perhaps the story explains the epithet "clericus" given to him by O'Flaherty. See *Lanigan*, vol. II. p. 302 (6). In the battle of Magh Rath, p. 11, however, it is stated that Maelcobha resigned the crown and retired to Druim Dilair, (now Drumdillar in the parish of Devenish, Co. of Fermanagh,) where he had a small hermitage with ten women and one hundred clerks to offer masses and sing vespers at the hours.

[o] O'Conor, Ep. Nun. p. lxxix. criticizes Ussher for styling this monarch son of "Mend," and Ware for styling him son of Fiachra. In defence of Ware, we may cite O'Conor's own edition of Tighearnach, A.D. 628. Ussher's blunder is quite as pardonable as O'Conor's various translations of "menn," i.e. "illustris" *ubi supra*, "parvus," vol. II. p. 183. O'Flaherty leaves the epithet in its original, and reads Fiachna for Fiachra.

MAELCOBHA, son of Aedh I. and grandson of Ainmire, being proclaimed king, was deposed and slain after a reign of three years, by Suibhne Meann in the battle of Sliabh-toadh, A.D. 610. Gillamodud extols his bravery, and says the clergy of Leath Conn[m] bemoaned his death. But, according to other accounts,[n] Maelcobha was in his youth raised from the dead by St. Columba, and was not slain, but abdicated the throne of his own free choice, and embraced the monastic life, from which he was raised to the See of Clochar, and after his death was honored as a Saint, and patron of the church of Druimlias.

SUIBHNE MEANN,[o] having obtained the crown by the murder of his predecessor, was himself slain in the thirteenth year of his reign by Congal,[p] son of Scannal, king of Ulster[q] at Traigh-breana, (near Aileach), A.D. 623.

DOMHNALL II.[r] son of Aedh I. and grandson of Ainmire, obtained the kingdom and a happy death, as St. Columba had foretold.[s] During the sixteen years of his reign he gained many victories over his enemies, and performed many illustrious deeds.[t] The most signal instance of his humility was when he threw himself at the feet of St. Feichin to beg pardon for his crime,[u] and allowed the saint to place his foot on his neck. Among many other monuments of his piety, I find it recorded by some, that he founded the monastery of Conga,[v] which was dedi-

[p] One of the great heroes in the Battle of Magh Rath, p. 35, surnamed "claon, crooked," and "caoch, blind." See *Tighearnach*, A.D. 626, 628.

[q] i.e. Ulidia, part of Down and Antrim.

[r] The King of Eire commanding at Magh Rath. See his address to his army, *ibid.* 163. They marched under "the streaming, star-bright, consecrated satin banner" of St. Columba, p. 197.

[s] note [b] *suprà.*

[t] Gilla Modud styles him "Domhnall of the sciences." *O'Conor.*

[u] This "crime" was an expedition marched by Domhnall into Meath, against the south Ui Neill, to effect a new distribution of the Ui Neill inheritance, and thence called sloigheadh an mheich, or "expeditio æqualitatis." The Southern Ui Neill dreading to meet Domhnall in the field, had recourse to the prayers of St. Feichin of Fobhar, who accepted the office of mediator, and by persuasion and miracles compelled Domhnall to retire, and leave the land in peace. *Acta SS.* p. 137. See *ibidem*, p. 142, a learned inquiry into the real nature of Domhnall's claims. Ware says, but without authority, Domhnall's brother, Maelcobha, was Bishop of Clochar.

[v] *Ware, Antiq.* c. 26, but without good authority. *Lanigan*, vol. iii. p. 48.

tatis monumenta, cænobium Congense S. Fechino, ut alicubi legi, sacratum condidit; ac tandem pio fine vitam clausit; morbo scilicet ingravescente, menses octodecem lecto affixus, animam noxis per confessionem expiatam, et singulis diebus dominicis pane celesti refectam emisit, ultimo Januarii. Anno Domini 639.[22] apud Artfothad in Tirconnellia, postea vocatam Rathdomhnaill in Tiraodha. Vel potius, ut habent annales Ultonienses apud Usherum 642.[23]

Gulban. Connallus et Kellachus Moelchobii filii Hiberniæ regnum pari potestate septem annos administrarunt. Tum denique illum Dermitii successoris ferrum, hunc mors sustulit, Anno Domini 656.

Crimhthan. Blathmacum et Dermicium Aidi Slanii filios, sicut natura fratres, sic genus et sors reges Hiberniæ fecit; quos octavo post regnum initum anno pestis Hiberniam latè pervagata, et populata vivis eripuit, Anno Domini 664.

Crimhthan. Sachnasachus Blathmaci filius regnum Hiberniæ quinquennio possedit. Tum demum illud ei vitamque Dubhdunnius Kenelcorbriæ dominus eripuit, Anno Domini 669.

Crimhthan. Kanfaladium decessoris fratrem Hiberniæ regno quatuor annos potitum Finnachtus successor interemit in prælio de Airchealtra, Anno Domini 673.

Crimhthan. Finnachta cognomento Fleadhach (id est convivator, quod exercenda hospitalitate plurimum capiebatur) Dunchadi filius, Aidi Slanii nepos ad regni fastigium evectus, et in eo viginti annos collocatus est, qui

[22] Vita S. Fechini 20. Janu. c. 35. [23] Uvarræus de antiq. p. 222.pag. 712.

[w] At the death of Domhnall, Tighearnach, A.D. 643, and after him the Ulster Annals remark, "Hic dubitatur quis regnavit post Domnall. Dicunt alii historiographi regnâsse quatuor reges; Cellach et Connal coel, et duos filios Aedh Slaine, i.e. Diarmad et Blathmac per commixta regna. *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 642.

[x] *Tighearnach*, A.D. 643. "Connal coel et Cellach obtinent regnum Hiberniæ."

[y] A.D. 654, Ware & O'Flaherty, who date the accession of Blathmac and Diarmaid II. A.D. 658, on the death of Conall. But at A.D. 654, Tighearnach records, "Blaithmac et Dermad, duo fuerunt regis Hiberniæ." Henceforward the chronological difficulties are trifling.

[z] The Chonaill Buidhe, which carried off many distinguished characters, especially some Irish saints of the third order, whose catalogue closes at

cated to St. Feichin. His death was saintly, for being confined to his bed eighteen months by his mortal illness, he purified his soul by the confession of his sins, and refreshed himself every Sunday with the Bread of Heaven. He expired at Ardfothadh in Tir-Conaill, which was afterwards called Rathdomhnaill in Tiraedha, on the last day of January, A.D. 639,[w] or rather as Ussher states from the Ulster Annals, A.D. 642.

CONALL and CEALLACH,[x] sons of Maelchobha, governed the kingdom of Ireland jointly during seven years. The latter died a natural death, the former was slain by the sword of Diarmaid his successor, A.D. 656.

BLATHMAC and DIARMAID II.[y] the sons of Aedh II. Slaine, brothers in blood, were placed by fortune and hereditary right colleagues on the Irish throne, which they enjoyed eight years. Both were carried off by the plague,[z] which spread its depopulating ravages to all parts of Ireland, A.D. 664.[a]

SEACHNASACH, son of Blathmac,[b] reigned five years. He was deposed and slain by Dubhduin, Lord of Kinealcairbre, A.D. 669.[c]

KEANNFAELADH, brother of the preceding, reigned four years, and was slain by his successor Finnachta in the battle of Aircealtair, A.D. 673.

FINNACHTA, surnamed FLEADHACH (that is, the hospitable, from his lavish hospitality,) son of Dunchadh, and grandson of Aedh Slaine, was then raised to the royal throne, which he adorned during twenty years.

this date. Their splendor was "like the stars." They were one hundred in number, mostly priests and a few bishops who lived in desert places, on herbs, water, and the alms of the faithful. They did not use the same tonsures, nor celebrate Easter at the same times. The principal Bishops were Ultan, Colman, Aidan of Fearnamor, &c. &c. and the priests Feichin, Cummian, Cronan, &c. &c.

a The Ulster Annals record this event, A.D. 664, and also, secundum alios, A.D. 667.

b Two other sons of Blathmac were murdered in the mill of Maelodran (now Mullenoran, near Mullingar), A.D. 651. Tighearnach, "O Mill of Maelodran, why hast thou ground the green wheat? mayest thou never grind again, thou that hast ground the scions of Mac Ceirrbheoil (Diarmaid I.); not oats, but wheat of blood thou hast ground; be thou accursed for everlasting ages, O Mill of Maelodran."—*Old poem. ibid.*

c The Ulster Annals record his death, A.D. 670, and Ceannfaeladh's accession, A.D. 671.

fuit in pietatem adeo propensus, ut duodecimo regni anno clericatum (Tigernaci verbis utor) susceperit, et sequenti anno ad regnum reversus fuerit. Quæ verba meo quidem judicio insinuant alicui se religiosorum hominum cætui adscripsisse, et ante religionis tyrocinium inter eos positum, publicis negotiis id forsitan exigentibus, rerum administrationem, optimatum impulsu denuo suscepisse. Præclarissimum pietatis ejus argumentum est, quod mulctam Boariam Lageniensibus, S. Molingo impensius rogante, in perpetuum condonaverit. Census autem ille Boarius constabat ex quindecies mille bobus, totidem suibus, totidem velaminibus, totidem vervecibus, totidem catenis argenteis, totidem lebetibus æneis vel cupreis tam capacibus, ut eorum singulos magnitudinem lebetis Teamorici (in quo duodecem boves, totidemque sues unà coquebantur) exæquare oportuerit. Præterea his adjungebantur triginta candidæ vel rubræ boves, quarum singulas suus vitulus colore matri conformis comitabatur. Totidem etiam ænea vincula, quæ boum sub tecto stabulantium colla, et alia totidem etiam ænea, quæ pedes eorum dum mulgerentur astringerent. Hanc mulctam à Tuathalio Techtmario primum irrogatam quotannis Lagenienses quadraginta Hiberniæ regibus è Tuathali stirpe procreatis pendebant. Cujus magnificentiæ mercedem uberrimam S. Molingus Finnacthi cædem cælitus
[77] | edoctus, à Deo traditam ipsi fuisse vidit. Nimirum cum ille jugulatus est (ut Tigernachus loquitur) in prælio de Graillach Dolaich ab Aido Dluthacii filio, Aililli nepote, Aidi Slanii pronepote Dinasta de Farculabreagh, et Congalacho filio Covangii nepote Congalachi pronepote Aidi Slanii; Anno Domini 693. 14 Novembris.

Gulban. Longsechum ex Engusio fratre Finachti nepotem solio regio annos octo insidentem Kellachus Regallachi filius Connaciæ rex in pugnâ de Coren interemit. Anno Domini 701.

Gulban. Congalius cognomento Kinmagar Fergusii filius septem annos scep-

[d] A.D. 688.

[e] Tighearnach cites the first lines of a poem on Finsneachta, by Adamnan his contemporary and admirer, from which Dr. O'Conor infers that the above estimate of the Boromean tribute is greatly exaggerated. "Great was thy tribute, O Finsneachta, son of the virtuous Donnchadh, three times fifty, one hundred oxen, well trained to the yoke, and with each of them a calf." What more Adamnan may have said, Tighearnach does not tell. His custom is to cite a few lines.

So great was his devotion to religion, that in the twelfth year of his reign he entered "the clerical state" (the words of Tighearnach)[d] and returned to the world in the following year. The construction I put upon those words is, that he entered some religious community, whence he was called out again, perhaps in some public emergency at the request of the nobles, before he had completed his noviciate. A most signal proof of his piety is the renunciation, made by him at the earnest prayers of St. Moling, of the Boromean tribute demanded from Leinster. That tribute consisted of fifteen thousand oxen,[e] as many swine, and robes, and wethers, and gold chains, and brass or copper pots, each equal in dimension to the great cauldron of Teamhair, in which twelve oxen and as many pigs could be boiled together. To these were added thirty white or red cows, each with its calf, the same color as the dam. There were also fifteen thousand brass chains for the necks of the cattle while they were in stall, and the same number for their feet when they were milked. This tribute,[f] which was first imposed by Tuathal Teachtmhar, continued to be paid yearly by the men of Leinster to forty Irish kings descended from his line. The generosity of Fiannachta was not without its reward, for St. Moling, to whom his death was revealed,[g] saw him receiving his recompense from God. Finnachta was slain (jugulatus, as Tighearnach writes,) in the battle of Greallach Dollaith, by Aedh son of Dluthach, grandson of Ailill, great grandson of Aedh Slaine, dynast of Fearculabreagh, and Conghalach son of Conaing, grandson of Conghal, great grandson of Aedh Slaine. 14 November, A.D. 693.

LOINGSEACH, nephew to Finnachta, by his brother Aenghus, having succeeded and reigned eight years, was slain by Keallach, son of Ra ghallach in the battle of Corann, A.D. 701.[h]

CONGAL I. surnamed KEANNMAGHAIR, son of Fearghus, swayed the

[f] Finsneachta made good use of his wealth. "He was the bulwark of the learned, the bounteous and hospitable of the foaming bowls."—*Gilla Modud.*

[g] And mourned for his death. "O, how mournful that Finsneachta should lie weak and powerless this day, he who remitted the Boromean tribute." Tighearnach A.D. 695.

[h] The Annals of Ulster record the death of Loingseach, A.D. 702(3) and the accession of Congal, A.D. 704(5) Tighearnach, also, gives the years A.D. 703—705.

trum gessit, vir bellandi studio vehementissime captus, ut qui obsides provinciarum domum quotannis dimiserit, eosque rursum bello vindicaverit, et Lageniam armis infestaverit, ob proavum ejus Aidum Ainmiri filium in prælio de Burlachdimbolg occisum. Ipse mortem repentinam oppetiit. Anno Domini 708.

Eoghan. In demortui locum successit Firgalius Moeldunio Moelitarii filio, Aidi Uardinochi nepote genitus. Hoc ad octavum regni annum provecto, cum filius ejus Nellus Frassach gigneretur, mellis apud Othambeg, argenti apud Othanmor, et in Lagenia imber tritici cælo demissus est. Fergalius in Lagenienses, cum ob mulctam boariam non solutam, tum ob alias causas exasperatus, exercitum è semel et vigecies mille hominum conflatum in Lageniam eduxit, et Murchadium Branii filium Lageniæ Regem novem duntaxat millibus stipatum, apud Almuniam obviam habuit. Tum infestis animis et armis acriter utrinque concurritur. Decertantium contumacia victoriam diu ancipitem fecit. Tandem Rex Hiberniæ decimo regni anno cum centum et sexaginta suis proceribus, in acie cecidit. Novem stragis atrocitate perterriti amentiâ corripiuntur, et per silvas, aviosque recessus instar ferarum lucones oberrant. Denique septies mille utrinque desiderati sunt. Anno Domini 718.

Crimhthan. Forgarthacum Nelli filium, Kernachi nepotem, Dermitii Regis pronepotem unius anni regem, in prælio Delganensi Kenethus occidit. Anno Domini 719.

Crimhthan. Kenethus Irgalacii filius, Aidi Slanii abnepos regnum iniit, qui sic in flentem nescio quem excanduit, ut illum ex Ecclesia de Domhnachpadrig per vim extractum morte multaverit. Violentiæ à Deo indignius latæ indicium fuit, quod illico ex altari Ecclesiæ illius S. Patricii manibus consecrato, tres sanguinei rivuli eruperint, quorum duo, Kenetho

[i] There are no evidences of this extravagant propensity in Tighearnach. The warrior king died in the monastery of Lotra, A.D. 710—*ibid.* not in the plain of Teamhair as Dr. O'Conor would have it. *Proleg.* par. 1. p. clxxi.

[k] "Of blood," Tighearnach, A.D. 718, where these prodigies are recorded.

[l] Tighearnach, A.D. 722, who cites two poems on the subject, "fallen are the hosts at Almhain, that guarded the oxen at Magh Breagh; vultures have devoured with bloody beaks, with sharp swords, those who defended thy head, O! Firghal," &c. &c. Until those historical poems are correctly publish-

sceptre seven years. He was so passionately addicted to war, that he liberated his provincial hostages every year, and then flew to arms to have them delivered up to his hands.[i] He scourged Leinster with his armies, to revenge his grandfather, Aedh son of Ainmire, who was slain in the battle of Burlachdimbolg. He was carried off by a sudden death, A.D. 708.

FEARGHAL, son of Maelduin Maelitar, and grandson to Aedh III. Uairidhnach succeeded after the death of Congal. In the eighth year of his reign, at the birth of his son Niall Franach, there fell a shower of honey at Othainbeag, a shower of money at Othainmor, and a shower of wheat[k] in Leinster. Fearghal being incensed against the Lagenians on account of the remission of the Boromean tribute and other causes, collected an army of twenty-one thousand men, and marching into Leinster, encountered Murchadh son of Bran, at Almhain, who had only nine thousand men. Both armies rushed to the battle with infuriate rage and valor, and the obstinacy of the combatants long held the victory in suspense. But at last victory declared against the King of Ireland, who fell on the field with one hundred and sixty of his nobles.[l] Nine soldiers went mad from their horror of the carnage, and wandered like wild beasts through the forests and trackless wilds.[m] The total slain on both sides was seven thousand men. A.D. 718.

FOGARTACH, son of Niall, grandson of Kearnach, and great grandson of Diarmaid I. was slain by Kinaeth after one year's reign in the battle of Delgean, A.D. 719.

KINAETH, son of Irgalach, descendant of Aedh II. Slaine, succeeded to the throne. Conceiving an unaccountable aversion to a person whom he saw weeping in the Church of Domhnach-Padraig, he ordered him to be dragged out and slain on the spot. When, behold, three streams of blood, issued from the altar, which had been consecrated by the hands of St. Patrick—a manifest proof of the anger of God for the desecration of his church, nor did two of them cease to flow until

ed, Irish history is a tree without foliage. Our fathers wrote laws, history, religion, every thing in poetry.

[m] These must be the 9 (7) ᵹeltaı of Tighearnach. Dr. O'Conor translates the word "volatilis" as if they were a certain order of soldiers. A meaning more consistent with our text may be found in the Battle of Magh Rath, p. 236, note.

tres illi Ecclesiæ fundos elargito, manare desierunt.[24] Alius non ante fluendi finem, quàm Kenetus vivendi, tertio regni anno fecit à Flabertacho interemptus, in prælio Dromcorcranensi. Anno 722.

Gulban. Flabhertachus Longsechi regis filius dignitate regiâ deinde fulsit, qui septimum regni annum attingens honoris caduci pertæsus, nuntio dignitati remisso, instituta monachorum amplexus est, Anno Domini 729, et accuratiori eorum observationi reliquos triginta vitæ suæ annos impendit. Tum demum Ardmachæ animam efflavit, Anno Domini 760.

Eoghan. Aido Ollano Fergutii regis filio regni fasces delati sunt, qui literis addictus, et injuriarum Ecclesiis illatarum vindex acerrimus, à Donaldo successore, novem jam annos imperans, in prælio de Muighsearadh, apud Kannanas trucidatus est. Anno Domini 738: ejus regnum prodigiis memorabile fuit. Mare cætum tres dentes aureos habentem in Ultoniæ littus ejecit; et naves armamentis nautisque instructæ in aere visæ sunt.

Crimhthan. Donaldus Murchadi filius ad regni clavum annos viginti sedit, cum in Hiensem insulam peregrinationis obeundæ causa profectus, diem suum illic obierit. Anno Domini 758, vel potius 763.

Eoghan. Nellus cognomento Frassach, id est imbricus sive nimbosus, quod eo genito, melle, argento, et tritico, jam rege, sanguine pluerit. Fergalii regis filius septem annos in administranda Hibernia progressus,
[78] regni fastidio, | vitæque sanctioris desiderio captus, non solum Hiberniæ regno, sed etiam finibus ultro excessit, et in Hiensem insulam con-

[24] Trias Thaum. p. 150, c. 7.

[n] A.D. 765, Tighearnach. He died in orders, "in clericatu." The royal honors of the house of Conall Gulban were buried with Flaithbheartach in the monastery of Ard-Macha. He was the last monarch of his line. The united reigns of the ten Conall kings amount only to 55 years, which give an average considerably lower than those of their two rival lines.

[o] He proved his title to the surname "learned" by poems celebrating his own victory over the Lagenians in the battle of Ucbadh, the most fatal in which they ever engaged—*Tighearnach* A.D. 738. This Aedh Allan is evidently different from the Aedh, note [l] *suprà*, though Dr. O'Conor asserts there was but one of that surname.

[p] The reign of Domhnall III. was the reign of prodigies. Besides the wonders in the text recorded by Tighear-

Kinaeth had conferred three grants of land on the same church. The third was not dried up until the death of Kinaeth who was slain in the third year of his reign by Flaithbheartach in the battle of Druim-Corcrain, A.D. 722.

FLAITHBHEARTACH, son of king Loingseach, was next elevated to the royal dignity, but after a reign of seven years, being disgusted with fleeting honors, he embraced the monastic life, A.D. 729, and devoted the thirty following years to the strict observance of the virtues of the cloister. He died at Ard-macha, A.D. 760.[n]

AEDH IV. surnamed ALLAN, son of king Fearghus next seized the sceptre. He was a great lover of learning,[o] and a stern champion of the rights of the church, but was slain in the seventh year of his reign by his successor in the battle of Maghseirigh near Keanannus, A.D. 738. Wonderful events occurred in his reign. A whale, with three golden teeth, was stranded on the coast of Ulster, and fleets of ships, with men and armour, were seen sailing in the heavens.[p]

DOMHNALL III. son of Murchadh, after guiding the helm of state during twenty years, retired on a pilgrimage to Ia, where he expired, A.D. 758, or rather 763.[q]

NIALL I. surnamed Frosach, that is the "showery" or the "cloudy," because it rained blood in his reign, as it had rained honey, silver, and wheat at his birth,[r] next ascended the throne. He was son of king Fearghus. Having governed Ireland during seven years, he grew weary of this world, and inspired with an ardent desire of a holier state, he renounced not only the crown of Ireland,[s] but his native land itself,

nach, A.D. 744–748, stars frequently fell from the heavens, a deep snow destroyed nearly all the cattle in Ireland, and famine wasted the land.

[q] Domhnall III. had taken some orders in 740 "in clericatum exit." *Tighearnach*: but in 743 he began to reign, and died in 763 according to the same authority.

[r] Note [k] *suprà*. The fragment of Tighearnach on the reign of Niall I. does not record the "shower of blood," but it has other strange entries, "a wonderful and horrible sign was seen in the night. Flaithbheartach, king of Ireland, dies in clericatu," A.D. 765.

[s] O'Flaherty dates the accession of Donnchadh I. from this event, A.D. 770, thus giving to Donnchadh 27 years' reign. Ware dates from the death of Niall I. and allows only 19 years.

cessit ubi post annos octo in se virtutibus excolendo positos pio fine vitam terminavit.[25]

Crimhthan. Donchadus, aliis Donatus Domnaldi regis filius regno viginti septem annos potitus, cum magnâ pietatis, et raræ pænitentiæ laude, vitam hanc mortalem immortali mutavit, Anno Domini 792.

Eoghan. Aidus Arnidius Nelli Nimbosi filius potestatem regiam, qua viginti quinque annos munitus erat, ad resarciendas molestias Ecclesiasticis facessitas convertit; quibus ad bella proficisci antea consuetis, immunitatem ab onere isto impertiit. Ille, ubi vitæ finem impendere sibi sensit, animi sordibus per confessionem elutis, sacrâ quoque synaxi percepta, et sacro ad supremam luctam oleo inunctus, diem suum pie obiit, apud Athdafartam de Muighconell in Keneboniæ, Kenelconelliæque confinio, Anno Domini 817.

Crimhthan. Conchovarius Donchadi regis filius decimo quarto regni anno expleto, multâ delictorum pœnitentiâ vicinæ morti prolusit, quam piè obiit. Anno Domini 831.

Eoghan. Nellus Calneus Aidi Ordnidii filius, primo regni anno, Danos propè Doriam Ultoniæ urbem, postremo in Maighith Tirconnelliæ agro fudit. Cognomen à Callino amne sortitus est quod fluvium istum agnomini municipio in comitatu Kilkenniensi adfluentem trajecturus, ubi vadum explorantibus submersionis periculo subducendis ad ripam appropinquasset, humo pedi equino cedente illapsus in amnem submersus fuit anno regni decimo tertio, Gratiæ 844.

[25] Trias Thaum. p. 448.

[t] And was buried there in "the tomb of the Irish kings," according to Ware. Dr. O'Conor brings him home to Ireland and buries him in Doire, but one of the readings of Gilla Modud partly substantiates Ware. *Proleg.* par. 1. p. clv.

[u] From the death of Donnchadh I. A.D. 795, to the accession of Brian Boroimhe, 1001(2) the Four Masters are one year after O'Flaherty except at 860, 876, where the difference is two years. The varying differences lie principally between A.D. 623 and 718, Gilla Modud styles Donnchadh I. "Donnchadh the Fair, the very prosperous and just."

[v] That is "the Legislator." During his reign flourished the celebrated Fothad of the canons.

[w] I find no proof of this assertion in our preceding Annals. The military services exacted from the clergy commenced very probably in this or the

and retired to the Island of Ia, where, after eight years spent in the diligent exercises of virtue, he piously breathed his last.[t]

DONNCHADH I. or, as some style him, Donatus, son of King Domhnall, having succeeded to the throne, passed from a mortal to an immortal life after a reign of twenty-seven years, leaving after him a reputation of great piety and singular penitence, A.D. 792.[u]

AEDH V. surnamed OIRDNIDHE,[v] son of Niall I. Frosach, ascended the throne, and exercised his royal authority to redress the heavy grievances to which the clergy were subjected, for he exempted them from the military service, which his predecessors had exacted.[w] When he felt that his mortal career was drawing to a close, he purified his conscience by a confession of his sins, received the holy communion, and was anointed with the holy oil for the final struggle, and thus piously breathed his last in the twenty-fifth year of his reign at Ath da-fhearta of Maghconaille, on the confines of Kenebon and Kinealconaill, A.D. 817.

CONCHOBHAR, son of Donnchadh I. reigned fourteen years. He prepared for death with great penance for his sins, and died piously, A.D. 831.

NIALL I. surnamed Caille, son of Aedh II. Oirdnidhe, in the first year of his reign defeated the Danes, near Doire a city in Ulster, and in the last year at Maghita a territory in Tirconaill. His surname was derived from the rivei Callainn,[x] which flows through the town of that name in the County of Kilkenny; for, approaching too near the bank in his anxiety to rescue some men who had been sent out to try whether the river was fordable, the ground sunk under his charger's feet, and he was plunged into the river and drowned in the thirteenth year of his reign, A.D. 844.

preceding reign, and though Niall remitted them on the decision of Fothad in the year 799 (800), it is certain that henceforward the clergy became prominent in civil and military affairs. The invasions of Pagan Danes naturally compelled them to use their influence, and it is remarkable that of fifteen kings from Aedh Allan to Maelseachlainn, all died a natural death, except three who fell in battle against the Danes, and one who was accidentally drowned.—See *Introduction to Chap.* IX.

[x] Called to this day the king's river, abainnrige.

Crimhthan. Malachias primus Moelruani filius, Dunchadi regis nepos, sceptra capessivit, magnus obex Danorum progressibus coercendis, ut qui stratagemate Turgesium tyrannum extinxit, et Danos tribus congressibus profligavit, ac ob aliquot victorias partas ad Carolum Calvum Francorum Regem pacis, et amicitiæ gratia, legatos cum muneribus misit, viam sibi petendi Romam concedi deposcens.[26] Demum vitæ finem et decimum sextum regni annum attingens, et anteactæ vitæ crimina afflictim lugens vitam hanc meliore mutavit. Anno Domini 860, ultimo Novembris.

Eoghan. Aidus Finliach Nelli Calnei filius Rex institutus, quarto regni anno, post immensa spolia Danis abrepta, tantam eorum stragem ad Lochfobhail edidit, ut mille ducenta hostium capita in cumulum congesta ei conspicienda præberentur. Et post duos deinde annos, mille tantum hominum satellitio stipatus cum exercitu é quinquies mille tam rebellibus Hibernis, quam Danis conflato, apud Killuandoighe congressus, luculentam victoriam retulit. Postea decimo sexto regni anno jam transacto, vitæ terminum oppetere conspicatus, peccata vehementissimè detestatus, naturæ cessit, apud Druimneascluin. Anno Domini 876.

Crimhthan. Flannus cognomento Sinna Malachiæ Regis filius secundis et adversis cum hoste pugnis aliquoties usus, post annos octo supra triginta in Hiberniæ administratione positos, delictis accuratâ pœnitentia jam abstersis, Taltiniæ animam efflavit. Anno Domini 914.

Eoghan. Nellus Glundubh á nigro genu sic dictus, Aidi Finliachi filius, primo regni anno, secundam cum Danis pugnam fecit, sed tertio regni anno, cum iis propé Dublinium signa conferens occubuit. 16 Kalendas Octob. die Mercurii. Anno Domini 917.

Crimhthan. Donchadus, sive Donatus Flanni Regis filius, primo regni anno, cum Danis apud Kiannachtam Breghensem in Media prælio congressus, Dubliniensem superioris anni cladem cumulatè ultus est, tot é Danorum primoribus in ea pugna desideratis, quot é proceribus, et vulgo Hiber-

Warræus de Antiq. Hiber. p. 105.

[y] note, *suprà*, [n].

[z] Gilla Modud styles him "Lord of the white-robed hosts:" an epithet somewhat similar is given to his successor and namesake Maelsheachlainn II. "the white reined."—*O'Conor.*

[a] The "White-grey, albi-canus," according to O'Conor.

[b] He defeated the Danes in sixteen battles, and is styled "the hero of

MAELSEACHLAINN I. son of Mael-ruanaidh, and grandson of Donnchadh I. next wielded the sceptre, and gave a decisive check to the ravages of the Danes. He cut off the tyrant Turgesius by stratagem, and defeated the Danes in three battles. He also sent ambassadors to Charles the Bald, King of the Franks, with presents, to demand a passage to Rome to return thanks for his victories.[y] After a reign of sixteen years, feeling his hour approach he exchanged this world for a better, after having punished himself by penance for the sins of his past life. A.D. 860.[z] November 30.

AEDH VI. surnamed FINNLIATH,[a] son of Niall Caille, being proclaimed King, took immense spoils from the Danes, and, in the fourth year of his reign, gave them so terrific a defeat at Lochfeabhail, that twelve hundred heads were piled up before him. Two years afterwards, with a band of one thousand men, he gained a decisive victory over fifteen thousand Danes and rebel Irish at Kill-Ua-n-Daigh.[b] Having reigned sixteen years, he felt that death was approaching, and, after vehemently deploring his sins, expired at Druim-Ineasclainn, A.D. 876.

FLANN, surnamed Sinna,[c] son of Mael-seachlainn I. fought with various success against the enemies of his country, and having governed the kingdom during thirty-eight years, he died at Tailltin, after performing rigid penance for his sins, A.D. 914.[d]

NIALL III. surnamed GLUNDUBH, from his black knee, gained a victory over the Danes in the first year of his reign, but two years later was defeated and slain by them in a battle near Dublin, on Wednesday, 16 Kalends of October, A.D. 917.

DONNCHADH II. or Donatus, son of King Flann, encountered the Danes in the first year of his reign at Kiannachta in Breagh, and took so signal a vengeance on them for the defeat near Dublin, that the number of Danish nobles left on the field of battle equalled the total loss of the Irish, nobles and commons. In the nineteenth year of his

many fields, and lord of the brave." —*Gilla Modud.*

[c] The "learned:" "the supreme protector of the munificent."—*Gilla Modud.*

[d] In this and the two following dates the Annals of Ulster give 915 (6) 918 (9) 943 (4).

norum in memorato conflictu ceciderunt. Decimum nonum deinde regni annum agens, agros omnes inter Dublinium Athrustanumque in Danorum potestate positos laté populatus est. Demum ad vigesimum
[79] | quintum regni annum, et vitæ finem repentinâ morte pervenit, Anno Domini 942.

Crimhthan. Congalachus Molmithii filius regnum á Danorum Dubliniensium aggressione auspicatus, quatuor eorum millia pugnans occidit. Dublinium postea ingressus, urbem diripuit, et opibus ac præciosâ quaque supperlectile illinc exportatâ, flammis absumpsit. Tertio etiam deinde anno, propé Slaniam Danos innumeros ferro et unda delevit. Sequenti quoque anno cum iis acie decertans mille sexcentos, et Blacarum eorum ducem neci dedit. Duobus dehinc annis, pugnâ cum iis ad Muinebracaniam initâ, sex primorum millia, cum Imaro duce, præter gregariorum militum multitudinem perierunt. Duodecimo demum regni anno, Lageniensum contumaciam bello frangentem, Dani á Lageniensibus acciti, ad Toyghgingram trucidarunt; Anno Domini 954.

Eoghan. Donaldo O'Neal Murchertachi filio, Nelli Glandubhi nepoti, post plurimas concertationes, tam prosperas, quam adversas cum hoste habitas, et peccata summopere defleta, vigesimus quartus regni annus fuit vitæ postremus, quæ illum Ardmachæ defecit, Anno Domini 978.

Crimhthan. Malachias secundus Domnaldi decessoris filius diu fælix, ut qui Danos quinquies, seditiosos Hibernos multoties fuderit, et regni exordium á Teamoricâ victoriâ duxerit: ubi præter Reginaldum Anlafi filium copiarum omnium ducem, Canmalium Gillari filium Dubliniensumque primores cæsos, universum pené Danorum, tam Dubliniensium, quam insulanorum exercitum internecione delevit.

Proximo deinde anno, immensi exercitus obsidione Dublinio per triduum admotâ, Dublinienses ad bis mille obsides Hibernos, præter Domnallum Claon Lageniæ regem, et Aithiræum O'Neil, dimittendos adegit, tum etiam omnes Hibernos in Danorum servitute per Hiberniam positos

e "Mournful was the hill, the beloved Cruachan, for the death of Donnchadh, the descendant of Tuathal Teachtmhar."—*Gilla Modud.*

f "The victorious and the scourge of pirates."—*Gilla Modud.*

g The last undisputed monarch of the Northern Ui Neill of Eoghan's race. The united fourteen reigns (two reigns were joint reigns) of the sixteen Eo-

reign he laid waste the whole territory between Dublin and Ath-Truistean, [near Athy] which was then occupied by the Danes. He died suddenly[e] in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, A.D. 942.

CONGHALACH II. son of Maelmithigh, opened his reign with an onslaught on the Danes of Dublin, slaying four thousand of them in his first battle. He took and plundered Dublin; and after sending off all its wealth and costly materials, delivered up the buildings to the flames Again, in the third year of his reign, he slew or drowned hosts of Danes near Slaine. The following year, one thousand six hundred of them with their general Blacaire, fell beneath his sword in pitched battle. Two years later he met them at Muinebrocain, and slew six thousand of their chief men, with Imhar their general, besides a countless herd of the common soldiers. But in the twelfth year of his reign, having taken up arms to chastise the insolence of the Lagenians, they called in the Danes to their assistance, and Conghalach[f] fell in the battle field at Tigh-Gighgrain, [near the river Liffey.] A.D. 954 [956].

DOMHNALL IV. O'NEILL, son of Muircheartach, grandson of Niall III. Glundubh, after many reverses and victories in his fields against the Danes, died at Ard-Macha after a most heartfelt repentance for his sins, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.[g] A.D. 978. [*rectè* 979.]

MAELSEACHLAINN II. son of a former king Donnchadh II. commenced his reign with the victory of Teamhair, in which he slew Reginald son of Olaf, the commander in chief, Conmal, son of Gillarri, and the chieftains of Dublin, and almost annihilated the whole army of the Danes of Dublin and of the Islands.[h] Five times he defeated the Danes, and often suppressed the rebellious attempts of his countrymen. In the next year, marching at the head of an immense army, he laid seige to Dublin, and on the third day compelled the Danes to liberate two thousand Irish hostages, together with Domhnall Claen, King of Leinster, and Aithine O'Neill, whom they had in captivity. He also compelled them to liberate all the Irish, who were slaves to the Danes

ghan kings, amount to 155 years, giving an average of more than eleven years to each reign, that is more than double the average of the Conall reigns. See note p *suprà*, p. 26.

[h] Tighearnach, A.D. 980; Ann. Inisfal. A.D. 962; Ær. Comm. 980.

in libertatem asseruit. Porro servitus ista servitutis Babilonicæ similitudinem referebat, et ejus cruciatus à nullis nisi ab infernalibus superabantur.[27] Decimo quoque imperii anno Dublinium viginti dierum obsidione, latâ prius strage Dubliniensium æditâ cinxit, et omnem ad eos aditum sic interclusit, ut aliam aquam interea quam salsam non biberint ac tandem obsequium ei pro ipsius arbitrio detulerint, et ad unciam auream è singulis hortis illi, ejusque successoribus Hiberniæ regibus, in quolibet natalium Domini pervigilio, se tradituros obstrinxerint. Decimo sexto regni anno annulum Tomarii, et ensem Caroli Dubliniensibus per vim ademit. Sub decimum nonum regni annum Dublinienses Danos alia clade apud Glenmamam prostravit, Artalacho Sitrici, Araldo Amlavi, Culeno Echitigeni filio, nec non optimatibus Dubliniensibus innumerisque gregariis militibus occisis.[28] Dublinii deinde unius hebdomadæ moram trahens, magnam obsidum, auri argentique copiam inde retulit, et Sitrico Amlavi filio in exilium pulso, faces urbi subjecit. Malachia ad vigesimum tertium regni annum perveniente, plerorumque Hiberniæ procerum suffragiis, et ipsius tandem Malachiæ, omnes à se defecisse perspicientis, delatione;

[27] Tiger. continuator. [28] Tigerna. continuator.

[i] Recorded proudly by Tighearnach, A.D. 980.

[k] Tighearnach, A.D. 989.

[l] The 13th year according to Tighearnach, A D. 995. For the sword of Carlus and the ring of Tomar won by Maelseachlainn from the proud invader, see Introduction to the *Book of Rights*, p. 40.

[m] The forces of Brian Borumha and Maelseachlainn II. were combined in this engagement.—*Tighearnach*, A.D. 998. The glory of this exploit belongs not to Brian Borumha alone—*Tighearnach* 999. *Annal. Innisfal.* 982.

[n] Modern historians give very conflicting accounts of the progress of "this revolution," for a revolution it was, as Dr. Lanigan justly observes. Even Mr. Moore's story abounds in anachronisms more irreconcilable with the concurrent testimony of our Annals, than any two conflicting passages of those Annals in the darkest periods of our history. He represents Brian as king of Leath Mogha in 982, by treaty with Maelseachlainn II. though Brian's name does not appear in Tighearnach beyond Thomond, until 992, when he marched against Loch Ainninn in Meath, but retreated "furtim, without prey of man or cattle." Our national bard was misled by Dr. O'Brien's work on the Law of Tanistry, as

in every part of Ireland. Now the captivity of Babylon itself was not more galling than that tyranny of the Danes; nothing but the torments of hell itself could exceed it. In the tenth year of his reign also, he gained a decisive victory over the Dublin Danes, and blocked up Dublin itself so closely during twenty days, that the besieged had no water to drink, but salt water, and were at last compelled to surrender on the conqueror's terms,[i] which were, that on Christmas Eve each year, they should pay to him and his successors, the Kings of Ireland, an ounce of gold, tribute from each of their gardens. In the tenth year of his reign,[k] he carried off the collar of Tomar, and the sword of Carlus, from the Danes of Dublin. Again, in the nineteenth year of his reign, he defeated the Danes of Dublin with great slaughter at Glenmama, slaying Artalach son of Sitric, Arald son of Amlaf, Culin son of Echitigen, together with the chief men of Dublin, and an innumerable herd of common soldiers.[l] Taking up his quarters in Dublin, during one week, he seized a great number of hostages, and an enormous spoil of gold and silver, and having banished Sitric son of Amlaf from the island, he delivered up the city to the flames.[m] Maelseachlainn having now reigned twenty-three years, the great majority of the Irish lords revolted, and he, finding himself deserted by all, resigned the crown to Ireland's choice, Brian Borumha, who was proclaimed King.[n]

published in Vallancey's Collectanea, or those modern Annals of Innisfallen compiled towards the close of the last century, and full of chronological errors: or he did not advert to the fact that the real Annals of Innisfallen are behind the common æra by 14, 15, 16, or 17 years, in the records of the 11th century. The true order of events appears from Tighearnach collated with the Annals of Innisfallen. It was thus—Brian invades Meath without success in 982, is defeated by Maelseachlainn in Munster in 994, combines with Maelseachlainn against the Dublin Danes and takes hostages from Connacht in 998, burns the fortress of Dublin in 999, rebels treacherously for the first time (ceꝺ ıṁpoꝺ) against Maelseachlainn with all Leath Mogha and the Danes in 1000, but retires from Teamhair, his vanguard of Danish cavalry having been cut to pieces by Maelseachlainn; takes his position at Fearta-neme in East Meath, but was proclaimed king of Ireland in 1001. This is Tighearnach's account. His being proclaimed king means that he took hostages from Maelseachlainn, which the Annals of Innisfallen

Brianus Borumhus rex Hiberniæ salutatus est. Vir rebus pace ac bello præclare gestis celebris, ut qui Ecclesiam omni decore, Remp. optimis institutis exornaverit, nobilitati pristinam dignitatem, et amissas sedes, vulgo quietem comparaverit: bellator autem adeo ægregius fuerit, ut viginti quinque victorias ab hoste retulerit, quarum postrema Clontarfensis fuit, cui conserendo Moelmorus Lageniæ Rex, et Dani Dublinienses conjuratione initâ causam præbuerunt. Dubliniensium tamen quatuor millia, eorum qui peregre auxilio iis venerunt septingenti supra sex millia; centeni supra ter mille Lagenienses, cum suo Rege Moelmoro in eo conflictu ceciderunt. Annales Innisfallenses paucis rem complexi aiunt: Moelmorum regem, et proceres Lageniæ
[80] cum | Danis pænè omnibus interiisse. Nec incruenta fuit Briano victoria: ex ejus enim exercitu quatuor millia desiderata sunt. Ipse quoque Brianus læthali vulnere affectus, postridie peccatis per confessionem expiatis, cælesti pabulo refectus, et unctionis extremæ sacramento munitus, hanc vitam cælesti mutavit, Anno ætatis 88, regni 12, Christi nati 1014, 23 Aprilis.

Decessor Briani Malachias eidem novem annos successit, multis interim Danos damnis efficiens. Nam ædes omnes, et habitacula Dublinio finitima incendio absumpsit, et immensam Danorum stragem apud Odhbham ædidit, amplasque prædas ab iis postea, et ultimo vitæ anno, apud Athbnithlacham, memorabilem retulit victoriam plurimis illorum cæsis. Mensis deinde unus effluxit, cum morti vicinus confessionis, Eucharistiæ, et unctionis sacramenta Amalgadii Archiepiscopi Armachani ministerio percipiens, extremum vitæ diem clausit, apud Iuniblochanin; sanctorum etiam Columbæ Kieranique successoribus ei morienti assistentibus, et precibus suis ac præsentiâ funus ejus honestantibus

record, A.D. 984. The *combined* operations of Brian and Maelseachlainn against Connacht and the Dublin Danes, A.D. 998, had for their object that each should have the hostages of his own half of Ireland.

o Yet he was driven back from the North in 1002 without hostages from the race of Eoghan, Conall, or Orghialla —*Tighearnach*. The two former paid him no tribute until three or four years before the battle of Clontarf, A.D. 1014.—*Ann. Innis.* A.D. 992, 993. *Cod. Bodleian.*

p These precise words are in neither of the Annals of Innisfallen published by Dr. O'Conor. O'Donovan's Four Masters gives full details of this great battle.

q "Maelseachlainn plunders the

Brian Borumha was eminent for noble deeds in peace and war. He restored the glory of the Church, established the wisest laws for his kingdom, and gave peace to the people, and their ancient dignity and lost inheritances to the nobles.[o] So great was his fame in war, that he gained twenty-five victories over the enemy, the last and greatest of which was on the field of Clontarf, over the combined forces of the Danes of Dublin and Maelmordha king of Leinster. Four thousand of the Danes of Dublin, and six thousand seven hundred foreign auxiliaries, and three thousand one hundred of the men of Leinster, with their king Maelmordha, were slain on the field. The Annals of Inisfallen, sum up the result in a few words, "King Maelmordha and the chieftains of Leinster, with nearly all the Danes, were slain."[p] But Brian's was not a bloodless victory; four thousand of his army being slain, and the monarch himself, who was mortally wounded, passed on the following day from an earthly to a heavenly crown, after having expiated his sins by confession, and received the Bread of Heaven and the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. He died in the eighty-eighth year of his age, the twelfth of his reign, on the 23rd of April, A.D. 1014.

MAELSEACHLAINN II. on the death of Brian, resuming the reins of government, reigned nine years, during which he gained many victories over the Danes. He burnt all their establishments and houses, to the walls of Dublin, and gave them a terrible overthrow at Odhbha; after which he continued to take great spoils from them, and in the last year of his reign slew great numbers in the memorable victory of Ath-buidhe-Tlachtgha. A month after this victory,[q] feeling his end was approaching, he received the sacraments of confession, communion, and extreme unction from the hands of Amhalghaidh, Archbishop of Ard-Macha; and breathed his last at Cro-inis-Locha Aininn.[r] The successors of St. Kiaran and St. Columba were also present at his death, and honored his funeral procession with their presence and prayers, on the 4th of the

Galls."—*Tigh.* A.D. 1021.

[r] Cro-inis, is an island in Loch Ainninn, now Lough Ennell, near Mullingar, in the County of Westmeath. "Maelseachlainn the Great, supreme king of all Ireland, the tower of the good orders and of the nobles of the whole western world, died at Cro-inis, an island in Loch Ainninn, in the 43rd year of his reign."—*Tigh.* A.D. 1022. Tighearnach very rarely indulges in similar eulogy.

quarto nonas Septembris. Anno Domini 1023. Is vero moriens jussit, ut trecenti pupilli parentibus orbati ad numinis gratiam ejus animæ conciliandam in variis oppidis nutrirentur.

Porro arctioribus finibus successorum Malachiæ quam decessorum potestas constringebatur, illi enim Reges "Gafrasabhrach" dicebantur, quibus verbis innuitur, aliquibus invitis, imo et reluctantibus, illos ad regiam dignitatem evectos fuisse. Nempe quispiam è Leithcunnensibus Rex non instituebatur nisi Leithcunniâ totâ, et unâ Leithmoæ provinciâ ejus imperatis obtemperante. Nec è Leithmoensibus quispiam honore regis insigniebatur, nisi præter Leithmoam, et Temoriæ fines, una quoque Leithcunniæ provincia in ejus ditione foret. Hinc vetustiores antiquarii, non sicut priorum regum, sic horum nomina in regum album seriatim retulerunt. Ita ut in regum hujus secundi ordinis enumeratione scriptores nostri plurimum fluctuent, uno eum quem in Annalibus potentiâ reliquos anteire deprehendit classi regum inserente, alio penitus eundem omittente.

Sic Donatum O Brian Briani Borumhi filium in regia dignitate prox-

[s] He was the last undisputed monarch of the Southern Ui Neill, of the race of Conall Crimhthan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The united sixteen reigns (one was a joint reign) of the seventeen southern Ui Neill kings amount to 250 years, being nearly sixteen years for each reign, an average greater by one half than that of the Eoghan reigns, note [i] p. 32. *suprà*, and triple that of the Conall Gulban reigns, note [p] p. 26, *suprà*. With Maelseachlainn Mor. II. fell the power of his house, which had withstood during more than 200 years the assaults of the Danes. There was now no bulwark in Leinster against invaders.

[t] "The friend of the poor, the sick, and the afflicted."—*Gilla Modud.*

[u] However later writers may have differed on these matters—*Book of Rights*, p. xiii., contemporary writers speak plainly enough. "From the death of Maelseachlainn II. the legitimate monarchy of all Ireland departed from all families during 72 years, until the joint reigns of Muircheartaich O'Briain and Domhnall Mac Lochlainn: during that time no Feis or general assembly, so agreeable to the people, was held, because Ireland had no supreme king." These are the words of the poet Gilla Modud who lived early in the 12th century.—*Proleg.* par. 1. p. clxxv. clxxviii. Tighearnach, or the continuator of his chronicle, confirms that statement, and appears to weigh his words in defining the precise power of each pretender after Maelseachlainn. Taking Tighearnach's notes of the most prominent characters we find "Cuan O'Lochan die in 1024," with-

Nones of September, A.D. 1023.[s] On his death-bed, he ordered that three hundred orphans should be supported in different towns for the good of his soul and the glory of God.[t]

The authority of Maelseachlainn's successors was restricted to narrower limits, than that of his predecessors; for succeeding Kings were called Go-frasabhrach, which means, literally, that they were never unanimously acknowledged, and were often resisted. For example, no native of Leath-Cuinn was instituted king, if, besides the whole of Leath-Cuinn, one province of Leath-Mogha, did not also acknowledge his title; nor was any prince of Leath-Mogha regarded as king, if, besides all Leath-Mogha and the territory of Teamhair, he did not also possess one province of Leath-Cuinn. Hence our ancient historians have not given a regular catalogue of those latter kings, like that of their royal predecessors; so that there is great discrepancy in the line of succession, from this period, as given by various writers, one person sometimes inserting in the royal list, some prince who appeared in his judgment to be the most powerful, while another totally omits him.[u]

For instance, Donnchadh O'Briain, son of Brian Borumha, is put down

out any remark on his supposed regency of the kingdom. In 1039 Donnchadh Mac Gill Patric "supreme lord of Leinster and Osraidhe, *and of a great part of Ireland*" dies. In 1072 Diarmuid Mac Maelnambo, "king of the Britons, the Elvidas, and Dublin, and *Leath Mogha*," dies. In 1086 Toirdhealbhach O'Conchobhair "king *of the greater part* (ɼ moıɼ) of Ireland" dies. Donnchadh O'Briain took the hostages of Meath, Leinster, the Danes, and Osraidhe, and had the Archbishop of Ard-Macha in his palace at Cinncoradh in 1026; Ann. Innisf. 1009, but is no where called king of Ireland by Tighearnach, who was of the royal sept of the Sil-Muireadhaigh of Connacht. Among the conflicting claimants, he clings to legitimacy, and records the deaths of Conchobhar and Maelseachlainn, and of his son Maelseachlainn, *kings of Teamhair*, at the years 1073, 1087. Also at the years 1026, 1035, 1047, 1058, he records the deaths of ɼıġ ḋaṁna, or *candidate* kings of Ireland of the Ui Neill family. But contrary to his custom he records the *birth* of Muircheartach O'Briain, king of Ireland, A.D. 1050; and mentions *candidate* kings of Ireland of the O'Briain family 1068, 1084, which prove clearly that prejudice against that family did not guide his estimate of their power. How could he be prejudiced, honest soul, who records without a comment the destruction of his own monastery of Cluainmicnois at least half a dozen times during his own life time, by the high-born plunderers, who sported with the lives of their people and the honor of their country.

imum Malachiæ successorem aliqui statuunt; alii regum numero prorsus excludunt. Quod si regis titulus, ob rerum gestarum supra cæteros eminentiam cuipiam adjudicandus fuerit, eum non immerito Donatus referet, ut quo, proximè post excessum Malachiæ, aut expeditionibus habitis, aut victoriis, prædis, obsidibusque relatis, nemo celebrior fuerit. Anno enim 1027, magnis copiis in aciem eductis, è Mediâ, Breghiâ, Lageniâ, et Ossoriâ plurimas prædas domum retulit. Dublinii quoque nemine reluctante, biduo castris propè urbem positis, commoratus est.[29] Anno 1036, una tantum nave instructus quatuordecem Brefnensium naves depressit et vastationem paulo ante ab iis Clonfartæ illatam cumulatè ultus est.[30] Anno 1050, Lageniensium, et Ossoriensium rebellantium contumaciam, obsides ab illis referens, fregit.[31] Anno 1060, Rothericum O'Conchabhor Connaciæ regem adiit, et quot voluit obsides ab eo retulit.[32] Et ut cætera indicia Regis Hiberniæ titulum illi vendicantia prætercam, Annales Innisfalenses filium ejus Murachum Regis Hiberniæ filium appellant.[33] Sane annales iidem leges ab eo latas fuisse narrant, quibus pares à S. Patricii diebus in Hibernia non ferebantur.[34] Latrocinia præsertim iis coercuit, et diei dominicæ religiosissimus cultor vetuit onera diebus dominicis vehi, aut nundinas, venationesve fieri.[35] Anno etiam 1050, nimia pluvia eam annonæ caritatem fecit, ut præsertim in Momoniâ homines omni reverentia rerum, et cognationum sacrarum conculcatâ in Ecclesiæ patrinorumque bona involaverint. Cui malo ut Donatus medelam adhiberet,
[81] magno presulum et procerum Momoniensium | cætu convocato, decreta ejusmodi condidit, quæ non solum latè grassantem latronum audaciam penitus compresserunt, sed etiam divini numinis iram averterunt. Tandem tamen non solum Hiberniæ, sed etiam Momoniæ (cujus Rex indubitatus erat) regnò exutus, Romam peregrinandi causa petiit, ibique se intra monasterii recessus recepit, ubi felici morte diem clausit extremum.

29 Annales Innisfalenses. 30 Ibidem. 31 Ibidem. 32 Tigerna. continuator. 33 Ad annum 1068. 34 Ad annum 1041. 35 Annales communes.

v The old Annals of Innisfallen call him ríg-ḋaṁna of Ireland, A.D. 1051, as does Tighearnach also, A.D. 1068.

w The elements were in harmony with the political state of Ireland during this reign; there were storms,

by some as Maelseachlainn's successor in the royal dignity; while others exclude him. But if renowned actions, far superior to those of others, be any title to a regal rank, Donnchadh certainly deserves it; for immediately after the death of Maelseachlainn, he rose to high fame by his victories and expeditions, in which he carried off great plunder and many hostages. Taking the field in 1027 at the head of an immense army, he swept through Meath, Bregia, Leinster, and Osraidhe, and levied large contributions. For two days he lay without molestation in his camp under the walls of Dublin. In 1036 with only one ship he captured and sank twelve vessels belonging to the Brefnians, and took signal vengeance on them for their devastation of Cluainfearta. In 1050 he crushed an insurrection of the men of Leinster and Osraidhe, and compelled them to give hostages. In 1060 he marched against Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair king of Connacht, and took from him as many hostages as he asked. Finally, not to mention other proofs of his claims to the title of monarch of Ireland, the Annals of Inisfallen expressly call his son Muirceartach[v] king of Ireland. From the same authority we learn that laws were enacted by him for the government of the kingdom superior to all laws from the days of St. Patrick. Robbery, particularly, he repressed, and so religiously did he enforce the observance of the Sabbath, that on that day no hunting, nor market, nor carriage, was allowed. In the year 1050, in consequence of excessive rain there was such a scarcity of provisions, that the Irish, especially in Munster, losing all reverence for holy things, and trampling on the rights of holy kindred, seized the property of the church and of sponsors. To remedy the evil, Donnchadh convoked a great council of the prelates and lords of Munster, and enacted laws which speedily checked the wide-spreading sacrilege, and arrested the anger of God. At length resigning the crown not only of Ireland, but also of Munster, (of which he was undoubted king), he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he retired to a monastery and died a happy death.[w]

snow, rain, and drought. Annal. Innisfal. 998, 1006, 1011, 1016, 1030, 1035, 1040. The year after Maelseachlainn Mor's death there was an eclipse of the sun, and no rain fell from Christmas Eve to the following May.

Dermitium Donati cognomento Moelnamoi filium, Lageniæ Regem aliqui regum Hiberniæ albo inserunt, alii eximunt.[36] Multa quidem inter Hiberniæ reges illi locum arrogant. Etenim inclinante jam Donati potestate, nullus pro illorum temporum æstimatione factis illo clarior extitit. Ipse Donati erat è "Derbhorgilla" filia nepos; ægerrimè tamen tulisse videtur Tadæum Donati fratrem, si non fallor, majorem natu, quem indubitatum regni Hiberniæ successorem annales Innisfalenses vocant, Eliensibus à Donato traditum, ab iisdem per proditionem interemptum fuisse. Illius certè Tadæi filium Terdelachum sibi Dermicius alumnum adscivit, et ut regnum illi Momoniæ vendicaretur, nullum lapidem non movit. Ac primum Waterfordiam anno 1037 direptam cremavit. Anno 1042 Glannusenam incendio absumpsit, centum viris in ea cæsis, et quadringentis in captivitatem abductis. Anno 1048 immensam pecorum prædam, et multos captivos è Desia retulit. Anno 1058 post Limbricum incendio devastatum, et Inniscetam direptam pugnâ cum Donato apud montem Crot congressus, ejus exercitum profligavit. Anno 1061 copiis in Momoniam adductis, maximam Momoniensium stragem, ad Cnamchoill edidit agris deinde vastatis, tectis et segeti flammas injecit. Anno 1063 Limbricum Dermicio ignem immittente conflagravit. Tum Momoniensium optimates illum convenientes obsequium illi, obsidesque obtulerunt. Sed postea rebellantes compressit, et omnium agros ab Australi mari ad montem Brendani protensos incolentium obsides retulit, quos Terdelacho universos in manus tradidit. Proximo deinde anno Momoniæ regnum Donato ereptum Terdelacho cessit, ita ut, pro Dermitii arbitrio, reges Momoniæ ceperint, et posuerint secures. Anno autem 1065, Murchardo Donati filio in Momonia post patris in exteras regiones abscessum tumultuante, Dermicius cum exercitu in Momoniam advolavit, et Murchardo è Momoniæ finibus in Connaciam pulso, Momoniæ totius obsides alumno suo Terdelacho contulit. Nec in sola ille Momonia latè dominatus est sed etiam signis in Connaciam illatis, multa illi provinciæ damna intulit, Connaciensibus ut verosimile est, illius imperio

[36] Ketingus.

[x] Son-in-law, according to O'Conor. —*Prolegomena* ii. p. clii.

[y] Riġ-ḋaṁna, only in O'Conor's edition, A.D. 1006.

[z] *Gleann-Uissean* is a church situate in a valley in the barony of Slievemargy in the Queen's County.

[a] *Sliabh Crot*, now Slieve Grud, one

Diarmaid, king of Leinster, son of Donnchadh, surnamed Mael-na-m-bo, is by some ranked, and by others omitted in the catalogue of Irish kings. He has certainly strong claims to the dignity; for, after the decline of Donnchadh's power, no man stood higher in the opinion of his contemporaries. He was grandson[x] to Donnchadh O'Briain, by his daughter Dearbhfeargaill, but he appears to have been incensed against that monarch, on account of the cruel treatment of Tadhg, Donnchadh's eldest brother, (I think), who is styled by the Annals of Innisfallen undoubted king of Ireland,[y] but who was delivered up by Donnchadh to the people of Eile, who treacherously put him to death. Diarmaid at all events took under his protection Toirdhealbhach, son of Tadhg, and strained all his power to seat him on the throne of Munster. In 1030 he sacked and burned Waterford: in 1042 he burned Gleann-Uissean,[z] slaying one hundred of his enemies, and taking four hundred captives. In 1048 he carried off an enormous spoil of cattle, and many captives from Deise. In 1058, after laying Luimneach [Limerick] in ashes, and plundering Iniscealltra, he encountered and defeated Donnchadh near Sliabh Crot.[a] Again in 1061, marching at the head of his army into Munster, he defeated the men of Munster with great slaughter at Cnamh-choill,[b] pillaged the country round, and burned the houses and growing crops. In 1063 he burned Luimneach a second time, after which the Munster chieftains submitted to him, and gave him hostages. They afterwards rose in rebellion, but were defeated, and Diarmaid took hostages from the whole country, from the Southern Sea to Brandan mountain,[in Kerry] and delivered them into the hands of Toirdhealbhach. In the following year the crown of Munster was taken from Donnchadh and placed on the head of Toirdhealbhach, so that Diarmaid made or unmade, at pleasure, the Munster kings. Muircheartach son of Donnchadh having excited disaffection in Munster in 1065, after his father's retirement to foreign countries, Diarmaid marched with his army into Munster, compelled Muircheartach to fly into Connacht, and delivered into the hands of his protegé Toirdhealbhach, hostages from all Munster. But it was not over Munster alone that he held dominion. Connacht suffered severely from his invasions, probably in its attempts

of the Galty mountains in the County of Tipperary.

[b] *Cnamh-choill*, a place near the town of Tipperary.

se subducentibus, donec anno 1061 Aidus O Conchobhar Connaciæ rex ædes Dermicii subierit, et equorum donum ab eo retulerit. Mediam quoque ter, anno 1048 bello infestavit, et plerasque in illa Ecclesias inflammavit. Anno 1053 plurimos captivos, et innumeras prædas illinc exportavit. Danos verò sic anno 1052 afflixit, ut Fingalliæ fines Dublinio ad Albhiniam incendiis fædaverit, et pugnâ cum illis propè muros urbis initâ plurimos peremerit, ac tandem ipse Danorum Rex evaserit. Hinc Annales nostri, ejus interitum in pugna Odhbhensi à Conchauro O Moelachlino rege Mediæ 17. id. Feb. die Martis anno 1072 illatum enarrantes, regem appellant Lageniæ, Danorum Dubliniensium, et Leithmoæ. Annalium verò Tigernaci continuator eum ait 1073 cæsum fuisse, additque præterea Walliæ ac Hebridum regem fuisse. "Illum dignissimum et optimum principem, qui unquam in Hibernia regnavit." Caradoc Lhamcaruarnensis, et Regem Hiberniæ Gemeticensis infra producendus, et Walsingamus appellant. E nostratibus autem, quod scio, solus Ketingus Donatum, solus Warræus Dermicium Hiberniæ regibus adscribit.[37]

Terdelachum autem Tadæi filium, Briani Borumhii nepotem, nemo in Regum Hiberniæ numero non collocat, ut supervacaneum sit in
[82] | regis titulo illi vendicando verba profundere. Vir sicut bello egregius, sic etiam de Repub. ritè administranda sollicitus, leges perquam optimas condidit, et à populis nihil per vim exegit, ipsis ultro cuncta ei abundè subministrantibus. Hinc S. Lanfrancus "pacis ac justitiæ amatorem," illum tacitè appellat.[38] Additque magnam misericordiam "populis Hiberniæ tunc divinitus collatam quando omnipotens Deus Terdelacho magnifico Hiberniæ regi jus regiæ potestatis super illam terram concessit." Fluvium ad Atchell et Kildaluam quindecem dierum spatio pontibus jungi curavit. Quinque Judæos in Hiberniam appulsos illi munera deferentes Hiberniæ finibus excedere jussit. Rex Ultoniæ palatium ejus adiit, et ab eo munera retulit; quod obsequii Terdelacho ab illo delati argumentum est.[39] Cæteras Hiberniæ provincias in ejus

[37] Apud Warr. de antiq. Hiber. p. 25. [38] Annales Innisfa. ad an. 1068.
[39] Sylloge Epist. Hiber. Usherus Ep. 27, p. 71.

[c] See note [x] *suprà*.

[d] *Ath-chell*, now Ballina, on the Tipperary side of the Shannon opposite Kill-da-lua, or Killaloe.

[e] See note [x] *suprà*. Toirdhealbhach attempted to take the hostages of the

to shake off his yoke, until in the year 1066 Aedh O'Conchobhair, king of Connacht, came to his palace, and received from him a gift of a stud of horses. Diarmaid invaded Meath three times in the course of the year 1048, and burned many of its churches. In 1053 he carried off from the same kingdom many captives and innumerable spoils. In 1052 he scourged the Danes so terribly that all the lands of Finngall, from Dublin to Almhuin, were one scene of conflagration. He slew many of the Danes under the walls of Dublin, and was at length acknowledged their king. Hence our annals, when recording his death in the battle of Odhbha, against Conchobhar O'Maelseachlainn, king of Meath, on Tuesday 17 Id. Feb. 1072, style him king of Leinster, of the Danes of Dublin and of Leath-Mogha. The continuator of the Annals of Tighearnach assigns his death to 1073, and adds, moreover, that he was king of Wales and the Hebrides.[c] Caradoc of Lhancarvan styles him "the greatest and best king that ever reigned in Ireland." Gemeticensis and Walsingham, whom I shall cite below, also call him king of Ireland. But of our own writers, the only one, as far as I know, who calls Donnchadh king is Keating—and Ware alone gives that title to Diarmaid.

Toirdhealbhach, son of Tadhg, and grandson of Brian Borumha, being styled king by all our historians, it would be waste of time to produce proofs of his claims to the title. A man of high fame in war, he was not less remarkable for his prudent government, having enacted excellent laws; he never exacted any thing by force from his subjects, but was lavishly supplied by their voluntary contributions. For this reason S. Lanfranc compliments him as a "lover of peace and justice," adding that a great mercy had indeed been conferred by heaven on the Irish people, when the Almighty God places in the hands of Toirdhealbhach the magnificent king of Ireland, supreme power over that land." In fifteen days he erected bridges over the river at Athchell[d] and Kill-da-lua. He banished five Jews who had come to visit him with costly presents. The king of Ulster visited him in his palace and shared his bounteous munificence, which proves that Toirdhealbhach must have received his homage;[e] and from the testimony of our annalists, there can be no

Eoghan and Conall Ui Neill, and the Orghialla, A.D. 1075, but was driven back with loss and "without hostage or prey."

obsequio fuisse Annalium fide constat. Conchauro O Moelsachlain regi Mediæ Murchadus suus è fratre Flanno nepos, manus ex improviso intulit.[40] Hujus Conchauri odio Terdelachus flagrasse videtur, quod necis educatori suo Dermicio Moelnamoi filio illatæ author extiterit, ideoque jussisse ut interempti caput Clonmacnosiâ Kencoram ad se, sextâ majoris hebdomadæ feriâ deferretur, è quo sub Terdelachi oculos posito, mus in sinum ejus exiliens, non modicum ei terrorem incussit; præcipuè cum caput illud Clonmacnosiam proxima Paschatis dominicâ addito etiam annulo aureo divinitus relatum fuisse resciret.[41] Unde post aliquot annos in sanitate actos, morbum languidum contraxisse dicitur: cujus gravissimos cruciatus, posterioribus vitæ annis, lecto affixus, moderate perferens, bonam sibi numinis gratiam conciliavit.

Appropinquante verò morte, criminum sordes per confessionem eluens sacræ synaxeos perceptione gratiæ accessionem nactus, et sacra demum unctione oblitus, ad extremam se luctam corroborans mortem faustam obiit Kencoræ, pridiè Idus Jul. anno ætatis 77, Christi 1086, regni ut aliqui volunt 12, ut alii 22, his, ut existimo, initium ejus regni à Donati patrui, illis à Dermicii obitu ducentibus. A priori sententia stant Tadæus sive Michael o Clerius in libro de gentium in Hiberniam migrationibus, et Ketingus. A posteriore Tigernaci continuator et Peregrinus o Clerius in annalibus.

Post excessum Terdelachi, filius ejus Murchertachus, et Domnaldus Argarii filius Lochlinni nepos rex Olechiæ pari potestate imperasse traduntur. Annales certè nostri docent utrumque de principatu diu multumque contendisse. Domnaldus Kencoram Momoniæ regiam; Murchertachus Olechæ aulam evertit, et sæpius in Ultoniam Momoniensibus, Lageniensibus, Connaciensibus, et Medensibus comitantibus:

[40] Annales Innisfal. an. 1071. Ibid. 1079. [41] An. 1075.

[f] By force, says Tighearnach, who relates the fact, omitting "the mouse," and increasing the number of rings: A.D. 1073. Toirdhealbhach must have other motives of jealousy against Conchobhar O'Maelseachlainn, the king of Teamhair, i.e. Ireland, as Tighearnach styles him. In 1079 he compelled Conchobhar's son, the king of Teamhair, to bring hostages to Cinncoradh, and also the Archbishop of Ard-Macha, who in those ages was appropriated by every pretender.

[g] It is curious to remark here how Dr. Lynch considers the Leabhar Gabhala as the work of Michael (or

doubt that the other princes of Ireland also acknowledged his sway: Conchobhar O'Maelseachlainn, king of Meath, was treacherously slain by his nephew Muircheartach, the son of his brother Flann. Now, Toirdhealbhach bore bitter enmity to Conchobhar, because he had killed the protector of his youth, Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-m-bo, and therefore on the news of Conchobhar's death, his head was carried by royal order[f] from Cluain-mic-nois to Keann-coradh, but when it was laid before the eyes of Toirdhealbhach on Good Friday, a mouse jumped from it into Toirdhealbhach's bosom, which gave him no slight alarm; especially when he heard that the same head was miraculously found on the next Easter-day at Cluain-mic-nois, with a large golden ring. Hence after a few year's health, he was afflicted with a languishing distemper, it is said, which, in the closing years of his life, tortured him with excruciating pangs, but he bore all with patience, and recovered the favor of God.

When death was drawing near, he cleansed his conscience by a confession of his sins, strengthened his soul in grace by receiving the Holy Communion, was anointed with the last Unction, to nerve himself for the final struggle, and died a happy death at Keann-Coradh, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, the day before the Ides of July, A.D. 1086, in the twelfth, or, as others write, the twenty-second year of his reign—the difference arising, no doubt, from the former dating from Diarmaid's, and the latter from his uncle Donnchadh's death. Tadhg or Michael O'Clerigh, in his work on the Invasion of Ireland, and Keating, are for the first; the continuator of Tighearnach and Peregrine or Cu-coigcriche O'Clerigh in his annals,[g] are for the second opinion.

On the death of Toirdhealbhach, his son Muircheartach and Domhnall, son of Ardghar, and grandson of Lochlainn, king of Aileach, are said to have reigned with equal authority. It is certain from our annals that they fought long and fiercely for the supremacy. Domhnall burned Keanncoradh, the royal palace of Munster, and Muircheartach burned Aileach, the royal palace of Ulster; the latter often marched into the heart of Ulster at the head of the combined forces of

Tadhg) O'Clerigh and the Annals of the Four Masters as the work of Cu-coigcriche or Peregrine O'Cleirigh; but he is certainly wrong.

Domnaldus in Momoniam rarius signa intulit. Sed plerumque induciis inter utramque partem primatum Armachanorum operâ initis, domum nullo damno lato aut illato uterque rediit. Lego in annalibus nostris Domnaldum Amalgadii filium primatem Armachanum anni unius inducias inter eos ter statuisse: et idem officium ab ejus successore S. Cælso duabus vicibus præstitum fuisse. Certè Murchertacum annales Innisfalenses, Dungalenses, et continuator Tigernaci Regem Hiberniæ, S. Anselmus "gloriosum regem Hiberniæ" appellat. Nimirum, ut idem Anselmus innuit, sollicitus erat ut regnum suum pace floreret, et "de illo multa prædicabantur, quæ regiam decebant dignitatem."[42] Unde illum S. Anselmus "valde diligebat, et ejus memoriam in continuis peragebat orationibus, illiusque amicis succurrebat."[43] Nec mediocrem fortasse gloriam Murchertachus inde referebat, quod tribus vicibus rex Dubliniensium renunciatus fuit, expulso inde Godfrido Rege Dubliniensi, totam Hiberniam victoriis peragravit, classis ejus Hiberniam obivit, hosti vel damna inferens, vel spolia subducens: cum Francis, et Danis connubia contraxit, et cum Anglis etiam.[44] Filiam enim suam Arnalfo Montgomero primo Salopiæ, et Arundelliæ comitis filio: et aliam filiam Sicardio magni Norwegiæ Regis filio collocavit.[45]
[83] Amicitiam | quoque cum Albaniæ rege coluit, à quo camelum "miræ magnitudinis" dono recepit. Dani Hebrides, et Manniam incolentes magnam fiduciam in eo repositum habuerunt.[46] Quandoquidem "omnes proceres insularum" (verba sunt Chronici regum Manniæ) "miserunt legatos ad Murechardum O'Brian regem Hiberniæ postulantes ut aliquem virum industrium de regali stirpe in Regem eis mitteret donec Olavus filius Godredi cresceret.[47] Annuit rex libentissimè, et quendam Dopraldum filium Tadei ad eos misit, monens, et præcipiens ei, ut cum omni benignitate, et modestia regnum quod sibi non debebatur gubernaret. Sed ille postquam ad regnum pervenit, parvi pendens præcepta

[42] Usherus in Sylloge, Ep. 35 & 36. [43] Ibid. Ep. 37. [44] Annales Innisfa. [45] Idem an. 1102. Syllo. pag. 144. [46] Annales comm. ad an. 1102. [47] Annales Innisf. an. 1105. Apud Camde. pag. 848, an. 1089.

[h] He made a visitation of the North in 1092, and of Munster in 1094. The latter year closes the 72 years' anarchy mentioned by Gilla Modud. Some arrangement, however badly kept, must have been made between the two rival kings in that year. The Baculus Jesu and other sacred relics of Ard-

Munster, Leinster, Connacht and Meath; the former occasionally burst in turn into Munster. But generally these expeditions were not fatal to either party, as the primate of Ard-Macha made the belligerents enter into a truce. I read in our Annals, that Domhnall,[h] son of Amhalgaidh, primate of Ard-Macha, three different times effected a truce of one year, and the same holy interference was twice exercised by S. Celsus his successor. Muircheartach is styled king of Ireland by the Annals of Innisfallen, the Annals of Dun-na-n-Gall and the continuator of Tighearnach, and by St. Anselm, he is styled "the glorious king of Ireland." For, as the same Anselm intimates, he was solicitous for the peace of his kingdom, and "many things were told of him, which graced the royal diadem." Hence, St. Anselm, loved him much, and made commemoration of him in his unceasing prayers, and succoured his friends. Perhaps no slight share of Muircheartach's glory arose from the fact, that he was three times proclaimed king of the Dublinians, after the expulsion of Godfrid king of Dublin, that he gained victories in every part of Ireland, that his fleet circumnavigated the isle,[i] taking spoils or severely punishing his enemies, and that his family was connected by marriage with the Danes, the Franks, and the English. One of his daughters was married to Arnalph Montgomer, eldest son to the count of Surrey and Arundel, and another to Sicard, son of Magnus king of Norway. He was also on friendly relations with the king of Albania, who presented to him a camel of enormous size. The Danes of the Hebrides and Man, must have reposed great confidence in him, since, as we read in the chronicle of Man, all the nobles of the islands sent ambassadors to Muircheartach O'Briain, king of Ireland, begging that he would send to them some prudent member of the royal family to reign over them, until Slaine son of Godred grew up. The king consented willingly, and sent to them one Doprald, son of Tadhg, admonishing and commanding him to govern with all mildness and moderation the kingdom which was not his own right. But as soon as he was seated on the throne,

Macha took their adjuring circuit through Ireland about this time.—*Annal. Innis.* 1076. See Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical Hist.* vol. iii. p. 9. Also *Annal. Innisfall.* 1077, and note [v] *infrà*, p. 56.

[i] Whence Gilla Modud calls him "Muircheartach of the ships."

sui Domini, cum magna tyrannide abusus est regno, et multis sceleribus perpetratis, tribus annis enormiter regnavit. Tunc omnes principes insularum una conspiratione commoti, adversus eum congregati sunt, et expulerunt à finibus suis, ille autem fugiens ad Hiberniam, non est ultra reversus."

Murchertachum non mediocri prudentiâ præditum fuisse hoc quod subjicio factum arguit. "Magnus Norvegiæ (ut eadem Chronica narrant) Murechardo Regi Hiberniæ misit calceamenta sua, præcipiens ei ut ea super humeros in die natalis Domini, per medium domus suæ portaret in conspectu nunciorum ejus, ut inde intelligeret se subjectum esse Magno Regi quod audientes Hibernienses, ægrè ferebant, et indignati sunt nimis.[48] Sed Rex saniori consilio usus non solum, inquit, calceamenta ejus portare, verumque manducare mallem, quam Magnus Rex unam provinciam in Hibernia destrueret. Itaque complevit præceptum, et nuntios honoravit, multa quoque munera per eos Magno regi transmisit, et fœdus composuit. Nuntii vero redeuntes ad Dominum suum, narraverunt de situ Hiberniæ, et amænitate, de frugum fertilitate, et aëris salubritate. Magnus verò hæc audiens, nihil cogitabat quam totam Hiberniam sibi subjugare. Itaque præcepit classem congregare. Ipse vero cum sedecem navibus procedens, explorare volens terram, cum incaute à navibus discessisset, subito ab Hiberniensibus circumvallatus interiit, cum omnibus ferè qui secum erant. Sepultus est autem juxta Ecclesiam S. Patricii in Duno."

Nec mediocre pietatis ejus argumentum est quod Leithmoæ proceribus, et præsulibus Casseliam accitis Huadunano Episcopo, annis supra cæteros venerabili præsente, facinus à decessorum nemine præstitutum edidit. Nimirum Cassiliam domicilium ante Momoniæ Regum, à Regibus alienavit, et in Ecclesiasticos, pro suo erga Deum, et S. Patricium studio immunem tributo contulit.[49] Murchertacho jubente proceres, et clerus Hiberniæ Fiadhmacengusiam frequentes confluxerunt,

[48] Ibidem 1098. [49] Annales commun.

[k] I find no authority in our native annalists for this absurd story.—Moore's *History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 164. For Muircheartach's matrimonial alliances with foreigners, see *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 1100—1102.

despising the commands of his lord, he oppressed the kingdom with great tyranny, and after perpetrating horrible crimes, closed his frightful reign after three years. For all the princes of the islands with one heart entered into a conspiracy, and gathering their forces against him, expelled him from their territories. But he fled into Ireland and never returned.

The following fact proves that Muircheartach was not deficient in prudence. "Magnus of Norway," says the chronicle of Man, "sent his sandals to Muircheartach, king of Ireland, ordering him to carry them on his shoulders in the palace, on Christmas day, before the ambassadors, as an acknowledgment that he was subject to king Magnus. When the Irish heard this they chafed and passionately protested against the indignity. But the king adopted a wiser course, 'Carry his sandals,' said he, 'yes, and eat them too, rather than Magnus should hurt one Irish province.' Accordingly he fulfilled the order, and honored the ambassadors, and sent many costly presents by them to king Magnus, with whom he formed a treaty of alliance.[k] When the ambassadors came home to the king, they praised the position of Ireland, and its amenity, the fertility of its soil and the salubrity of the air. But Magnus hearing this, nothing but the conquest of all Ireland could satisfy him. His fleet was ordered to be assembled, and himself sailed over first with sixteen ships, intending to reconnoitre the country, but descending incautiously from his ships, the Irish suddenly arose, surrounded, and slew him with all his followers. He was buried near the church of St. Patrick in Dun [Downpatrick.]"

He gave no ordinary evidence of his piety in a council of lords and prelates at Caiseal, in presence of bishop Ua Dunain, a man venerable above all his colleagnes for his great age. It was a munificence never before performed by any of his predecessors; for he renounced Caiseal, the royal seat of the Munster kings, and made it over free of tribute for ever, on the church, for the love of God and St. Patrick.[l] The lords and clergy of Ireland also assembled in great numbers at

[l] This fact is noticed by the Four Masters, A.D. 1101, but it is not recorded in the parts of the Annals of Innisfallen now extant, nor in the Annals of Ulster.

ac nominatim Moelmurius sive Marianus Huadunain Archiepiscopus Momoniæ, Kellachus, sive Celsus S. Patricii successor, cum quinquaginta Episcopis, ter centum presbiteris, ac ter mille aliis è clero, legum condendarum causa, et malarum consuetudinum, si quæ irrepserant antiquandarum. Annales Innisfalenses aiunt leges ibi meliores quam unquam ante in Hibernia latas fuisse. Alii conventum de Usnach tanquam ab hoc diversum in hunc annum conjiciunt; alii eundem esse pronuntiant. Nec ab hoc alium esse conventum Raithbrasselensem in annum 1110, à Ketingo relatum censeo, cum quod eundem conventum Annales Innisfalenses duobus nominibus de Fiadhmacengus, et Muighbrassel afficiant; tum quod vetusti annales Hibernici, quorum apographum habeo, duas ab Usnachensis concilii patribus in Media diœceses institutas fuisse narrent; et in Raithbraissellensi non Mediæ solum, sed etiam Hiberniæ totius diœceses certis regionibus definitas fuisse Ketingus memoret; addens Gillaspec, quem latinè Gilbertum dicimus, successorem Congelli, id est, ut ego interpretor Abbatem Benchorensem, Episcopum Limbricensem, et legatum Apostolicum eidem concilio præsedisse.

Cum vero Murchertachus, quinque ante obitum annos, in gravissimum morbum lugentibus omnibus incideret, frater ejus Dermicius Momoniæ sibi regnum arripuit, et provinciarum Reges in Murchertachi bona involarunt;[50] sed ille morbo levatus fratrem arreptâ dignitate sub-

[50] Annales Innisfal.

[m] But does not give the precise number of bishops and priests. It mentions none but O'Dunan archbishop of Ireland (i.e. Cashel), as the annalists style him, and Celsus successor of St. Patrick, A.D. 1094, that is, 1110(1). The Annals of Ulster give the number of bishops as in the text.

[n] Maigh Breasail is probably a typographical error. The Annals of Innisfallen, A.D. 1094 (1111) mention the synod by both names; Fiadh mic Aenghusa, or Rathbreassail. Dr. Lanigan, vol. iv. pp. 38—40, impugns the argument in the text, on the ground that Magh Breassail is not found in the Annals of Innisfallen, and that Gilbert, Apostolical legate, is not mentioned. But Gilbert was probably not legate in 1111, though he certainly was very soon after, *infrà*, p. [325]. The Annals of Innisfallen, cited by Dr. Lanigan, are not the original Annals of Innisfallen, but a compilation made in the middle of the last century. The Ulster Annals record the synod simply as Fiadh Mic Aenghusa, A.D. 1111. The ecclesiastical history

Fiadh-mic-Aenghusa by order of Muircheartach, especially Maelmordha or Marian Ua Dunain, archbishop of Munster, Keallach or Celsus, successor of St. Patrick, with fifty bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand of the other orders, for the enactment of laws and the suppression of any bad customs, which may have grown up. The Annals of Innisfallen state that these were the best laws ever made in Ireland.[m] Opinions are divided as to whether the council of Uisneach, which is assigned to this year, be the same or different from this of Fiadh-mic-Aenghusa. My own opinion is, that the latter is the same as that of Rath-breasail referred by Keating to 1110, both because the Annals of Innisfallen give the two names to the same council,[n] and also from a copy of old Irish Annals in my possession,[o] which state that two dioceses were formed in Meath, by the fathers of the council of Uisneach.[p] Now we know from Keating, that in the synod of Rathbreasail, not only Meath but all Ireland was divided into dioceses, and that Gillaspic or Gilbert,[q] as he is called in Latin, the successor of Congal, (that is, I think, abbot of Beannchor)[r] bishop of Luimneach and Apostolical legate, presided at the same council.

Five years before his death, Muircheartach, to the great affliction of all his people, fell dangerously ill. Then his brother Diarmaid seized the crown of Munster, and the kings of the provinces plundered Muircheartach's property; but recovering from his illness he

of this period is amply discussed in subsequent pages by Dr. Lynch.

o I know not what were these Annals. A marginal note in Colgan's copy of the Four Masters stated that Fiadh Mic Aenghusa and Uisneach were the same.—*Trias Thaum.* p. 299.

p Held the same year for a special object, the partition of the parishes of Meath between the two sees of Cluainmicnois and Cluainard.—*Lanigan*, iv. p. 39. St. Celsus visited Meath in 1110.—*Ulster Annals.*

q The reasoning appears conclusive for the identity of the synod of Rathbreasail and Fiadh Mic Aenghusa, A.D. 1111; but does not prove that there was not a synod of Rathbreasail in 1118 presided over by Gilbert, and which made a new division of Irish dioceses.—*Lanigan* iv. 41. Perhaps the date should be 1120, when St. Celsus visited Munster again.—*Annals of Ulster.*

r I have never met that title applied to Gillbert.

movit, et in alias provincias signa inferens, tumultuantium insolentiam
[84] | compressit. Tandem appropinquante morte, Lismoriam peregrinandi causa petiit, et clericatu illic inito, ut vetusti annales supra memorati referunt, delicta gravissimè plangens, vitâ cessit[s], anno regni vigesimo, Christi nati 1119, in Ecclesia Laonensi sepulturam nactus. Dicitur à Ketingo Ardmachæ mortuus fuisse. Quare illuc paulo ante obitum peregrinationem suscepisse puto, ut priora pietatis exercitia piâ quoque peregrinatione coronaret.

Domnaldum Ardgarii filium Lochlenni nepotem Oilechæ aut Kenelconelliæ regem ut plurimum in Annalibus nominatum in serie Regum Hiberniæ, alii collocant, alii omittunt. Gillamadudus vetustus author, in regum albo quod ad annum domini 1141, perduxit, Domnaldum hunc Murchartacho decessori regnandi societate junctum fuisse scribit, cui Tadæus sive Michaël O'Clerius, et pater Colganus assentiuntur. O'Duveganus etiam Hiberniæ Regibus eum accenset. Et Annales Innisfalenses illum Hiberniæ regem appellant. Et vero regis titulum factis, pro ac eorum temporum consuetudo ferebat, sibi peperit. Proximo enim post Terdelachum extinctum anno, Murchertachus, et Domhnallus emergere cœperunt è privatorum hominum conditione.[51] Et ille fusis Lageniensibus, hic Medensibus, futuræ potentiæ rudimenta exorditi. Sed hic illum ad potestatis incrementum antegressus anno Domini 1088, à Conaciensibus obsequium, et obsides exegit. Tum copiis in Momoniam adductis, Limbricum incendit, agros vastavit, Kencoram diruit, magnam vim boum, equorum, auri, argenti, et scyphorum reportavit. Crebros Kenelconellensium, et aliorum Ultoniensium ejus obsequium excutere conantium tumultus, eorum Regulis nunc vitâ, nunc oculorum usu privatis, penitus compressit. Anno deinde 1090, Domhnallus hic vulgo Mac Lochlen dictus Rex Oliechæ, Murchertachus O'Brien Rex Cassiliæ, Domhnallus filius Flanni O Moelsachlain Rex Mediæ, et Rothericus O Conchabhar Rex Connaciæ in eundem locum pacis ineundæ causa coierunt. Tandem singuli obsidibus Mac Lochlenno traditis recesserunt; Anno 1104. Ibhleogariam in

[51] Fol. 12, ad annum 1121.

[s] Annals of Ulster, which style him king of Ireland.

[t] I have not found that passage. They generally call him king of Ai-

defeated his brother, and marching into the provinces, he punisheb the contumacy of the rebels. At length, on the approach of death, he went on a pilgrimage to Lis-mor, and having taken orders theie, as our old annalists record, he died in the twentieth year of his reign, A.D. 1119,[s] after most sincere penance for his sins. He was buried in the church of Kill-da-lua. Keating says he died at Ard-Macha. Probably he went on a pilgrimage there some short time before his death, to crown his other pious exercises with a visit to the holy places.

Domhnall, son of Ardgar, grandson of Lochlann, king of Aileach or Kenel-conaill [*rectè* Kenel-Eoghain], though omitted by some, is generally ranked by our annalists among the kings of Ireland. Gilla-Modud, an ancient writer, in a catalogue of kings to the year 1141, asserts that this Domhnall was colleague in the throne with his predecessor Muircheartach. Michaël, or Tadhg O'Clerigh, and Colgan are of the same opinion. O'Dubhagain styles him king of Ireland, and the Annals of Innisfallen give him the same title.[t] But his great actions gave to him, according to the custom of this time, an undoubted right to the honor. For, the year after Toirdhealbhach's death, Muircheartach and Domhnall began to tower among their contemporaries, the former by his defeat of the Lagenians, and the latter by an invasion of Meath, giving promise of their future power. But Domhnall was prior in the career of fame, for in 1088 he reduced Connacht and received hostages. Then leading his army into Munster, he burned Luimneach, plundered the country, destroyed Keanncoradh, and carried off an immense booty of men, horses, gold, silver, and vessels. He triumphed over all the attempts of Kinelconaill and the other Ultonians to shake off his yoke, and either slew their kings or deprived them of sight. In the year 1090, Domhnall, or as he is usually called Mac Lochlainn, king of Aileach, Muircheartach O'Briain, king of Caiseal, Domhnall, son of Flann O'Maelseachlainn, king of Meath, and Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair, king of Connacht, came to a conference for arranging terms of peace. The result was, that hostages were given to Mac Lochlainn.[u] In the year 1104, he wasted Ibh Laeghaire in Meath with fire and

leach.

[u] Annals of Ulster, with which our author's dates in this place generally agree.

Media incendio fœdavit, et omnes illic sibi obluctantes diripuit. Anno 1112, in Fingalliam irrupit, et magnam boum, prætiosissimarumque vestium vim illinc retulit. Nec mediocre documentum est Regis ab illo titulum relatum fuisse, quod contentio ipsi cum Murchertacho de principatu habita, primatibus Hiberniæ annuas inducias multoties pasciscentibus, etiam tum cum in armis copiæ jamjam pugnam conserturæ utrinque starent, dirempta fuit. Ita ut interim hic Australibus Hiberniæ regionibus, ille septentrionalibus cum imperio sine rivali præfuerit.

Quod autem, neque Ketingus, neque Warræus in Hiberniæ regum indicem à se confectum Domnallum retulerint, hinc fortasse profluxit, quod in plerisque annalibus, Regis Hiberniæ titulo illum ornari non viderint, nec enim in tribus diversis Annalibus penes me prostantibus, eum illi titulum delatum esse reperio. Nihilominus tamen memorata jam argumenta eum illi titulum merito vendicare videntur. Cum præsertim pater Colganus ex annalibus, ejus obitum referet in hæc verba. "Domnaldus Lochlenni ex Ardgaro filio nepos, Rex Hiberniæ, Hibernorumque excellentissimus formæ præstantia, generis nobilitate, animi indole, et in rebus agendis prosperitate, postquam multa munera ægenis clementer, et petentibus liberaliter elargitus fuerat, in Robereto divi Columbæ (hoc est in Dorensi monasterio) decessit, anno ætatis suæ septuagesimo tertio, et principatus in Hibernia vigesimo septimo, Christi nati 1121."[52]

Quod instante fati die Doriam locum religione venerabilem, ut animæ saluti consuleret adierit, eum pietate non mediocriter imbutum fuisse arguit. Nec modicum est ad ejus laudem momentum quod illo Rege, proceres, et populi piis operibus multum indulserint. Cujus rei argumentum est, quod cum anno 1096. "Festum S. Joannis Bap-
[85] tistæ incidit in feriam | sextam, quod tanquam malum omen ex quibusdam vaticiniis augurati, nimium expaverant Clerus et populus Hiberniæ. Unde consilio inito visum est Archiepiscopo et Clero totius

[52] 27 Martii c. 4, pag. 773.

[v] What St. Gregory VII. was for Europe, St. Celsus and his immediate predecessor and successors were for Ireland. They were the only barrier against the frightful discord which arose after the usurpation of Briain Borumha. Primate Domhnall made peace between Muirchcartach and

sword, and plundered all that opposed him. In 1112 he burst into Finngall, and returned loaded witb spoil of cattle and costly garments. A strong confirmation of his royal title are the truces so often made between him and Muircheartach by the primates of Ireland,[v] when the armies of the competitors were drawn out in battle array. In the mean time, Muircheartach reigned supreme in the South, and Domhnall in the North.

Keating and Ware have omitted the name of Domhnall in the catalogue of Irish kings, probably because the title is not given to him in most of the Annals of Ireland, nor do I find it in three different Annals[w] now in my possession. Still, from what has been said, it appears that he had strong claims to the honor, especially when Colgan gives from the same annals this account of Domhnall's death:—" Domhnall, son of Ardgar, grandson of Lochlann, king of Ireland, renowned for the beauty of his person, his illustrious descent, the character of his mind, and his success in his government, after having lavishly displayed his boundless charity to the poor, and his munificence to the powerful, died in the Doire of St. Columba, (i.e. the Monastery of Doire), in the seventy-third of his age and the twenty-seventh of his royalty, A.D. 1121.

From his having visited a place so hallowed by religious associations, when death was drawing near, we may infer he was a man of no ordinary piety. It redounds greatly to his credit, that during his reign, princes and people were devoted to pious works. A singular proof of this occurs, A.D. 1096,[x] when the Feast of St. John the Baptist falling on Friday, the people and clergy of Ireland were struck with alarm,

Domhnall in 1094, 1099, 1102, 1104. In the last year he visited Dublin for the purpose, fell sick, returned and died at *Daimhliag* (Duleek).—*Annals of Ulster*. St. Ceallach (Celsus) made peace in 1107, 1109, 1113, but in 1126 so frightful were the wars, that even he, says the annalist, could not get a short truce.—*Annals of Ulster*.

[w] It would be interesting to know what were these annals. They were neither of Ulster, nor Innisfallen, nor the Four Masters.

[x] At that year the Annals of Ulster record a general terror of the people, from which "they were saved by the fastings of the clergy and the vicar of Patrick." It was probably the fear then general through Europe, that the end of the world was at hand.

patriæ, ut conservarentur à malis quæ præmisso tali omine subsecutura quidam dudum prædixerunt, indixere omni populo, ut singuli à feriâ quartâ usque in diem Dominicam protelent jejunium singulis mensibus, et spatio insuper totius anni, singulis diebus exceptis dominicis, festis et solemnitatibus majoribus, una refectione maneant contenti; undè multæ à populo factæ sunt oblationes, et piæ elargitiones: et à regibus ac proceribus agri, et prædia multa sunt donata Ecclesiis. His pietatis officiis peractis, ab igne imminentis vindictæ, populus mansit intactus."[53]

Terdelachus magnus O Conchobhor, post Domhnallum, regni gubernaculis admotus fuit, vir non magis Reipub. sive belli tumultibus agitatæ, sive pacis malaciâ florentis administrandæ peritus, quàm pietate vivus, et moriens excultus. Potentiâ vero tantâ præditus fuit, ut è singulis Hiberniæ provinciis prædas retulerit, et plerorumque Reges pro arbitratu suo mutaverit, Dublinensium Lageniæ, ac Mediæ regem filium suum Conchaurum instituerit, Momoniæ duos Reges præfecerit, Kinelconelliam terra, Kineloniam mari vastaverit, et epibatas ejus pugnâ navali fuderit.[54] Ut hinc provincias omnes ab ejus nutu pependisse nemo non videat. Ita navibus instructus fuit, ut centum et nonaginta navium classe Momoniam semel infestaverit. Adeo flagitia exosus est, ut filio suo Rotherico delinquenti vinçula injecerit, quibus eum nisi post annum exactum, Ecclesiasticorum flagitationibus fatigatus exuit. Primo quidem flecti non potuit, ut delicti veniam filio faceret, licet eam ab illo Murchertachus O'Dubhaay, undecem alii Episcopi, et quingenti Sacerdotes demississimè imploraverint.[55] Proximo autem anno, cum ad superiores viros sacros Ardmachani, Casselliensisque præsuli O'Lonorgani fieret accessio, tum demum se passus exorari filium in libertatem emisit.

Sub ipsum regni exordium Taltinæ nundinas, sive ludos pridem intermissos instauravit, in quibus juvenes pedum, et equorum cursu, luctâ, saltu, lapidum jactu, et spiculorum ejaculatione, pugnarum quoque simulachro contenderunt, victore semper, præter præmium, multam laudem applausumque referente.[56] Pontes quoque tres Athlonensem

[53] Trias Thaumatur. p. 299. [54] Continu. Tigerna. [55] Ibidem an. 1143.
[56] Annales vetusti.

the coincidence having been declared by some old prophecies as an omen of evil. Taking counsel together, the archbishop and clergy of the whole country decreed, that to arrest the scourges which men of old had predicted would follow after that omen, the whole nation should each month protract the fast from Wednesday to Sunday, and during one year, moreover, restrict themselves to one meal, except on Sundays and the greater festivals and solemnities; hence many offerings and pious presents were made by the people, and lands and many farms were given to the Church by nobles and kings. By the performance of these religious acts the people were preserved from the fire of impending wrath.

Toirdhealbhach O'Conchobhair the Great, was proclaimed king after Domhnall. In life and in death he was not less eminent for his piety, than for his government of the kingdom, whether agitated by the tumults of war, or enjoying the rich blessings of peace. So great was his power, that he levied contributions on all parts of Ireland, and changed the kings of most of the provinces at pleasure. He made his own son Conchobhar, king of Dublin, Meath, and Leinster; twice he gave a king to Munster, and he wasted Kinel-conaill and Kinel-Eoghain by land and sea, and defeated their mariners in a naval battle. Thus all the provinces were dependant on his sway. His fleet was so great, that he was able to send at one time one hundred and ninety ships against Munster. So severe was he against vice, that he cast his own son Ruaidhri into prison, and kept him in chains a whole year for some crime, until at the pressing request of the clergy the young man was liberated. The king at first was inexorable, and refused a pardon, though Muircheartach O'Dubhthaigh, with eleven other bishops and five hundred priests, supplicated in the most moving terms. But in the following year, the archbishop of Ard-Macha, and O'Longargain of Caiseal, coming to the aid of the former supplicants, the king relented, and Ruaidhri was restored to liberty.

In the commencement of his reign, he revived the games of Tailtin, which had been interrupted so long, in which the young men contended in horse and foot-races, wrestling, casting of stones and javelins, and mock fights, the victor always receiving, besides a fixed premium, great praise and applause. He also built three bridges at Ath-luain,

scilicet Athcroensem et Dunlodensem tum construxit, argentumque postea Clonmacnosiæ signari jussit.

Pietatis ejus quædam hîc symbola exhibeo. Sanctam crucem per Hiberniam ferri, multa veneratione passim coli, et Roscommaniæ tandem prætiosâ thecâ reconditam asservari curavit. Clero, et Xenedochio Tuamensi multos agros contulit, et prioratum seu hospitalium illic anno domini 1140, posuit.[57] Cruces, scyphos, et calices argenteos, quorum aliqui aureis bracteis obducebantur, Ecclesiæ Clonmacnoensi dono dedit. Quandam præterea villam S. Comani successori elargitus est. Sed ut cætera taceam, moriens quadraginta supra quingentas auri uncias, et quadraginta marcas argenti clero legavit. Præterea suam omnem prætiosam supellectilem, nempe vasa aurea, et argentea, gemmas, et reliqua ejusmodi instrumenta; equos etiam et pecorum greges, organa musica, arcum, et pharetram, aliaque arma clero conferri imperavit. Imo ipse adhuc vivus hæc omnia sic partitus est, ut quæ et quota pars singulis nominatim Ecclesiis, pro cujusque dignitate tradenda esset edixerit. Tandem octavum et sexagesimum ætatis annum agens, diem obiit extremum, ad principem aram Ecclesiæ Clonmacnosensis S. Kiarani sepultus. Anno Domini 1156, postquam Connaciæ quinquaginta, Hiberniæ viginti annos dominaretur.

Nisi pæne religioni ducerem ab O Duvegani, ac plerorumque antiquariorum magis tritâ consuetudine in annis enumerandis, quibus Hiberniæ Terdelachus imperavit abscedere; non ad viginti sed ad triginta quatuor annos, tempus quo Hiberniam is administravit, protrahere non
[86] dubitarem. | Tot enim à decessoris obitu ad ejus interitum effluxerunt. Non me quidem latet Murchertachum successorem, Terdelacho superstite, ad eam potentiam elatum fuisse; ut huic obsides extorserit. At hic non ante annum 1150, ad eas angustias redactus est. Ac proinde saltem octo supra viginti annos regnasse dicendus est. Imo par est credere Murchertachum Terdelachi splendorem obscurasse, non extinxisse. Nullus enim est, cujus prospera non adversis aliquando radiantur. Nec verosimile est prius titulum ei Regis, quam vitam ademptam esse. Quid multis? per me sua cuique sit sententiæ in hac controversia optio.

[57] Warr. de Antiq. p. 114.

Ath-croich[y] and Dunleodha,[z] and founded a royal mint at Cluain-mic-nois.

The following are a few proofs of his piety. The Holy Cross he ordered to be carried in procession through Ireland, and honored everywhere with great veneration. It was then deposited in a silver shrine, and kept at Ros-Chomain. To the clergy and hospital at Tuaim he gave many lands, and founded there a priory or hospital in 1140. To the church of Cluain-mic-nois he presented crosses, dishes, and silver chalices, some of which were plated with gold. In fine, not to mention other things, he bequeathed to the clergy at his death, four hundred and fifty ounces of gold, and forty marks of silver. Moreover, all his splendid furniture, namely, gold and silver vessels, gems, and other similar articles; his studs, oxen, and herds; musical organs, his bow and quiver, and other arms, were all given by his will to the Church. Nay, he distributed these legacies in such a way, that he mentioned by name the nature and amount of the value that was to be given to each church, according to its rank. He died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was buried before the great altar of St. Kiaran's church, at Cluain-mic-nois, A.D. 1156, having governed Connacht fifty, and Ireland twenty years.

If I did not deem it a sacred duty to follow the authority of O'Dubhagain, and most of the Irish annalists in fixing the period of Toirdhealbhach's reign over Ireland, I would have no difficulty in stating that it lasted not twenty, but rather thirty-four years. For such was the number of years from the death of his predecessor to his own. I am aware, that the next monarch, Muircheartach, became so powerful, even during the life of Toirdhealbhach, that the latter was forced to give hostages, but this great event did not occur before 1150, and consequently Toirdhealbhach must have reigned twenty-eight years. It is even probable, that Muircheartach had eclipsed rather than extinguished the glory of Toirdhealbhach. For there is no man, whose fame is not sometimes clouded. Nor is it probable that he was de-

[y] *Ath-croich.* This bridge was situate near Shannon Harbour.—See *Tribes, &c. of Ui Maine*, p. 5.

[z] *Dun-leodha*, now Dunlo, a part of Ballinasloe, in the Co. of Galway.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. I.O.D.* A.D. 1120.

Murchertacho vulgo Maclochlain dicto Domnalli Regis Hiberniæ è Nello filio nepoti regnum deinde obtigit. Illi martia indoles fuit, ut qui omnes Hiberniæ provincias assiduis victoriis partim pugnâ, partim solo terrore partis, imperio suo subegerit, singulis obsides ei tradentibus, ut saltem ille ex Hiberniæ regibus Malachiam secundum secutis, Rex Hiberniæ citra renitentiam appellari possit. Reipub. quoque legibus informandæ sedulo incubuisse dicendus est, quod eo rege, præsules, et proceres in cætum crebro coeuntes, decreta ad clerum, et populum melioribus institutis imbuendos condiderint. Ecclesiasticos honore plurimo prosecutus est. Nam iis deprecantibus, iram sæpius posuit, veniam delicti sontibus fecit, et ad eorum arbitrium gravissimas controversias decidendas non invitus detulit, quosdamque Ecclesiasticos immunitatem à tributis nondum assecutos à vectigalibus pendendis exemit. Ejus operâ Ecclesiæ Dorensis ad nonaginta pedes protensæ lapidei muri quadraginta dierum spatio peracti sunt. Opem quoque tulit ad octoginta et amplius ædificia Doriæ construenda, et Ecclesiæ pomœrium muro ambiendum, post ædes Ecclesiæ majori finitimas eversas. Præter usitatas ejus elargitiones, Ecclesiæ Mellifontensi centum et quadraginta boves, sexaginta uncias auri, et prædium à cænobio non longè dissitum dono dedit. Et Newriæ, monasterium de viridi ligno vulgo dictum, Cistersiensibus insedendum erexit.

Sed principum virtutibus magna vitia plerumque accubant. Ita Murchertachi pietatem effrænatior iracundia labefactavit. Quare quem secunda fælicem, adversa miserum fecerunt. Eochodius enim Ulidiæ Regulus non modo debitum Murchertacho Regi obsequium excussit, sed bellum etiam ultro movit. Quamobren Rex in ejus ditionem armatus de repente irrupit, copias profligavit, fines vastavit, et captos clientes, in vincula conjecit, Eochodio discrimini se per fugam subducente. Qui tamen non diu post Hiberniæ primate, et Donchado O Caruell Orgielliæ Regulo deprecatoribus, delicti veniam, pristinamque dignitatem à Rege impetravit, per baculi Jesu juramentum se obstringente, deprecatoribusque in se recipientibus inita pacta, adamussim impletum iri. Verum vel priore iracundia in Regis animo recrudescente, vel novâ ob recentem delationem enascente, oculos Eochodio rex effodi, ac tres è Delaradiæ primoribus, duos O'Lingsios et Cathasachi

[58] Warræus de antiq. pag. 181.

prived of the title of king during his life. Enough on this point. For my part, let every man enjoy his own opinion on this controversy.

The crown next passed to Muircheartach, commonly called Mac Lochlainn, son of Niall and grandson of Domhnall king of Ireland. War was his delight. His many victories brought all the provinces of Ireland under his sway, either by the sword or by the sole terror of his name. The whole island gave him hostages, so that he at least, after the death of Maelseachlainn II., may, among all the kings of Ireland, be justly called undisputed monarch of Ireland. His solicitude also for the enactment of wise laws, may be reasonably inferred from the conventions of prelates and princes frequently held during his reign, in which salutary measures were framed for clergy and people. Ecclesiastics he held in the greatest honor. At their prayer he calmed his anger, pardoned the guilty, and willingly submitted the most important controversies to their awards, exempting, moreover, many of them from the payment of tribute, from which they had not hitherto an immunity. By his munificence, the stone walls of the church of Doire, ninety feet long, were erected in the space of forty days. He also contributed to the erection of more than eighty other buildings in Doire, and after throwing down the houses near the great church, he inclosed the church-sanctuary with a wall. Besides his ordinary munificence, he presented to the church of Mellifont one hundred and fifty head of cattle, sixty ounces of gold, and a farm not far from the monastery. By him also the Cistercian monastery of Iubhar-chinn-tragha, commonly called "de viridi ligno" [Newry], was founded. But the virtues of princes are often tarnished by great vices. Muircheartach was at times disgraced by ungovernable anger; if he was happy in prosperity, he was miserable in adversity. Eochaidh, king of Ulidia, not only refused to do him homage, but even rose in arms against him. The enraged monarch burst into Ulidia at the head of his army, routed the forces of Eochaidh, wasted his lands, captured his adherents, and cast them into chains, and left himself no resource but a precipitate flight. But some time after, at the prayer of the primate of Ireland, and Donnchadh O'Cearbhaill king of Oirghialla, he obtained pardon from Muircheartach, who swore by the staff of Jesus, and placed his covenant in the hands of the mediators, that he would

O'Flahrii nepotem necari, religionis, ac sponsorum nexu ad condonationem tam his quam illi præbendam devinctus, atrociter imperat. Dunchadus vero jurisjurandi religionem spretam, et præstitam à se fidem conculcatam indignissimè ferens, copias expedit, et Ubhbrunniæ, Conmacuiæque incolis in belli societatem adscitis, exercitum è novem armatorum millibus conflatum in Tironiam infert, et cum Rege paucos in aciem tumultuario educente pugnâ congreditur, ejusque copiis latâ strage profligatis, ipsum tandem perimit: virum qui ante illum diem è nullo congressu non discessit victor, plurimis nostrorum scriptorum laudibus cumulatum. Ejus vero vitam hæc deploranda catastrophe clausit, Anno Christi 1166, et post decessorem fato functum, decimo.

[87] Rothericum O Chonchobhar Terdelachi magni filium plerisque | proceribus non suffragantibus sed refragantibus Regem Hiberniæ renuntiatum fuisse quidam nostra memoriâ per errorem scripsit.[59] Quæ subjicio errorem aperiunt, recens à morte patris Rotherici, Terdelachus O Brien Rex Momoniæ Rotherico duodecim obsidibus ei traditis, obsequium detulit. Anno 1157, copiis in Tyroniam illatis Innisoniam incendio, pomarium ejus eversione, regionemque universam usque ad Kiannachtam vastatione Rothericus fædavit. In Momoniam arma deinde vertit, et post Aquilonaris Momoniæ regnum Terdelacho O'Brieno collatum, à Dermicio Mac Carthio Cormaci filio Australis Momoniæ Rege obsides retulit, penes se si Murchertachus O'Lochlen opem Dermicio non feret retinendos. Anno 1158, idem armatus Lageniam ingressus, Leithlinniæ subsistens, Ossiriæ, Loighsiæque odsides obtinuit, Macraiho O'Morrdha Loighisiæ regulo in vincula conjecto. Postea Tæabham adortus à Kerinis immensam boum prædam adduxit et classe in Tironiam immissâ, eam plurimum afflixit. Anno 1161 bello Midiæ illato, ab Uafoelania, Ubhfalgiaque obsides retulit, et Foilanum Foilani Uafoelaniæ, Malachiam O' Conchobhar Uafalgiæ præfecit. Tandem pace cum Hiberniæ Rege Murchertacho initâ, quatuor illi obsides tradidit, et Connaciæ provinciam integram, dimidiam Mediæ partem ab eo, et pro sua Mediæ parte centum uncias auri à Dermicio O Moelsachlaino retulit. Hæc itaque docent quam tempestive futuræ potentiæ fundamenta Rothericus jecerit, ut cum ipso rege de principatu con-

[59] Ketingus. 1156.

no more molest Eochaidh in the peaceful possession of his principality. But whether it was that old animosities revived in the king's heart, or that fresh fuel was added by subsequent injuries, he deprived Eochaidh of sight, and savagely ordered the execution of three of the chief nobles of Dalaradia, namely, the two O'Loingsigh, and the grandson of Cathasach O'Flaithbheartaigh; though by covenant and the sacred oath he was bound to do injury to none of them. Donnchadh, indignant at this violation of plighted faith and sacrilegious perjury, summoned his troops, and being joined by the forces of Ibhbruin and Conmaicne, marched at the head of nine thousand men into Tir-Eoghain, encountered the king, who had time to collect only a small number of undisciplined troops, and slew him with most of his followers. Such was the melancholy end of a man, who had never before been defeated in battle, and who is lauded in the highest terms by all our annalists. He was slain, A.D. 1166, in the tenth year from the death of his predecessor.

Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair, son of Toirdhealbhach the great, was next proclaimed, contrary to the wish of the majority of the Irish nobles, if we can believe a writer of our own day. But the following facts prove that Ruaidhri had the suffrages of Ireland. Shortly after the death of his father Toirdhealbhach, Muircheartach O'Briain, king of Munster, swore allegiance to Ruaidhri, and gave him twelve hostages. In the year 1157, Ruaidhri invaded Tir-Eoghain, burned Inis-Eoghain, destroyed its orchards, and laid the whole country waste as far as [Cuaille] Kiannachta. Then turning his arms against Munster, he conferred Thomond [Tuath Mhumhain, North Munster] on Toirdhealbhach O'Briain, and marching against Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh, son of Conchobhair, king of [Deas-Mhumhain] Desmond, compelled him to give hostages, which were to be retained by Ruaidhri, unless Muircheartach O'Lochlainn came to Diarmaid's relief. In 1158 he marched his army into Leinster, and pitching his camp at Leithghlinn, received the hostages of Osraidhe and Laeghis, and took Macraith O'Mordha, king of Laeghis, prisoner. He next [in the same year] attacked Teathbha, and carried off an immense spoil of cattle from the Muintir-Ceirin, while his fleet harassed and pillaged Tir-Eoghain. In 1160 he made war on Midhe, took hostages from Ui-Foelain and Ui-Failghe, bestowing the former on Foilan, son of Mac

flixisse, ac ejus potestatem adæquasse videatur. Sed illico post Murchertachum decessorem cæsum, Regis Hiberniæ titulo illum insignitum fuisse, et annales Innisfalenses disertis verbis asserunt, et quæ subjicio confirmant.[60]

Rothericus pro ineundi regni auspicio Asroam copiis comitantibus profectus Kennelconellenses ad obsides sibi tradendos adegit: exercitu dein è Connaciensibus, Medensibus, Teafensibusque conflato stipatus, comitantibus Tigernano O Ruairk, Dermicioque O Melsachlain, Dublinium adiit. Cujus cives eum Hiberniæ Regem agnoverunt, tantoque honore, quanto ullum unquam è decessoribus prosecuti sunt. Pro cujus obsequii stipendio quater mille boves ab eo receperunt. Deinde Vadipontem proficiscenti, comites itineris ei se magno numero tradiderunt. Illic eum Donchadus O Caraill Orgielliæ Regulus cum suæ ditionis optimatibus convenit, et datis quatuor obsidibus, obsequium ei detulit, et ducentos quadraginta boves ab eo retulit. Rothericus illinc tam numeroso comitatu cinctus, in Lageniam contendit; ubi O'Foelano, et O Conchauro Falgiensi eum adeuntibus, ducentos et quadraginta boves singulis elargitus est. Ac deinde Findorcham progressus Macmurchum armatum obvium habuit: quem prælio fusum, et quatuor obsides futuri obsequii pignus tradere coactum, O Keniseliæ tantum finibus præesse jussit. His peractis Mac Gillepatricium, et Ossorienses proceres tectis excepit, et obsides tradentibus, ducentos et quadraginta boves contulit. Tum ad eum Momoniam ingressum proceres Momoniæ confluxerunt. Ille Momoniam Aquilonarem uterino fratri suo Mur-

[60] 1166.

y The time that intervened between 1094 and Muircheartach's death, was not so bad as the 72 years preceding. Of the latter, Gillamodud, who wrote in 1143, says "For seventy-two years, from the death of Maelsseachnail the prosperous hero (A.D. 1022), there was convoked no council sweet to the people; because Ireland was without a supreme king; until there arose Domhnall of Derry the illustrious son of noble Ireland, and supreme king, memorable for his battles, the good king Muircheartach of Munster." O'Conor Prolegomena, 11. p. clxxvii. From their accession, as Dr. O'Conor observes, there was a great number of councils: and great efforts were made by the clergy to establish something like peace, and to restore the arts. Some proofs of their success are found in the architectural monuments of the time.

Foilan, and the latter on Maelseachlainn O'Conchobhair. At length, he made peace with Muircheartach, king of Ireland, and gave him four hostages, on condition that he should possess, besides the whole province of Connacht, one half of Midhe, and receive from the other half, four ounces of gold from Diarmaid O'Maelseachlainn. Ruaidhri had therefore laid at an early period the foundations of his future power, when he was thus able to dispute the crown with the king himself, and almost to rival his authority. But immediately after the death of Muircheartach his predecessor,[y] he was proclaimed king of Ireland, as is evident from the express words of the Annals of Innisfallen, and from the subjoined facts.

Ruaidhri inaugurated his reign by marching with his army to Eas-Ruaidh, where he compelled the Kinelconaill to give hostages; then combining his Connacht forces with those of Midhe, and Teathbha, he marched accompanied by Tighearnan O'Ruairc and Diarmaid O'Maelseachlainn to Dublin. He was acknowledged as king by the citizens, and was received with as great honors as any of his predecessors. As a reward for their allegiance he presented to them one thousand oxen. Then turning towards Drogheda, he was accompanied by a large accession of retainers. There he was met by Donnchadh O'Cearbhaill king of Oirghialla, and all the nobles of his land who promised allegiance, gave four hostages, and received in turn a present of two hundred and forty oxen. Returning thence, with a still more numerous train, Ruaidhri proceeded to Leinster, where he was welcomed by O'Faelain and O'Conchobhair Failghe, to each of whom he presented two hundred and forty oxen. Pushing forward his forces he encountered Mac Murchadha at Fidhdorcha; whom he defeated, and compelled to give four hostages, ordering him also to confine his jurisdiction within the limits of Ui-Kinsella. Afterwards he received Mac Gilla Patric and the lords of Osraidhe in his royal tent, and presented to them two hundred and forty oxen after they had given hostages. The lords of Munster advanced to meet him as soon as he entered the province. Thomond he gave to Muircheartach O'Briain his uterine brother, and Desmond to Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh, son of Cormac, whose hostages were delivered into his hands, when he had advanced on his march homewards as far as Tir-fiachrach-Aidhne.

chertacho O Brien, et Australem Dermicio Mac Carthio Cormaci filio elargitus in itinere domum versus ad Tirfiachaiachaidhne progressus Dermitii Mac Carthii obsides recepit. Murchertacho autem anno Domini 1168 cæso Donallum fratrem substituit.

Postea Tigernanus O Ruairke ut stuprum uxori, et contumeliam sibi à Dermicio Murchardide illatam ulcisceretur, copias è suis Brefnensibus, Lageniensibus, et Dubliniensibus conflatas in Okenseliam duxit, et Dermicio ultra mare abacto, castellum ejus Fernense diruit, et duobus dominis Mac Gillepatricio, et Murchado Murchadi filio Okenseliæ impositis, septemdecem obsides ad Rothericum retulit. Anno 1167,
[88] ad regem | Hiberniæ Rothericum Dermicius Mac Carthius Australis, Murchertachus O Brien Aquilonaris Momoniæ rex, omnes Lageniæ, Ossoriæque proceres, Dermicius O Moelsachlain Mediæ, Tigernanus O'Ruairk Humbhrunniæ, Conmacniæque O Caruaill Orgialliæ, O'Heochius Ulidiæ regulus agmina sua duxerunt. Quæ universa è tredecem peditum, et septem equitum legionibus constabant, legione quaque ter mille homines complexâ. Hæc sexaginta millia hominum Rex Ardmacham adduxit, ubi triduo moratus, naves suas Doriam appulsas, ab uno latere Tironiam adoriri jussit: dum in aliud latus impetum ipse faceret, ut terra marique Tironenses impetiti manus dare cogerentur. Illi vero è saltibus et silvis in regios nocturnis aggressionibus ituri mutuo se per errorem jugularunt. Itaque postridie octo vadibus Regi datis in obsequium ejus concesserunt. Ille quatuor obsidibus O Caruilli custodiæ creditis, quatuor in Connaciam adduxit. Quò itinere per Kenelconelliam Asroamque habito, ubi pervenit, aliis per varias semitas ad suos fines dilapsis, Maccarthiam, et O Brianum hospitio exceptos illum Cormaci gladio, hunc Terdelachi O'Briani cratere donavit.

Unius tantum hebdomadæ moram Rex domi suæ contraxit, cum resciret suppetias Anglicas à Dermicio Murchardide adscitas per Lageniam magnopere grassatos Okenseliam armis Dermicio jam vendicasse. Quare suâ, O'Ruarki, O Moelsachlini, et Dubliniensium militiâ

[z] The oxen given by Ruadhri to the princes who had submitted to him, were intended as the stipend usually given by the monarch to his liege men. See *Book of Rights*, published by the *Celtic Society*, passim.

[a] Probably the drinking cup of Brian Boroimhe, which had been taken from Toirdhleabhach O'Briain by Ruaidhri's father in 1151. O'Donovan's Four Masters, p. 1101. O'Conor's Prolegomena, 11 p. clvi.

Muircheartach O'Briain being slain, A.D. 1168, his brother Domhnall was raised to the throne by Ruaidhri.[z]

Afterwards Tighearnan O'Ruairc in revenge for the violation of his wife, and the indignity offered to him by Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, marched into Ui Kinsellaigh, with an army of Breffnians, Dublinians, and Leinster men, and having compelled Diarmaid to fly beyond the seas, he razed his castle of Fearna-mor [Ferns], and brought home seventeen hostages to Ruaidhri, leaving Ui Kinsellaigh under two princes, Mac Gillipatric and Murchadh Mac Murchadha. In the year 1167, Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh king of Desmond, Muircheartach O'Briain king of Thomond, all the Lords of Leinster and Osraidhe, Diarmaid O'Maelseachlainn of Midhe, Tighearnan O'Ruairc of Ui Briuin, and Conmaicne O'Cearbhaill of Oirghialla, O'h-Eochadha of Ulidia, placed their combined forces under command of Ruaidhri. The army consisted of thirteen legions of infantry and seven of cavalry, each legion numbering three thousand men. At the head of this army of sixty thousand men, Ruaidhri marched to Ard-Macha, where he remained three days. He thence moved towards Tir-Eoghain, while his fleet sailed round to Doire, in order to attack the Tir-Eoghainians by land and sea, and compel them to come to an engagement. But they, marching in different bodies, in the darkness of the night, through woods and thickets, to attack the royal troops, mistook their friends for the enemy, and slew great numbers. Next day they came in and submitted to the king, giving him eight hostages, four of whom were given to O'Cearbhaill, and four brought home to Connacht. Having returned through Tirconaill and Eas-Ruaidh, all his auxiliaries departed by different routes to their own territories, except Mac Carthaigh and O'Briain, whom he entertained hospitably in his palace. He presented to Mac Carthaigh the sword of Cormac, and to O'Briain the bowl[a] of Toirdhealbhach.

Ruaidhri had not enjoyed more than one week's peace in his palace after this expedition, when he heard that English allies, who had been already called in to the aid of Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, had re-established him in the government of Ui Kinsellaigh; and were spreading devastation through Leinster. Instantly summoning his own troops, he marched in conjunction with O'Maelseachlainn, O'Ruairc, and

munitus Findorcham advolavit. Ibique castris positis, unam hebdomadam substitit. Interea manipulus extra castra per insolentiam excurrens cum hoste congressus, sex è suis desideravit. Tum exercitus è castris effusus, hostem pugnâ profligavit, triginta duobus hostium capitibus in cumulum Regi ob oculos ab O'Ruairko positis. Itaque Dermicius Regem supplex adivit et septem obsides in obsequio se permansurum ei, et centum unciarum auri mulctam O'Ruairko pro rapta uxore tradidit. Altero deinde anno regiis armis denuo fractus filium etiam suum prioribus obsidibus adjunxit. Anno 1168, Keneloniæ, sive Tironæ primores Dorensem S. Columbæ successorem Athloniam ad Rotherici Regis aulam comitati, magnam à Rege boum, vestium, auri, et argenti pro munere vim retulerunt.

Apud Hibernos olim indubitatum acquisitæ majestatis argumentum erat, si provinciarum reges, ditionum principes, aut eorum legati regis designati tecta subirent, obsides ei deferrent, et ab eo munera referrent. Illa vero officia Rotherico à singulis alicujus notæ per Hiberniam ditionibus vel ultro, vel per vim præstita fuisse; quosque voluit per Momoniam, Lageniam, Mediam, et Kinelconelliam summa potestate ornasse jam vidimus. Ut inter reges summum imperium citra obluctationem consecutos procul dubio referendus sit, non in Regum eorum classem rejiciendus, sub quorum ditionem major Regni pars non concessit, quando Hiberniæ summo cum imperio, æque libere ac decessorum ullus præfuit.

Cæterum ille Rempub. optimè moderatus est, gravi pœna improbos, et hostium impetus armis sæpe coercuit. Anno 1167 Rotherico indicente, magna præsulum, ac procerum vis Athbuythlachtam confluxit. Illic autem se nominatim stiterant Gelasius primas Armachanus, Laurentius O Tuaithil Lageniensium Archiepiscopus, Catholicus O Dubthay Archiepiscopus Connaciæ, præter alios è Clero quamplurimos. Necnon etiam Tigernanus O Ruairk Brefniæ, Dunchadus Orgialliæ, Eochodius O Dunslevus Ulidiæ, Dermicius O Moelsachlin Temoriæ, Reginaldus Reginaldi filius Dubliniensium, et Dunchadus O Foelan Dessiorum princeps, hos cùm plures minorum gentium proceres, tum tredecem equitum millia comitata sunt. Ab hoc autem cœtu tam probæ leges latæ sunt, ut fæmina metus omnis expers Hiberniam universam tuta peragrare possit, eadem pace Hiberniæ tum illucente, qua

the men of Dublin, to Fidh-dorcha, where he pitched his camp and remained for one week. A detachment incautiously advancing from the camp, fell in with the enemy, and lost six of their men; upon which the whole army rushed from their entrenchments, and brought back in triumph thirty heads of the conquered enemy, which they presented to O'Ruairc. Diarmaid himself made his submission, and gave seven hostages as pledges for his fidelity, together with one hundred ounces of gold as an eric for the violation of O'Ruairc's wife. In the following year, Diarmaid was defeated a second time by the royal forces, aud compelled to surrender his son to be kept with the other hostages. In the year 1168, the lords of Kinel-Conaill and Tir-Eoghain came to Athluain, in company with the successors of St. Columba in Doire, and after being entertained in Ruaidhri's palace, returned home with rich presents of cattle, dresses, and gold, and silver.

With the ancient Irish it was invariably a recognition of homage, if the provincial kings or toparchs, or their ambassadors, entered the palace of the king elect, giving him hostages, and receiving presents in return. Now that this duty was discharged towards Ruaidhri by all the Irish princes of note, voluntarily or by force, is clear from what we have seen; he disposed at pleasure of the crowns of Midhe, Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, so that there can be no doubt of his claims to be ranked among the undisputed monarchs of Ireland, and not among those who possessed only the smaller portion of the kingdom. He governed the island with a sway as absolute as any of his predecessors.

He was a wise ruler, repressing the evil-doer by severe penalties, and the armed enemy by arms. In 1167, he convoked a great assembly of prelates and lords, at Ath-buidhe Tlachtgha, which was attended by Gelasius primate of Ard-Macha, Lorcan O'Tuathail, Archbishop of Leinster, Catholicus O'Dubhthaigh Archbishop of Connacht, and a great number of the clergy. There were present also, Tighearnan O'Ruairc, Prince of Breffne, Donnchadh of Oirghialla, Eochaidh O Duinnsleibhe of Ulidia, Diarmaid O'Maelseachlainn of Teamhair, Reginald son of Reginald of Dublin, and Donnchadh O'Faelain prince of the Desies, with a great number of lords of the smaller principalities, and thirteen thousand knights. The laws enacted in this assembly were so salutary, that a woman might safely travel through all Ireland,

Northumbriam Beda tum potitam fuisse scribit, cum Edwinus in ea Regem ageret.[61]

[89] | Præterea ut sollicitudinis industriam Rothericus exercendæ juventuti non substraheret, anno Domini 1168 ludos Taltinos dedit, procursionum carceres in Aittii [Mullach Anti], calcem in [Mullach Tailtenn] Taltinæ cacumine statuens. Sceleratos etiam impune flagitia ferre minime passus est. Anno enim 1168 Medenses O Finalani cædem octingentorum boum mulcta, et alia Dalbhnensibus elargitione expiare: Desmonienses etiam pro cæso Murchertacho O Brien, centum et viginti supra ter mille boves persolvere coegit. Anno 1169 Domnallum Bregach illatæ Dermicio Mediæ principi cædis authorem, et exilio et Mediæ quam ambiebat jacturâ mulctavit: Occidentali Mediâ sibi, et Connaciensibus; orientali, Tigernano O Ruairk et Brefnensibus collatâ. Anno 1175 Domnallus O Brien Dermicio Tadei; et Mahonio Terdelachi O Brieni filio oculos, O Conchauri Corcomroensis filio vitam eruit. Quæ facinora Rothericum in Domnallum sic exasperarunt, ut copiis in Tomoniam illatis, Domnallum fugaverit, et ditiones ejus latâ vastatione percurrerit. Nec acerbius inalienos quam in proprios filios Rothericus animadvertit. Nam anno Domini 1177 Murchardius filius in patrem intemperanter accensus, ei patriæque perniciem machinaturus, Mylero Cogano, Anglicisque copiis Roscomaniam progressis, ad patris fines populandos ducatum præbuit. Quibus postea fusis, et fugatis, captus Murchadus sceleris pœnas oculis patris jussu effossis dedit. Conchaurum majorem natu filium gravioris alicujus delicti reum iusulæ Lochcimmensi pater inclusit. Sed inde post annum in ea custodia transactum, ab O Flahertis, et aliis ejus fautoribus per vim extractus multum negotii postea patri facessivit.

Rotherico Rege, Angli primum armis Hiberniam infestare cœperunt, quorum insolentiam ille non raro compescuit. Ternos eorum insultus ab eo repressos fuisse jam insinuavi, potius quam narravi. Nunc quomodo illos quartâ vice fuderit accipe. Anno Domini 1173 Richardus

[61] Lib. 2, cap. 16.

[b] For the relations of Ruadhri with the English invaders see the "Macariæ Excidium," by J. C. O Callaghan, published by the I. A. Society.

which then enjoyed such tranquillity as Northumbria is said by Bede to have had under the royal sway of Edwin.

To carry out his beneficent plans for the education of youth, Ruaidhri announced the Tailtin games in the year 1168, and marked the goal of the races at Mullach-Aiti [now Mullaghloyd, near Kells], and the starting point on the summit of Tailtin. Crime he never allowed to escape unpunished. Thus in the year 1168, he levied on the men of Midhe a fine of eighty oxen for the murder of O'Finnallain, and similar fines on the people of Dealbhna. He compelled the kingdom of Desmond to pay three thousand one hundred oxen for the murder of Muircheartach O'Briain. In the year 1169, he avenged the assassination of Diarmaid prince of Midhe, by banishing the murderer Domhnall Breagach, and cutting him off from the succession to Midhe, after which he was aspiring; Midhe he divided into two portions, annexing the West to his new kingdom of Connacht, and giving the East to Tighearnan O'Ruairc and the Breffnians. In 1175, Domhnall O'Briain, having put out the eyes of Diarmaid son of Tadhg, and of Mathghamhain son of Toirdhealbhach O'Briain, and put to death the son of O'Conchobhair of Corcumruaidh, Ruaidhri was so indignant at these enormities, that he marched into Thomond at the head of his army, defeated Domhnall, and laid waste his territories. He was as stern towards the misdeeds of his own son, as of strangers. For in 1177, his son Murchadh, in a phrensy of passion against his father, conspired against him and his country, and conducted Mylo Coghan and the English forces to Ros-Chomain, to devastate the land of his fathers. But the invaders being defeated and put to flight, Murchadh was taken, and by the stern order of the father deprived of sight, to punish his unnatural rebellion. His eldest son, Conchobhar, he also imprisoned in the island of Loch-Cime for some great crime. But contriving to make his escape by the armed aid of the O'Flaithbheartaigh after one year's imprisonment, he brought down afterwards much trouble on his father.

During this reign, the English first began to curse Ireland with their arms, but their insolence was often punished by Ruaidhri.[b] I have already touched not in detail, but lightly on three occasions when he came in collision with them. The following is a fourth instance. In 1173

Strangoliæ Comes Momoniæ depopulationem, et vastitatem inferebat, cujus progressus ut Rothericus coerceret, in Ormoniam copias proripit, et cum comitis exercitu acie decertans, eum ita profligavit, ut comes septingentos supra mille desideraverit.[62] Postea vero Rothericus cum aliquot principum ad hostes defectione intestinisque filiorum, aliorumque dissidiis se hostium insultibus sustinendis imparem cerneret, ad transactiones cum Angliæ Rege ineundas descendit, quarum tabulas Hovedenus ad Annum Domini 1175 pagina 546 producit, et summam Annales nostri verbis hunc fere sensum referentibus complectuntur: Catholicus O Dubhthay Tuamensis Archiepiscopus pacem ex Anglia retulit his conditionibus cum Angliæ Rege pactam ut Rothericus Regis Hibernorum potestate, provinciarum Reges priori dignitate gauderent, ita tamen, ut regendi rationes à Rotherico suspensas haberent, et ei tributa penderent.

Et ut Rotherici studium in res, personas, et literas sacras non penitus tacitum prætereamus; à Lipsano S. Manchini Moethlensis thecâ aureâ obducendo, qua ornatiorem Hibernia tum non vidit, regnum anno Domini 1166, exorsus est. Præclarissima quædam de S. Manchino Colganus memorat ad 14 Febru. anno Domini 1176 Ecclesiæ S. Berrachi census perpetua Tuaimachæ villæ cujusdam hospitalitiæ sive municipalis donatione auxit, pro summo ejus erga Deum, et S. Berrachum cultu. Tanta præsulum veneratione tenebatur, ut nihil arduum, nisi illis in consilium adhibitis aggrederetur. Ejus accitu proceres, et præsules Leithcunniæ Tuamiam anno Domini 1171 accurrerunt, ubi Catholicus O Dubhthay Tuamensis Archiepiscopus tres Ecclesias ritu solemni consecravit. Magnopere quoque connixus est, ut literarum progressu Hibernia floreret. Nam pro ejus in S. Patricium et literas studio, anno domini 1169 Professoris Armachani salarium annua decem
[90] boum accessione locupletavit. | Et ad eundem boum numerum et quotannis persolvendum successores suos obstrinxit, eo spectans ut professor ille literarum candidatos ex Hiberniâ Albaniâve Armacham concedentes literarum disciplinis excolere teneretur.

Ille generis Hibernici ultimus Hiberniæ Rex fuit. Deo ita statuente, ut, sicut ceteris mortalium rebus, sic etiam Regnis sua sit periodus.

[62] Continu. Tigernaci ad an. 1173.

Richard, Earl Strongbow, having marched his army to waste and depopulate Munster, Ruaidhri led his army into Mhumha [Ormond], to check the ravages of the invaders; he met them in pitched battle, and gained a decisive victory over the Earl, slaying seventeen hundred of his men. But when, by the desertion of some princes to the standard of the invader, and the intestine broils of his own sons and others, he found himself unable to cope with the enemy in the field, he descended to negotiation with the king of England, the authentic record of which is given at the year 1175 by Hoveden, p. 546, and a summary in our own annals to the following effect, "Catholicus O'Dubhthaigh, Archbishop of Tuaim, brought home a treaty of peace from England, with these stipulations, from the king of England, that Ruaidhri should enjoy the power of king of Ireland, and the provincial kings their ancient dignity, with this restriction that their power should be derived under Ruaidhri, and that they should pay him tribute."

But in order not to pass over in total silence Ruaidhri's solicitude for ecclesiastical affairs, literature, and the clergy, he commenced his reign, A.D. 1166, with a present of a gold shrine, superior to any that had yet been seen in Ireland, for the relics of St. Manchan of Moethail. Colgan at Feb. 14, relates many glorious things of St. Manchan. In 1176, for his great love of God and St. Bearach, he granted to the church of St. Bearach for ever, the revenues of a townland, named Tuaimachaidh, which was a Baile Bealach and contained a house of hospitality, or municipal house. So great was his veneration for the prelates, that he never undertook any arduous enterprise without having previously consulted with them. In 1171 he invited the lords and prelates of Leath-Cuinn to Tuam, where Catholicus O'Dubhthaigh, Archbishop of Tuaim, performed the solemn consecration of three churches. Literature, also, engaged his most anxious thoughts. So solicitous was he for its advancement, that in honor of St. Patrick, he gave an addition of ten oxen to the annual salary of the professor at Ard-Macha, and confirmed the same from his own successors for ever, on condition, that such professor would be bound to receive to his literary lectures all students from Ireland and Albany.

He was the last king of Ireland of Irish race; God so ordaining it,

Et illum non solum peregrini, sed etiam sui filii regno ejecerunt; quorum major natu Conchaurus patri Connaciæ Regnum anno Domini 1186 eripuit, ut patrem insolentiam filii declinantem in Momoniam se recipere oportuerit, et à Connaciæ proceribus postea revocatum in Tirconnalliam denuo confugere. Antiquarii septemdecem Regni annos ei adscribunt, licet post regnum ab ipso initum ad ejus mortem triginta duo anni effluxerint. Quam longè inter canonicos relatus anno Domini 1198 appetiit in annis quibus singuli Christiani Reges imperarunt enumerandis Dungallenses Annales secutus adverti Gillemadudum in eorumdem enumeratione ab iis Annalibus discrepare. Nam hi Tuathalio 11, ille 13 regni annos, Domnallo primo, hi 16, ille 17, Loingsecho, hi 8, ille 9, Flabhertacho, hi 7, ille 9, Flanno Siuno hi 38, ille 39, Congalacho hi 12, ille 13, assignat. Nisi me Gillemadudi enumeratio figuris plerumque numericis expressa fallat.

Exstat in provinciali Romano Catalogus non Regum, sed regnorum Hiberniæ qui talis est. "In Ibernia Catholicus. Rex Coloniensis. Connaciæ. Rex Mivaniæ. Menæ. Cathelinæ. Ibi hodie non sunt reges. Sed tota Ibernia est sub Rege Angliæ."[63] Postrema ista verba, catalogum istum, ante Hiberniam Anglorum ditioni adjunctam, esse confectum aperte docent. Torta etiam plerarumque vocum, et à recta pronuntiatione aliena prolatio summam ei vetustatem vendicare videtur. Primus enim character, quo scriptus est, adeo in desuetudinem temporis diuturnitate proculdubio abiit, ut ipse apicum ductus ex scriptoribus longo post tempore secutis ignotus in eum errorem eos induxerit, ut debitæ literæ multoties aliam allucinati substituentes, dictionem alienissimam efformaverint. Ceterum "vox Catholicus," supremum Iberniæ Regem, sive Monarcham denotat; sive quod ille quasi universalis Rex Hiberniæ fuerit; seu potius quod Catholici titulo Monarcham Hiberniæ Pontifex honestaverit. "Rex Coloniensis," malim

63 Apud Rebuffum in praxi beneficiorum pag 442.

c There is no typographical error, if Dr. O'Conor's edition of Gillamodud be correct.

d In the edition of Rebuff, A.D. 1654, the reading is :—

Catholicus,
Rex Coloniensis Comachiæ,
Rex Minaniæ, Menæ, Cathelinæ,
Ili hodie non sunt reges, etc. etc.
p. 482.

Connacia in the text is a misprint for Comachiæ.

that, like all other things human, kingdoms themselves should have an end. It was not foreigners alone, but his own sons who deposed him; Conchobhar the elder deprived him of the crown of Connacht in 1186, so that the father was obliged to fly to Munster from his rebellious son, and again to Tir-Conaill, when he had been recalled from exile by the nobles of Connacht. The annalists write that he reigned seventeen years, though from his accession to his death there elapsed thirty-two years. He died in a monastery of the Canons Regular in 1198, which order he had embraced many years before his death. I have adopted in the chronology of the Christian kings the authority of the Four Masters, but I find that Gilla-Modud occasionally differs from them. They assign to Tuathal 11 years, to Domhnall I. 16, to Loingsech 8, to Flaithbheartach 7, to Flann-Sinna 38, and to Conghalalach 12, while Gilla-Modud's numbers are for each in order, 13, 17, 9, 9, 39, 13, unless there be some typographical error in this latter enumeration, which is given in figures.[c]

In a Roman Provinciale, there is extant the following catalogue of the kings and kingdoms of Ireland:—"In Ibernia Catholicus. Rex Coloniensis. Connaciæ. Rex Minaviæ. Menæ. Cathelinæ. Hi hodie non sunt reges. sed tota Hibernia est sub rege Angliæ."[d] From these last words it is evident that the catalogue was drawn up anterior to the annexation of Ireland to the English crown. Its extreme antiquity[e] may be fairly inferred, from the crabbed and improper orthography of most of the words. The character in which it was originally written had no doubt become so obsolete in the long lapse of centuries, that the very form of the letters was entirely strange to persons writing a long time after, and led them into such errors, that by substituting a different for the proper letter, they often produced a reading totally unlike the original. Now, the word "Catholicus" denotes the supreme king or monarch of Ireland, either because he was as it were *universal* king of Ireland, or rather because "Catholic" was the honorable title

[e] Its date is probably sometimes between 1152 and 1200, because in the catalogue of Irish sees, the four Archbishoprics are mentioned, and also some sees which became extinct before the latter date. The catalogue gives 47 sees in Ireland, a number different from any in the catalogues cited by Dr. Lanigan.

Ultoniensis. Vox enim hæc sillabarum paritate proprius illi appropinquat, mutatione scilicet primæ sillabæ. "Mivaniæ" levi flexione fit Menavia, quo nomine Manniam afficimus. Ut Manniæ Regem Hiberniæ Regibus; quod supra contendebam, monumentum hoc anumerare videatur. Magis tamen placet ut hac voce Momoniæ regnum indicetur, facili scribæ lapsu literam M. vertentis in N. Per verbum autem "Mænæ" quin Mediæ regnum innuatur non dubito amanuense per characterum ignorantiam, n, pro di, scribente, ut hinc judicem in Hiberniæ Pentarchia suum hic locum Mediæ tribui, ita ut duæ Momoniæ unum regnum, Lagenia, Ultonia, et Connacia tria regna constituant. Licet enim altera è Momoniis magnitudine Ultoniam, aut Connaciam superet, Lageniam exæquet: cum tamen ad utriusque clavum Rex unus plerumque sederit, et non nisi rarissimè ad utramque administrandam Collegæ admoti fuerint, ut è regum Momoniæ catalogo liquet, pro uno tantum regno ut plurimum habetur.

Præterea Mediæ æque ac provinciarum Reges ad Monarchæ fastigium non raro evehebantur.[64] Nec ullius provinciæ finibus Media continetur cum seorsim ipsa per se regio satis ampla sit, reliquarum quidem singulis finium spatio longè cedens, sed agrorum præstantia etiam præcedens. Quare divisio Hiberniæ à Giraldo instituta, cum ei Mediam inserere omiserit, manca est, et mutila; Imo tanti ponderis error in ipso suscepti operis limine continuos lapsus in ejusdem operis progressu portendit. Sane vix quidpiam de Hibernia Giraldus profert, quod non
[91] vel defectu | aliquo, vel supervacanea redundantia laboret. Media vero cum extra Provinciarum aliarum fines posita, et nullius in Hibernia Regis, nisi Monarchæ solius Imperiis obnoxia sit, ut unum Pentarchiæ regnum à cæteris sejunctum per se constituat necesse est. "Cathelinæ." Nullum in hac voce subsidium ad conjiciendum Lageniam insinuari video, nisi reliquam tantum è provinciis esse Lageniam quam hoc monumentum non ante protulit.

In aliquibus Pontificalis Romani exemplaribus inter Reges unctione oblini in inauguratione solitos, Reges Hiberniæ collocari Johannes

[64] Top. d. I. c. 6.

[f] The author's inferences from this Provinciale are rather ingenious than satisfactory. The names of the Irish sees are equally enigmatical, for instance, Gledotalensis and Fetrunens, for Glendalacensis and Fernensis.

the Pope gave to the monarch of Ireland. "Rex Coloniensis" I would read "Ultoniensis," the word to which it approaches nearest in similarity of syllables, merely by changing the first. "Mivania" by a slight change becomes "Menavia," the name of the isle of Man; thereby adding probable confirmation to what I have already endeavoured to prove; that Man was an appendage to the Irish crown. But I am more inclined to believe that the correct reading is "Momonia," the kingdom of Munster, and that the scribe by an easy slip of the pen had written N. for M. The word "Menæ," means, I have no doubt, "the kingdom of Midhe," i.e. "Media," the scribe, through ignorance of the character, having substituted n for di. This interpretation gives Midhe (Meath) a place in the Irish pentarchy; with Leinster, Ulster, Connacht, and the two Munsters, which were one kingdom. For though one of the Munsters is equal to Leinster, and larger than Ulster or Connacht, yet as both are generally under the sceptre of one monarch, and very seldom found separate crowns, as is evident from the catalogue of Munster kings, they are almost invariably regarded as one kingdom.[f]

Moreover, the kings of Midhe, as well as the kings of the other provinces, were often raised to the throne of Ireland, nor was it included within the limits of the other provinces, forming, as it does by itself, a considerable territory, far inferior in size, it is true, to the other provinces, but surpassing them in the fertility of its soil. The division which Giraldus makes of Ireland, omitting Midhe, is consequently imperfect and false: and an error of such magnitude, in the very commencement of his book, has, as is usually the case, involved him in continual blunders as he proceeds. In almost every thing he writes of Ireland there is some flaw or trifling scribbling not to the point. Midhe not being included within the other provinces, and being subject to none of them except the supreme king of Ireland, must constitute of itself one of the kingdoms of the Irish pentarchy. With regard to "Cathelinæ," I see nothing in the word resembling "Lagenia," i.e. Leinster, nor any other proof of the identity, except that Leinster is the only one of the provincial kingdoms omitted in the catalogue.

In some copies of the Roman Pontifical, John Selden saw the kings of Ireland enumerated among those kings who were anointed with oil at

Seldenus vidit, in quæ Azorius se non incidisse ostendit, dum ejusmodi Regum seriem texens Reges Hiberniæ missos facit.[65] "Comachiæ." Vox hæc integritatem suam pœne retinens Connachiam nobis exhibet.[66]

Qui mirantur res gestas alibi Regibus Hiberniæ adscriptas hic taceri, noscant regum Hiberniæ non historiam, sed Catalogum hic me molitum obvias aliquot eorum res gestas attexuisse, quo tædium ex nuda solorum nominum recitatione lectori obveniens, adjectæ narratiunculæ aliquantulum lenirent. Præterea cum aliquot ex Hiberniæ regibus posthac in scenam prodeuntes lector visurus sit; nolui, quæ illic eorum gesta in medium pro re nata proferuntur, hic intempestive obtrudere, ne iteratione supervacanea, et libri molem, et legentis molestiam augerem.

Monendus est hîc lector scriptores nonnullos Regis Hiberniæ titulum aliquibus hic consulto prætermissis contulisse. Tigernachus Næmedium Srabhchinni filium Conarii filii Mogholami percussorem Regem Hiberniæ appellat, et in pugnâ Kinathabrensi à filiis Olilli Olumi, tribusque Carbriis occisum memorat. Sed cum Gillecomanus accuratissimus Regum Hiberniæ nomenclator, aut alius ullus è quam plurimis rerum Hibernicarum scriptoribus illum inter Hiberniæ Reges non referat, nec locus inter eos eidem à nobis assignatur; quando scriptoris unici testimonium, in quem etiam fortasse menda irrepsit, non tanti sit ponderis, ut quis eo, contra scriptorum torrentem niti possit.

Iocælinus Fortchernum quendam Hiberniæ regibus ascribit. Cum vero apud scriptores nostros regum Hiberniæ nomina sollicite recensentes, nullus Rex ejusmodi nomen gerens, neque in Monarcharum, neque in Provinciarum Hiberniæ regum nomenclaturis appareat; et Annales nostri omnes S. Patricio mortem anno Domini 493 obeunte non Forchernum, sed Lugadium Leogarii filium ad Hiberniæ gubernacula sedisse uno assensu prædicent, non video cur Fortchernus è regum Hiberniæ consortio non sit amovendus.[67] Nec dubito quin Iocælini animus ita scribentis peregrinatus, aut rectum ab illo nomen in autographo positum, transcribentium vitio in alienam vocem tortum fuerit.

[65] In "Titulis honoris." [66] Part 2. *l.* 10. *c.* 5. [67] Vita S. Patricii cap. ultimo.

their coronation. This fact cannot have been observed by Azorius, or he would not have omitted the Irish in his catalogue of anointed kings. "Comachiæ" is almost letter for letter "Connachia."

Should it seem strange that many actions recorded of Irish kings in other books are omitted here, let it be borne in mind that I am not writing a history of the kings, but a catalogue of their names, with merely examples of the most striking events of their reigns, to relieve the inevitable languor and aridity of a naked line of succession. And, moreover, as many of the Irish kings are to re-appear in my pages, when the suitable occasion arises, I do not wish to introduce them here, lest by unnecessary repetition, I should add too much to the volume of my book and the trouble of my reader.

My reader is also informed that the title of king of Ireland is given by some writers to persons whose names I have omitted. Tighearnach gives the title of king to Neimhidh son of Sraibhcinn, the slayer of Conaire son of Moghlamha, and relates that he was slain in the battle of Kinfebrat by the sons of Olill Olum, and the three Cairbres. But since neither Gilla-Caeimhghin whose authority is highest on the list of Irish kings, nor any other of our numerous body of Irish annalists have ranked him among Irish kings, I could not presume to include him; because the authority of one writer, who has perhaps been interpolated, can never be of sufficient weight to resist the flood of evidence from all other writers.

Jocelin names a Fortchern among the kings of Ireland. But as such a name does not occur in the careful enumeration of Irish kings by our annalists, either as king of Ireland or king of any province in Ireland, and as the same annalists unanimously attest that when St. Patrick died, A.D. 493, the king of Ireland was not Fortchern, but Lughaidh son of Laeghaire, I cannot discover any solid reason for retaining Fortchern on the royal catalogue. I have no doubt that it was a hallucination of Jocelin, or that the true name on the catalogue was transformed into a totally different one by the neglect of the transcriber.

Matthew of Westminster at the year 497 and 522, states that there was an Irish king, named Gillamur, who was taken prisoner in Ireland (he says) by Arthur, and that all the princes of Ireland were

Westmonasteriensis ad annum Domini 497 et 522 nomen Regis Hiberniæ cuidam Gillamurio tribuit, quo per Arthurum regem in Hibernia (ut ait ille) "capto, cæteri principes Hiberniæ in deditionem sunt coacti;" hac fabulâ citra dubium è Monumetensi depromptâ. A Polychronico, Campiano, et Hanmero similia ex iisdem fontibus hausta narrantur. Sed é Regum Hiberniæ numero ille merito excludendus est, quem domestica monumenta Regum seriem etiam accuratissimè texentia ne quidem nominant; ut ei quem alienigenæ nobis Regem affingant, locus inter nostros Reges non sit temere designandus; præsertim cum narrationis istius origo ab illo scriptore manet, cujus quam fluxa fides fuit, tam fragilis est authoritas. Monumetensis enim scripta "potius in anilibus quam Annalibus numeranda esse" Leslæus dixit. Nam ille "Regem Arthurum triginta Regna subjugasse, Lucium Leonis Imperatoris procuratorem stravisse, et in exercitu ejusdem Lucii militasse, Regem Græcorum Epistrephen, Regem Parthorum Munstenphar, Regem Hispaniæ Aliafacinam, Regem Africæ Hittacum, Regem Medorum Boætum, Regem Lisbiæ Sextorium, Regem Ægypti Prandusum, Regem Babiloniæ Mystipsam, Regem Iturearum, Bith-
[92] iniæ, Phrygiæ, Syriæ, | et denique Regem Francorum Follonem,"[68]
comminiscitur. Verùm quando Hispania, Gallia cæteræque memoratæ jam regiones ejusmodi nominibus affectos reges sibi unquam imperasse non fatentur, nec nos Gillamurium regis Hiberniæ titulo insignitum unquam fuisse agnoscemus.[69]

Cæterum Polychronicon Galfridum egregiè impugnat, ut omnis ulterior opera in eo diluendo supervacanea futura sit.[70] Super cujus Galfridi librum legi apud Cambrensem dæmones tripudiantes et saltitantes visos fuisse.[71] "Contingit inquit spiritibus immundis Melerio cuidam insultantibus, ut Evangelium Joannis ejus in gremio poneretur: qui statim tanquam aves advolantes omnes penitus evanuerunt: quo sublato postmodum, et Historia Brittonum à Galfrido Arthuro tractata, experiendi causa loco ejusdem subrogata; non solum corpori ipsius toti, sed etiam libro superposito longè solito crebrius, et tædiosius insiderunt." Ut omittam Alanum Copum cum Ovidii metamorphosis,

[68] Historia Scot. l. 4. in Rege 46. [69] Vide Usherum de primor. p. 517.
[70] Ibidem. [71] Itiner. Cambriæ, *l.* 1. *c.* 5.

thereby reduced to submission. This fable bears evident marks of being from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and similar stories are taken from the same source by Campion and Hanmer. But how can this man be admitted among Irish kings, whose name never occurs in the careful and detailed lists of sovereigns, compiled by native authorities. Would it not be extreme rashness to allow this king to be forced on us by foreigners, especially when the original authority for the story is but of frail credit and flimsy weight? Monmouth's writings abound, says Lesley, more with fables than facts, for he says, "that king Arthur subjugated thirty kingdoms, defeated Lucius, Lieutenant of the Emperor Leo, and that in the army of the same Lucius, there were serving Epistrephes king of the Greeks, Munstenphar king of Parthians, Aliafacina king of Spain, Hittacus king of Africa, Boætus king of the Medes, Sextorius king of Lybia, Prandus king of Egypt, Mystipsa king of Babylon, the kings of Iturea, Bythinia, Phrygia, Syria, and in fine Follo, king of the Franks." When Spain, Gaul, and all their other nations admit that they were ever governed by any of those kings, then we are ready to admit that Gillamur may have been king of Ireland.

But the Polychronicon refutes Geoffrey so triumphantly, that it would be only loss of time to dwell longer on this matter. I find from Cambrensis, that hosts of devils were once seen hopping and dancing on this book of Geoffrey's. "It happened," he writes, "that a certain person named Meler being infected with evil spirits, the Gospel of St. John was placed on his heart, and immediately all the devils took flight and flew away like birds: the Gospel was then taken away, and the history of the Britons by Geoffrey Arthur was placed in its stead for experiment sake, but evil spirits returned in greater numbers, and not only clung to his body but even to the book that was laid on him." I need not state that Allan Cope compares Geoffrey to Ovid's metamorphoses or the fictions of Lucian; that William of Newbridge represents him as making "Arthur's little finger bigger than the back and loin of Alexander the Great," and that Camden stigmatizes him as "a man of no ancient authority," who devised from his own brain so many Milesian fables, that he is now ranked amongst writers prohibited by the Church of Rome. One fact clearly proves

aut Luciani figmentis eum conferre, et Nubrigensem dicere, quod Monumetensis faciat "minimum Arthuri digitum grossiorem lumbis, ac dorso Alexandri magni:" qui, ut ait Camdenus, "fide non antiqua fuit; tot Milesias nugas ex suo ingenio interseruit, adeo ut jam inter prohibitos ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ scriptores habeatur."[72] Quantum à fide Monumetensi adhibendâ Cambrensis abhorret vel inde perspicitur, quod homo gloriæ suæ gentis ambitiosus Gillamuri nomen scriptis suis inserere penitus omiserit. Cum tamen Arthurum, Hiberniæ Regibus aliquatenus dominatum fuisse his verbis innuat: "legitur" (inquit) "famosum illum Britonum Regem Arthurum Hiberniæ Reges tributarios habuisse, et ad magnam urbis Legionum Curiam quosdam eorum accessisse." Quæ Ketingus verbis sequentem sensum referentibus oppugnat. Speedus (inquit) in Chronico Hiberniæ Regem "Arthuro Regi tributarium fuisse negat; affirmat quidem fœdus inter ambos Reges ictum fuisse, ut cum alteruter hostium armis impeteretur, suppetias alter impetito ferret, quod fœdus jus belli socialis appellat. Sicut modo usu venit inter Imperatorem et Regem Hispaniæ, quorum alter alteri subvenit, si quando bellum ab hoste infertur. Non inde tamen fit, Regem Hispaniæ tributarium Imperatoris esse, aut vice versa, Imperatorem Hispaniæ Regi tributum debere. Pari ratione, si Arthurus, et Murchertachus Ercæ filius, qui Rex Hiberniæ Synchronus Arthuro fuit, belli societatem iniverint, qua uterque se alteri obstrinxerat in belli discrimen adducto subsidio venturum, non inde tamen infertur alterum alteri tributarium esse."

David Povellus scribit "Brachanum, à quo terra Braichenoc in Wallia denominata est, natum fuisse patre Hulapho Hibernorum Rege."[73] Sed cum Hulaphus nullus in Regum Hiberniæ vulgare album referatur; sicut "Brachonus rex unius partis Hiberniæ fuisse" in vita S. Canoci dicatur, ejusdem quoque partis pater Rex fuisse indubitate credendus est.[74] Quænam porro fuerit illa pars Colganus accurate discutit, in vita S. Canoci undecimo Februarii.[75]

[72] In procemio. p. 487. [73] Cambriæ itinerarium Cambr. *l.* 1. *c.* 2. [74] Povellius in notis apud Colganum 24. [75] Januarii p. 323, n. 4, fol. 63.

[g] Either the modern Chester or some place on the Usk in Monmouthshire. Welch bards state that the Irish of Ireland assisted Gortigorn and the Britons against the Saxons, before the days of Arthur.

how lightly Cambrensis thought of the authority of Geoffrey; for he has never mentioned the name of Gillamur in his writings, though he was most zealous for the honor of his own country, and has insinuated that Arthur had some authority over the kings of Ireland. "We read," he says, "that the Irish kings were once tributary to Arthur the great king of the Britons, and that some of them had once visited the great palace in the city of Legion."[g] Keating refutes that assertion, nearly in the following manner: "Speed," he writes, "denies in his Chronicle that the king of Ireland was tributary to king Arthur; he asserts that a league was made between both kings, by which when one was attacked by an enemy, the other was bound to assist him, which league he denominates a defensive alliance; such as for example now exists between the Emperor and the king of Spain, who aid each other, whenever either is at war. But as it does not thence follow that the king of Spain is tributary to the Emperor, nor the Emperor to the king of Spain; neither can it be inferred, that if Muircheartach son of Earc, who was contemporary of Arthur, entered into a similar league with him, by which each was bound to assist the other in time of war, that Muircheartach was thereby a tributary of Arthur."

David Powell writes that Brachan, who has given his name to the territory of Brecknock in Wales, was the son of Hulaph, king of Ireland. But no Hulaph being found in the common catalogues of Irish kings, as Brachan is said in the life of St. Canoc to have been king of one part of Ireland, his father, beyond a doubt, was king of the same district. Colgan in the life of St. Canoc, II. Feb. has a learned dissertation on this principality of Brachan.

O'Dubhagain, I find, cites the authority of the book of Sabhall, for Boedan Mac Cairill,[h] who was king he says of Ireland and Alba. Boedan, however, is mentioned in the metrical catalogue of the kings of Ulster as having governed that province twenty years. The same rank is

[h] For a note on this Boedan, see vol. 1. p. 165. He must not be confounded with Boedan the Wise, or Boedan of the Sea, who were certainly kings of Ireland. It is clear that so early as the age of Gillamodud, the Ultonians regarded Mac Cairill as monarch.

Lego apud Oduveganum ex libro Saballi, ut ipse loquitur, Boedanum Carilli filium Hiberniæ, Albaniæque Regem fuisse. Catalogus tamen metricus Regum Ultoniæ inter illius provinciæ Reges eum enumerat, et annos viginti regnasse commemorat. Libellus quoque de Synchronismo monarcharum Hiberniæ, et Regum ejusdem provincialium non ultra Ultoniæ Reges illum evehit. Et Annales Hiberniæ mortem ejus in annum 589 referentes, non alio eum quam Regis Ultoniæ titulo exornant. Ita ut facinorum ejus præstantiam supra synchronos Hiberniæ Reges eminentem alicui scriptori Ultoniensi stimulos addidisse putem, ad illum in eo dignitatis fastigio collocandum. Ut Gillemodudus Momonienses, similem ob causam, Felimidium Crinthoni filium Momoniæ tantum Regem Hiberniæ Regibus adscripsisse conqueritur.

Saxo Grammaticus Hugletem quendam Hiberniæ Regibus ingerit, sed ut ait Warræus "Saxonis notissimæ sunt fabulæ."[76] Hanmerus tradit, teste Ketingo, Frotonem quendam Danum Hiberniam tum
[93] rexisse, cum Christus in | lucem ederetur.[77] Subjicit autem Ketingus ab Hibernicis monumentis asseri Chrintonum Nianir Hiberniæ Monarchiam tum gessisse. "Parum verè (inquit Polidorus) quidam tradunt Analaphum Hiberniæ Regem fuisse."[78]

Caradocus Lancarnarvensis Cormacum Culennani filium, Aloicum, et ejus filium Elermaen Reges Hiberniæ vocat.[79] Sed errorem Caradoci Warræus retexit, dum ostendit Cormacum Momoniæ tantum, et alios duos Osmanorum Dubliniensium Reges fuisse. Godredus quoque per errorem à S. Lanfranco Hiberniæ Rex appellatus, Rex tantummodo Manniæ, Dubliniique fuit. Peregrinis hominibus plerumque non multum de discrimine inter Monarchas, et Provinciales Hiberniæ Reges discernendo sollicitis.[80] Sic Regem Cantii Edelbertum S. Gregorius Regem Anglorum,[81] et Edwinum Regem Northumbriæ Bonifacius et Honorius pontifices, "Regem" etiam Anglorum appellarunt.[82]

Scotici scriptores Regum Hiberniæ seriem "Duncono quodam sive Donato, seu verius Dunache augent," quem puerum adhuc, et impuberem magis fidis Regni primoribus erudiendum in urbe Dublin-

[76] Histo. Dan. *l.* 6, de Antiq. Hiberniæ. *c.* 25, in Lib. 6, p. 113, præfat. [77] Warræus ubi supra p. 18, 110, 112, 113. [78] Ibidem, p. 117. [79] Beda *l.* 1, c. 3. [80] Ibidem *l.* 2, *c.* 10, *c.* 17. [81] Bucha. *l.* 6, p. 178. [82] Rege 27.

assigned to him in the synchronism of the monarchs and provincial kings of Ireland: and the annals of Ireland which chronicle his death, A.D. 580, give him no higher title than king of Ulster. It is highly probable that the great celebrity he had acquired above his contemporary kings, stimulated some Ulster writer to elevate him to the rank of monarch of Ireland. Thus, Gilla-Modud complains that from a similar motive, the Munstermen ranked among the Irish monarchs, Feidhlimidh, son of Crimhthann, who was king of Munster only.

Saxo Grammaticus says that a man named Huglet was king of Ireland, but as Ware remarks, "every one knows Saxo's fables."

Froto, a Dane, is said by Hanmer to have been king of Ireland, when Christ was born; but Keating who cites the story states from the Irish authorities that Crimhthann Niadhnair was then monarch of Ireland. "There is no probability (says Polidorus) in what some assert, that Analaph was ever king of Ireland."

Caradoc of Lancarnavan, calls Cormac Mac Cuileannain,[1] Aloic, and his son Elermain, kings of Ireland. But this error is refuted by Ware who shows that Cormac was king of Munster only, and that the other two were kings of the Dublin Danes. Godred is also erroneously styled king of Ireland by St. Lanfranc, though he was only king of Dublin and Man; foreigners generally not taking any trouble to distinguish the provincial kings from the monarchs of Ireland. Thus, St. Gregorius styles Edelbert, who was king of Kent, king of the English; and Popes Bonifacius and Honorius give the same title to Edwin, king of Northumbria. Scotch writers add to the catalogue of Irish kings, Duncan or Donat, or more correctly Donnchadh, who was entrusted they say, when yet a boy, by his father Gregorius, king of the Scots, to the care of the most trusty lords of the kingdom, to be educated in Dublin, the principal seat of the kings of Ireland. But the most prominent facts in this narrative refute the story, for by the laws and national institutes of Ireland the crown was elective not hereditary. It was never conferred on minors, but on adults and men

[1] His pretensions to the title are not even noticed by Gillamodud, who denies it even to Feidhlimidh for whom the Munstermen claimed it.

iensi "Primariâ Regum Hibernicorum sede" commissum fuisse Gregorii Scotorum regis jussu tradunt.[83] Sed ipsa narrationis capita commentum veritate nudant, legibus enim ac decretis patriis statuentibus Regnum Hiberniæ non hæreditate sed electione semper inibatur, nunquam in pueros ex ephebis nondum egressos, sed in viros adultos, ætateque provectos, non in demortui Regis liberos, sed in cognatione illum attingentis conferebatur.[84] Non enim par erat, in Regno bellis assueto, ubi fortiores infiirmiorum fortunis inhiabant, ut quis ratione ad suam ditionem moderandam, aut viribus ad tuendam non munitus, rerum summæ præficeretur. Nec dubito quin ipsi Scoti sicut originem, sic etiam legem de impubere gubernaculis non admovendo, quæ in Scotia mille annos (à Fergutii primi obitu, ad Kenethum tertium) immutata perstitit, ab Hibernia deduxerint. Nec Dublinium primaria sedes Regum Hiberniæ unquam erat, nam Temoria ædificiorum, incolarumque multitudine tum instructa, nunc campestre solum, usitatior eorum aula fuit. Utique Poetæ dictum veritati semper consonum fuit,

> "Non indignemur mortalia corpora solvi
> Cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori."

Proculdubio figmenti hujus figulus, Dublinium Hiberniæ caput se vivo fuisse conspicatus, eam conditionem per anteacta tempora tenuisse somniavit. Et Gregorio regnandi initium, ut Scotici scriptores volunt, anno Domini 876, finem 894 faciente, Dani non Hiberni Dublinium insidebant. Nec Hiberniam per ea tempora puer aliquis, sed vir strenuissimus Flannus Siunius moderabatur, regnum altero Gregorii anno auspicatus, quod ad octo annos supra triginta protraxit, Danis illi non Scotis ullis, multum negotii facessentibus, cum quibus secundas, et adversas pugnas crebro fecit.[85]

Aliqua mihi suspicionem movent Gregorium ne Scotorum quidem fuisse Regem. Holingsedus in sua versione Anglica historiæ Scoticæ ab Hectore Boæthio latinè perscriptæ, se opinari dicit, "Reges qui

[83] Hector Boetius, *l.* 10, *p.* 213, *n.* 10. [84] Hector *l.* 2, *c.* 13, *n.* 70, et *l.* 11, *c.* 232, *n.* 50. [85] Warræus. de Antiq. *p.* 108, et seq. an. 888, 902.

[k] Not certainly in the days of Gregory king of Scots or Picts, A.D. 878–895, nor for some centuries previously, since it had been cursed by St. Ruadhan of Lothra.

advanced in years, and not on the children of the deceased king, but on some of his kindred. It would have been impolitic, in a kingdom torn by incessant war, where the strong thirsted for the property of the weak, that the helm of state should be entrusted to any man who had not sufficient sense to govern, and strength to defend the kingdom. The custom of excluding minors from the crown which was enforced in Scotland during 1,000 years from the death of Fearghus I. to Cinaedh (Keneth) the 3rd was no doubt derived from Ireland, whence the Scotch were descended. Dublin, also, was never the chief seat of the Irish monarchs, but Teamhair, which was then[k] crowned with innumerable edifices and thickly inhabited, was then their usual palace, though it is now only an ordinary field. There is a lasting truth in the words of the poet:—

> "Why should we grieve that mortal bodies die,
> When gorgeous towns in ruins buried lie."

For the concoctor of this fiction, very probably, seeing Dublin the capital of Ireland in his own day, imagined that formerly it held the same rank. Moreover, Dublin was in possession not of the Irish, but of the Danes in the time of Gregorius, who, according to the Scottish authorities, reigned from 876 to 894. And Ireland was governed at that time, not by a boy, but by Flann Sinna, a brave man, who ascended the throne the second year of Gregorius's reign, and during his long administration of thirty-eight years was never molested by the Scots, but by the Danes with whom he fought many battles, sometimes victories, sometimes defeats.

There are some grounds for suspecting that Gregorius was not ever king of the Scots.[1] For Holingshed in his English version of the history of Scotland, composed in Latin by Hector Boethius, gives it as his opinion, that the kings who are said by Scottish historians to have reigned in succession in Scotland, were not kings of Scotland, but contemporaneous kings of Ireland and the Isles. And in my own

[1] He is omitted in the Duan Albanach, but is found in our author's catalogue of Scottish kings, *infra*, and in the line of Pictish kings, published in the Irish edition of Nennius, p. 167.

à Scoticis aut in Insulis adjacentibus, non sibi succedentes, sed varios simul eodem tempore regnasse." Addo ego me non improbabiliter arbitrari scriptores illos, à Pictis Reges mutuasse et suis adscripsisse. In Hibernica Ninnii versione penes me Catalogus est Regum Pictorum, cujus partem hic exhibeo, ut lectori constet, vel diversos ejusdem nominis Reges Pictis, et Scotis imperasse, vel (quod ego contendo) Scotos Pictorum Reges sibi arrogasse.

Brudeus filius Melchon (cujus nono regni S. Columbam in Britaniam venisse Beda scribit) regnavit annis 30; Garnad filius Domnach 11; Neckan nepos Verp 20; Kenethus filius Luthrin 19;
[94] Garnad filius Vaid 7; | Brudeus filius Vaid 5; Tolorc frater eorum 12; Talorcan filius Enfret 4; Gornad. fil. Donel 6, et dimidio anni. Druse frater ejus 7; Brudeus fil. Fili 20; Taran filius Enfidi 4; Breit fil. Derilei 11; Nectonus fil. Derilei 10; Drestus et Alpinus conregnarunt 5; Onuis fil. Urgust 30; Brete fil. Urgust 15; Kenethus fil. Viredeg 12; Alpinus fil. Urod 3, et dimidio an. Drest fil. Tolorcen 11; Tolorcen fil. Drusten 5, vel 15; Tolorcen fil. Urgust 12, et dimidio. Canul fil. Tang. 5; Cuastain fil. Urgust 35; Vidanist fil. Urgust 12; Drest fil. Constantin, et Talorgus fil. Uthol conregnarunt 3; Unen fil. Unust 3; Urard fil. Bargot 3; Bread 1; Kenethus fil. Alpini 16; Domhnall fil. Alpini 4; Constantinus fil. Aedi 45; Moelcolumb fil. Domnalli 9; Culen fil. Illdolbh filii Constantini 4; Kenethus fil. Moelcolumb 24; Constantin fil. Culen uno et medio anno; Kenethus fil. Dubh. 8; Moelcolumb fil. Keneti 30; Donatus nepos vel filius Moelcolumbi 6; Macbeathad fil. Finlaigh 15; Lulach quinque menses; Moelcolumb fil. Donati postea.

Jam vero Scotorum Reges non simili, sed eodem nomine afficiuntur, eo ordine referuntur, quo posteriores Reges in superiori Regum Pictorum serie collocati, et præterea horum et illorum patres eadem nomina gerunt. Quod ut planè perspiciatur Scoticorum aliquot Regum nomina hic exhibeo. Kenethus secundus Alpini filius.

[m] In the Irish Nennius the reading is in octavo ejus regni babtisatus est a S. Columba, pp. 163, lxxvi.

[n] In the Chronicon Pictorum, but not in the Irish list, *ubi supra*. In the different versions of those catalogues, there are discrepancies in the orthography of the royal names too numerous and trifling to be specially noticed.

[o] Between this Domhnall Mac Alpin, and the next on our list, Constantin

opinion, it is not improbable, that these writers borrowed some kings from the Picts and placed them among their own.[l] For the following extract from the catalogue of Pictish kings in the Irish version of Nennius, now in my possession, must convince the reader, either that different kings of the same name governed the Picts and the Scots, or what seems to be most probable, that the Scots have stolen some of the Pictish kings.

Brude, son of Melchon, reigned thirty years. It was in the ninth[m] year of his reign that St. Columba went to Britain, according to Bede. Garnad, son of Domnach reigned 11; Necthan, grandson of Verp, 20; Keneth, son of Luthrin, 19; Garnad, son of Vaid, 7; Brude,[n] son of Vaid, 5; Tolorc, brother of the preceding, 12; Talorcan, son of Enfret, 4; Gornad, son of Donel, 6½; Druse, his brother, 7; Brude, son of File, 20; Taran, son of Enfidi, 4; Breit, son of Derilei, 11; Necton, son of Derilei, 10; Drest and Alpin, colleagues, 5; Onuis, son of Urgust, 30; Brete, son of Urgust, 15; Keneth, son of Vire-deg, 12; Alpin, son of Urod, 3½, Drest, son of Tolorcen, 11; Tolorcen, son of Drusten, 5 or 15; Tolorcen, son of Urgust, 12½; Canul, son of Tang, 5; Cuastain, son of Urgust, 35; Vidanist, son of Urgust, 12: Drest, son of Constantin, and Talorg, son of Uthol, colleagues, 3; Unen, son of Unust, 3; Urard, son of Bargot, 3; Bread, 1; Keneth, son of Alpin, 16; Domhnall, son of Alpin, 4;[o] Constantin, son of Aed, 45; Moelcolumb, son of Domnall, 9; Culen, son of Illdolbh, son of Constantin, 4; Keneth, son of Moelcolumb, 24; Constantin, son of Culen, 1½; Keneth, son of Dubh, 8; Moelcolumb, son of Keneth, 30; Donat, son or grandson of Moelcolumb, 6; Macbeathaid, son of Finlaigh, 16; Lulach, 5 months, and then Moelcolumb, son of Donat.

Now there is not merely a similarity but an identity of names between the line of Scottish kings and part of the foregoing catalogue of Pictish kings, and the order of succession and the names of the fathers are in both lines the same. A few names of the Scottish kings decide the point. Keneth, son of Alpin; Donald, son of

Mac Aed, there are four kings on the list in the Irish Nennius. Three of these must have been omitted here by a mistake of the press.

Donaldus filius Alpini frater Kenethi. Constantinus tertius filius Kenethi. Ethus filius Kenethi. Gregorius Dongalli filius. Donaldus sextus filius Constantini secundi. Constantinus tertius filius Ethi. Malcolumbus filius Donaldi Indulfus filius Constantini tertii. Duffus filius Malcolmi primi. Culenus filius Indulfi. Kenethus tertius filius Malcolumbi. Constantinus quartus filius Culeni. Grimus filius Duffi. Malcolumbus 2, filius Kenethi. Duncanus primus Malcolumbus nepos ex filia Beatrice. Macbethus ejus Malcolumbi nepos ex filia Donada. Malcolumbus 3, filius Duncani. Vides igitur utramque Regum classem ordine, et non solum proprio, sed parentum etiam nomine parem. Ut ovum non tam ovo simile sit quam sunt illi Reges iidem. Id tantum in utroque regum ordine discriminis video, quod Donaldus sextus, Indulfus, et Duffus hic memorati illic omittuntur. Et Grimus Duffi filius, hic Kinethus Duffi filius ibi scribantur. Quæ diversitas non tanti ponderis est ut impediat quominus Scotos censeamus Reges à Pictis mutuatos fuisse.

Scotos tamen in Britannia Reges habuisse constat ex Beda dicente: "Aedan Rex Scotorum qui Britanniam inhabitant"[86] Et idem indubitatæ fidei monumenta restantur.[87] More scilicet olim Hibernis usitato, qui ditionum pænè omnium dominos ac tribuum chiliarchos Regis nomine insigniebant, et ab aliis etiam nationibus nonnunquam frequentato.[88] Nam "Reges (inquit Genebrardus) appellabant illa prima sæcula, quotquot summum in suis regionibus tenebant imperium tametsi anguste circumscriptis."[89] Et Strabo testatur: "singulas Phœnissarum urbes Regem habuisse."[90] Et Plinius ait. Strategias, et præfecturas olim regna fuisse. Scoti "quem primum in Britannia locum inhabitarunt Argatheliam vocarunt, ad partem videlicet septentrionalem sinus Alcuith." Intra hujusce regionis fines

86 L. 1, c. ult. 87 In psal. 154, n. 10. 88 Lib. 16. 89 Lib. 6. 90 Hector Lib. 1, f. 7.

p Constantin and the two next kings must have been on our author's MSS. list of Pictish kings, otherwise he would have mentioned them, with Domhnall, Indulf, and Duff, infra.

q Lulach is omitted here by mistake of the press, as is evident from the comparison made between the Scottish and Pictish lines.

Alpin, brother of Keneth;[p] Constantin son of Keneth; Eth, son of Keneth; Gregorius, son of Dongall; Donald, son of Constantin; Constantin, son of Eth; Malcolm, son of Donald; Indulph, son of Constantin; Duff, son of Malcolm I.; Culen, son of Indulf; Keneth 3rd, son of Malcolm; Constantin 4th, son of Culen; Grim, son of Duff; Malcolumb 2nd, son of Keneth; Duncan I., grandson to Malcolm by Beatrice his daughter; Macbeth, son of Donada, daughter to the same Malcolm;[q] Malcolm, son of Duncan. Hence it is evident, that the two lines agree both in the order of succession and the names of the kings and of their parents. One egg is not more like to another than they are. The only difference perceptible to me in the royal succession is, that Donald VI., Indulf and Duff, of the Scottish are omitted in the Pictish line;[r] and that Grim, son of Duff in the latter, is written Keneth, son of Duff in the former.[s] But a discrepancy so trifling is no argument to prove that the Scots have not borrowed many of the Pictish kings.[t]

It is certain, however, from the authority of Bede, that the Scots had kings in Britain; "Aedhan," he says, "king of the Scots who dwell in Britain," and monuments of admitted authority place the matter beyond dispute. For it was the custom of the Irish to give the title of king to the lords of almost every territory and to the chieftains of tribes—a custom which was sometimes used by other nations. "For in primitive ages (says Genebrard) all were called kings, who enjoyed supreme power in any territory, however inconsiderable." Strabo also attests, "that every city in Phœnicia had its king;" and Plinius "states that formerly military commanders and prefects were kings." Now the Scots, having passed over to Britain and settled to the north of the bay of Alcluith, in the territory which they called Argyle, lived secluded there for a long time under the sway of their own monarchs."

[r] The difference is less, or the identity more evident from other authorities, which place Domhnall, Indulf and Duff on the Pictish catalogue. Irish Nennius, p. 166—7.

[s] See Ogygia, p. 488. Irish Nennius, p. 284. O'Conor's Prolegomena, ii. p. cxxvi.

[t] Rather, that both had the same kings from the conquest of the Picts by the Scots under Keneth Mac-Alpin; but that the Irish styled the monarchs from the latter part of their subjects, kings of the Picts, See Ogygia, p. 482.

diu clausi proprio Regi parebant.[91] Nam ut ait Camdenus "in eo quo appulerunt angulo, diu egerunt." Quam regiunculam nec Scoticus, nec alius quispiam scriptor Scotiam appellavit, ita Rex eorum non Scotiæ, sed Scotorum Rex dictus fuit. Sicuti qui Danis in Hibernia imperabant, Rex Danorum, non Daniæ vocabatur.

Nimirum Scotiæ nomine regio ulla designari non potuit, quam Scoti nondum insederunt: dominatio enim loci semper ante capescitur, quam eidem loco à domante gente denominatio adhæreat. Atqui regionibus hujus nominis cōmmunionem postea nactis, præter Argatheliam, et forsitan paucas regiunculas eidem finitimas, Picti, Anglique usque ad sublatos Pictos dominabantur; Scotiæ igitur denominatio, stantibus adhuc Pictis, in terra extras Scotorum possessionem
[95] positas cadere non potuit, | dictis autem terris Anglos et Pictos imperasse sic ostendo. Terras ad Austrum Glottæ, ac Bodotriæ adjacentes, et ad Twedam Tinamque amnes protensas Anglis, per indicata jam tempora paruisse infra opportuniori loco accuratius inculcabo. Et quia res extra controversiam posita est, ipsis adversariis eam non inficiantibus, unicum duntaxat Camdeni locum id plane indicantem nunc adducam, qui dicit: "Scotôs uno eodemque tempore Pictos ferè ad internecionem delevisse, et Northumbriæ regnum intestinis malis Danorumque incursionibus confectum corruisse.[92] Tunc enim omnis septentrionalis Britanniæ plaga in Scotorum nomen concessit, unâ cum citeriori illa regione citra Cluidam, et Edenburgfrith; Illam enim Regni Northumbriæ partem fuisse, et à Saxonibus possessam nemo repugnat. Hinc est quod omnes qui Orientalem Scotiæ partem tenent, et 'Lowlandmen' id est inferiores vocantur, sint origine Anglosaxones, et Anglicè loquantur. Qui licet in nomen Scotorum transierint, nihilminus sunt quam Scoti, sed ex eadem qua nos Angli Germanica origine.[93] Quod ipsi non possunt non confiteri; et nos non agnoscere cum" à Scotis Hibernicè loquentibus "Saxones perinde ac nos appellentur, et eadem qua nos lingua, certissimo ejusdem originis argumento, scilicet Anglosaxonica dialecto tantum variata utantur."

Cæterorum vero Scotiæ hodiernæ locorum, præter Argatheliam,

[91] Beda *l.* 1, *c.* 1. *p.* 90. [92] Pag. 9, in fine. [93] Pag. 85.

"They remained long" (says Camden) "in that little corner which they originally occupied." Their territory was never called Scotia by Scotch or any other writer, nor was their king styled king of Scotia, but king of the Scots; in the same way as the governors of the Danes in Ireland were not called kings of Denmark, but kings of the Danes.

The name Scotia could never be given to a territory which had not been occupied by the Scots; men always conquer or occupy a territory before they can succeed in giving their name to the conquest. The different territories comprised under the modern name of Scotland, with the exception of Argyle and a few little adjacent districts were in possession of the Picts or English, previous to the extinction of the Picts. So long as the Pictish kingdom stood, the name Scotia could not be applied to territories beyond the limits of Scottish jurisdiction, and here are my proofs that these territories were under the sway of the Picts and the English. That the lands immediately south of Glotta and Bodotria,[u] and thence stretching down to the Tyne and Tweed, were possessed by the English at the period I have mentioned, I shall demonstrate more at length at a more favorable opportunity. But because the matter is beyond all controversy, according to the confession even of our adversaries themselves, let one conclusive extract from Camden suffice for the present; "At one and the same period of time, the Scots almost extirpated the Picts, and the kingdom of Northumbria, shaken to its centre by internal dissensions and the incursions of the Danes, crumbled to pieces. Then the whole northern region of Britain took the name of Scotland, including the tract at this side of the Clyde and the Frith of Edinburgh. All acknowledge that this territory was part of the kingdom of Northumbria and possessed by Saxons; and hence the inhabitants of the eastern portion of Scotland, who are called Lowlandmen, that is 'dwellers on the plain,' are Anglo-Saxons by origin and speak English, and though they are called Scots, they are by no means so, being descended from the same Germanic stock as are their English neighbours. They cannot deny, what we ourselves confess, that they, as well as we, are called 'Saxons' by

[u] Clyde Estuary and Frith of Forth.

finitimasque fortè regiunculas, imperium penes Pictos fuisse sic ostendo.[94] "Totum illum tractum" (inquit Camdenus) "qui pars Scotiæ orientalis est, Picti diutissimè tenuerunt, ut Morriam, Marniam, Aberden, Aberlothnet, Aberdore, Aberneith, Strathbolgii, Strathdée, Strethearn." Orientalis Scotiæ partis possessioni Pictis confirmandæ non est operosius illaborandum, cum adversarii rem ita se habuisse ingenue fateantur. Australe Septentrionaleque montis Grampii latus Beda Pictis vendicat dicens: S. Columbam prædicasse "Verbum Dei provinciis Septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est, eis quæ arduis atque horrentibus jugis ab Australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestrati. Picti Australes intra eosdem montes habent sedes."[95] Et ut non sim prolixius ipsum Boæthium assentientem habeo, cujus hæc sunt verba. "Picti eo temporis tenuerunt Merniam, Angusiam, Stermundium, Gowream, Eruevallem, Perthiam, Fifam, magnam Caledoniæ partem, Sternelingum, Laudoniam, Marciam, Deerem, Odoluciam et Dahalos." Et Joannes major "Laudoniam, et partes illas ultra fretum Scoticum" (ad Austrum scilicet) "et meliorem portionem, et fertiliorem borealis partis crebro Picti possiderunt; et numero, et viribus (ut auguror) Scotis erant paulo superiores."[96]

Nunc excutiendum restat quo tempore Picti potestate, suorumque finium possessione exciderint.[97] Hector Boëtius Pictorum excidium in annum 839 rejicit. Ego in ulterius tempus sic prorogo. Locupletes historici, Reges et casus, post hæc tempora, Pictis tribuunt. Annales Ultonienses Kennethum Alpini filium Regem Pictorum an. Domini 857.[98] Domnallum etiam Regem Pictorum filium Alpini anno Domini 861. Constantinum filium Kennethi Regem item Pictorum anno Domini 875. Et Aedum seu Æthum filium Kenedi

94 Pag. 84, lib. 3, c. 4. 95 Lib. i. fol. 12. 96 De gestis Scotorum, lib. 2, c. 2. 97 Lib. 10, fol. 200. 98 Vide Usherum de primor. p. 719.

v Tract around Dunkeld. Ordoluch and Dahalios, i.e. Berwick and the Borders.

w Another name for the Frith of Forth.

x O'Flaherty admits this fact, and proves it from the Irish annals, but does not agree entirely in our author's inference. "For this Keneth," he says, "and his successors, so long as the name of Pictish kingdom lasted, were called kings of the Picts (as a more honorable title) by the Britons and also by the Irish, who were more

the Irish-speaking Scots, and that they speak the same language (a decisive evidence of common origin), namely, the Anglo-Saxon, differing only in dialect."

That the other parts of modern Scotland, except Argyle and perhaps the adjacent lands, were in possession of the Picts, appears from the following fact: "That entire tract of eastern Scotland (says Camden), namely, Murray, Mearns, Aberdeen, Aberlothnet, Aberdore, Aberneith, Strathbolgy, Strahdee, Strathearn, was for a long lapse of ages in possession of the Picts." But it is needless to dwell on this fact, the possession of the eastern parts of Scotland by the Picts, since it is honestly admitted by our adversaries themselves. According to Bede the southern and northern sides of the Grampian hills were occupied by the Picts; for he relates, that St. Columba preached the word of God to the northern Picts, namely, those who are shut out from the southern regions by those high and craggy mountains. The territory of the southern Picts lay locked up in the mountains. Not to delay my reader longer, let it suffice to quote Boethius himself who confesses the fact: "All that time," he writes, "the Picts held Mearns, Angus, Strathmond, Gowree, Eskvale, Perth, Fife, a great part of Caledonia, [v] Stirling, Laudon, March, Deira, Ordoluch, and Dahalia." Johannes Major also says "the Picts frequently possessed Laudon, and all those parts beyond the Scots sea[w] (to the south), and the larger and more fertile portion of the north, being something inferior to the Scots in number, and (as I suppose) in power."

The question to be discussed now, is at what time the Picts lost their power and were driven from the possessions. Hector Boetius dates the event at 839; but I maintain it was later, and for these reasons, that abundant historical authorities describe Pictish kings and the fortunes of their realm subsequent to that period.[x] The Annals of

closely connected in kindred with the Albanian Scots, and knew better than others their condition and progress: and in truth, the Picts though subjected to the sway of the Scots constituted the larger and better portion of the kingdom of Albania: for the kings of the Scots had hitherto under their sceptre only the kingdom of Dalriedia from the Frith of Dunbarton and the Western ocean to the eastern limits of Argyle and Breadalbain." Ogygia, p. 483.

regem quoque Pictorum anno Domini 877 mortuos esse narrat. Nec solis Ultoniensibus Annalibus, sed etiam à Carodoco Lancarvernensi Kennethus ille Regis Pictorum titulo insignitur. Jidem et Annales, Kellach, sive Celsum Abbatem Kildariensem anno Domini 864 "dormivisse in regione Pictorum scribunt." Caradocus Pictos anno Domini 871 à Danis plurimum vexatos fuisse scribit.[99] Et Annalium Ultoniensium eandem rem referentium hæc sunt verba: "Ainlaiph, et Jvar venerunt ad Ath-cliath," sive Dublinium "ex Albania, cum ducentis navibus, et præda maxima hominum Anglorum, et Britonum, et Pictorum deducta est secum ad Hiberniam in captivitate."[100] Anno etiam 875 Alserius de rebus gestis Ælfredi Regis, et alibi, Annales Anglosaxones, Fabius Ethelroredus, Mathæus Florilegus, et Annales Ultonienses, alii Pictorum populationem, alii stragem à Danis factam esse docent.

Quod si qui contensiosius asserere persistant Pictos (ut ante memoratum est) à Kennetho Scotorum Rege penitus deletos fuisse, tanta [96] hominum | multitudo ex angustis Argathelæ finibus in aciem educi non potuit, quæ latè dominantes Pictos expugnare nedum funditus extinguere potuit.[101] Nisi Picti, ut ait Camdenus, "à Scotis ex Hibernia influentibus, ita fuerint obtriti ut circa annum salutis 740" (potius 840) "prælio funestissimo debellati, aut penitus extincti, aut paulatim in eorem nomen, et nationem concesserint." Nam, ut ait Argentreus, "mutatio denominationis non potest cuivis nationi puncto temporis evenire. Illa enim nisi longo temporis tractu non acquiritur. Quando nimirum potentissimus aliquis monarcha viribus, et potentia ita præstat, ut gentem armis domitam in suam ditionem redigat." Non itaque recens, sed valde diu post Pictos prostratos, et saltem post Gregorium extinctum, natio, et patria Pictorum, in Scotorum, et

[99] Usherus ibidem. [100] Usher. ibidem. [101] Pag. 85, Historia Britannica Armoricæ, *c.* 10, *l.* 1.

[y] In Ogygia these dates are 862, 856, 876, 878.

[z] Led his army into Pictland in 840, defeated the Picts in 842, from which event his reign over all Albania dates. In 850 defeated all the forces of the Picts seven times in one day and beheaded at Scone, Drusken their last king. Ogygia, p. 482.

Ulster chronicle the deaths of Kenneth Mac Alpin, king of the Picts, A.D. 857; of Domhnall, king of the Picts, son of Alpin, A.D. 861; of Constantin, son of Kenneth, king of the Picts, A.D. 875;[y] and of Aed, or Eth, son of Kenneth, also king of the Picts, A.D. 875. Caradoc of Lancaravan, as well as the Ulster annals, give the title of king of the Picts to that Kenneth. In the same annals it is stated that Keallach or Celsus, Abbot of Kill-dara died in the country of the Picts, A.D. 864. Carodoc writes, that the Picts were dreadfully harassed by the Danes, A.D. 871; and the annals of Ulster chronicle the same event in the following words: Anlaph and Ivar, came to Ath-cliath (Dublin) from Albania, with 200 ships, and an immense spoil of Englishmen, Britons and Picts, were brought captive to Ireland; Again in the year 875, Asser in his history of king Alfred, and in other places, the Anglosaxon annals, Fabius Ethelwered, Mathæus Florilegus, and the Annals of Ulster record, some, the extermination, others the bloody defeat of the Picts by the Danes.

But should it be obstinately maintained that the Picts were destroyed totally by Kenneth, king of the Scots (as has already been said), it is evident that the narrow limits of Argyle could not send out an army so powerful as to conquer, much less exterminate the inhabitants of the extensive Pictish territory; unless it be as Camden states: "that the Scots of Ireland poured across the sea and gained so decisive a victory, A.D. 740 (840, rather),[z] that the Picts were either annihilated, or gradually were absorbed in the name and nation of their conquerors:" for as Argentré observes, "the change of a nation's name can never be effected in an instant of time.[a] Nothing but a long lapse of years can fix the new denomination; when, for instance, some powerful sovereign, is so superior in strength and resources, that he absorbs the conquered nation within his own dominions." Therefore the nation and country of the Picts, could not have been absorbed in the Scotch and Scotland, immediately after the defeat of the Picts, but a very long time after, and subsequently, at all events, to the death

[a] See some conjectures on the disappearance of the Pictish name from history, in Irish Nennius, Appendix lxii. lxiiii. which do not agree with our author or O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 486, 488.

Scotiæ nomina transierunt. Ut jam denique pateat nec Duncanum Hiberniæ, nec Gregorium Scotiæ, aut Scotorum Regem fuisse.

Non ignoro, alios etiam Reges hic non memoratos ab aliquibus scriptoribus Hiberniæ assignatos fuisse: utpote Partholanum, Gurmuntium, Turgesium, et Fælimeum. Quos quando alibi è Regum Hiberniæ albo expungo, eandem rem lectori ob oculos iteratò non ponam.

Aliis admirationem, et mihi quoque non raro movit, quod è memoratis jam Regibus, si non plerique, saltem quam plurimi, non suâ sed violentâ morte sublati sunt; Et decessorem successor sæpè sæpius vita privavit. Meum autem animum ulterius in hac re perpendenda progredientem subiit cogitatio, nullam esse rem è qua mortales admirandi ansam magis arripere debent, quam quod tot homines è nihilo, tam uberem messem è minimis granis, tam proceras arbores è minuto semine nasci quotidie vident: et diem solis luce, noctem lunæ ac stellarum fulgore illustrari cernunt.[102] "Majus miraculum est" (inquit Augustinus) "gubernatio totius mundi, quam saturatio quinque millium hominum de quinque panibus. Et tamen hoc nemo miratur, illud mirantur homines, non quia majus est, sed quia rarum est." Quando autem usus jam invaluit, ut hæc quotidiana miracula crebriori consuetudine frequentata viluerint, et pro miraculis non habeantur, sic cum inhumana illa Hibernorum consuetudo, aliis quoque nationibus per ea tempora familiaris fuisse deprehendatur, non est tantopere obstupescenda, nec tota tantæ inhumanitatis culpa in solos Hibernos est conferenda, in cujus consortio, pleræque aliæ gentes Hibernos æquant, aut potius superant.[103]

Scribanus itaque verè scripsit: "Si regna percurras orbis singula,

[102] Tractatum 24, in Joannem. [103] Philosophi Christiani, p. 120.

[b] Speaking of Malcolm II. A.D. 1004, 1034, O'Flaherty says, "Hunc *primum Scotiæ qua nunc patet*, regis titulo augustiorem redditum annales etiam innuere videntur." Ogygia, p. 488. Marianus Scotus, contemporary of Malcolm II. gives him the title of king of Scotia.

[c] True of the vast majority of Irish kings, Pagan and Christian, before the accession of Flabhearthach, A.D. 722. But from that date to the death of Maelseachlain II. A.D. 1022, a period of 300 years, there reigned 17 kings of whom one was killed by his countrymen; four fell in battle against the

of Gregorius. There can be no doubt, then, that neither Duncan was king of Ireland nor Gregorius king of Scotia and the Scotch.[b]

I am aware, in addition to those already noticed, other kings of Ireland are mentioned by other writers, such as Partholanus, Gurmund, Turgesius and Feidlimidh. But as I dispose of those claimants in another place, I pass them over for the present.

It has often been a matter of astonishment to me and no doubt to others, that of the great number of Irish kings, many, if not most of them were cut off by a violent death,[c] and that the successor often hewed his way to the throne over the body of his predecessor. But upon applying my mind to the more profound consideration of the matter, the thought occurred to me, that there is nothing in this world more worthy of admiration and astonishment, than that the great human family should spring from one man; the overflowing harvest from a few grains of seed; and the lordly trees from diminutive seeds; that the day should be illumined by the brilliancy of the sun, and the night by the glory of the moon and the stars. "The government of this world," says St. Augustinus, "is a greater miracle than the feeding of 5000 men with five loaves. And yet no man marvels at the former, though all marvel at the latter, not because it is greater, but because it is more rare." So powerful is the influence of habit, that these daily miracles sink in our estimation because of their frequent repetition, and cease to be regarded as miracles; so, when you find that this inhuman habit of the Irish was common in all contemporary nations, our astonishment ceases: the whole guilt of the atrocious facts cannot be charged against the Irish alone, since most other nations rivalled, if they did not outstrip them in similar barbarities.

Truly, indeed, hath Scribanus said, " Examine all the thrones of the

Danes; the remaining twelve died a natural death: one a monk at Armagh; another in pious retirement in Iona, and a third on a pilgrimage to the same place. There were manifest signs of improvement in the political state of the country until the usurpation of Brian Boruimhe, as Mr. Moore very justly observes, destroyed all chance of a consolidated monarchy, by throwing open to the ambition of provincial kings, the throne, which had hitherto been occupied exclusively by the Niall family, and which, if we may judge from previous analogies, would soon become settled in one branch of that family.

raros in plerisque sicca periisse morte reperies. Ita plurimum sanguine suo regna purpurant." Usque adeo verum est quód

"Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine pauci
Descendunt Reges." Nimirum,
"Minus in parvis fortuna furit,
Leviusque ferit leviora Deus."

"Quinquaginta minimum," inquit Scribanus, "Romani Imperatores alieni omnes, aut sui ferri, aut veneni victimæ fuerunt."[104] Tiberium Calligula decessorem successor veneno extinxit.[105] Claudius cum filio Britannico Neronis privigni et successoris fraude periit.[106] Otho viam, quam ad imperium sibi per Sergii cædem stravit, Vitellio per latus suum aperuit.[107] Vitellius à Vespasiani successoris ducibus jugulatus, in Tyberem præcipitatur.[108] Dolo Juliani Didi Ælius Pertinax, jussu Severi Julianus interiit.[109] Duo Philippi, pater et filius, imperium cæde Gordiani partum, nece ipsis à Decio successore illatâ perdiderunt.[110] Phocas Mauritium Imperatorem, Phocatem Heraclius, obtruncavit.[111] Nicephoro Phocati Orientis Imperatori Joannes Zimiscus manus intulit, cui cædis præmium imperium fuit.[112] Romanum Argyropolum Græcum Augustum Michaël Calephatus interemit, et ejus Imperium arripuit. Alexio Isaaci Angeli filio, vitam, et imperium Mirtilus eripuit. |

[97] Porrò ut non in solis Imperatoribus hujusmodi rabies grassata fuisse videatur: si alia quoque regna percurramus, illa hoc furore redundasse videbimus.[113] Non longè itaque abeamus. Nam vicina Anglia ejusmodi crudelitatis exempla nobis abunde suppeditat. Egbertus Cantiæ Rex, Ethelbertum, et Ethelbritum Ermendeni filios è medio tolli curavit, ne ipsum, vel progeniem adulti delerent. Lotharius et Edricus Cantiæ quoque Reges, ille vulnere accepto, hic à suis peremptus interiit.[114] Eorpwaldus Orientalium Anglorum Rex occisus periit. Sigebertus, et Egricus in acie ceciderunt.[115] Etheldredum vero Sigeberti successorem, et Pendam Merciorum Regem, in prælio Rex Oswinus occidit.[116] Qui Penda Edwinum, et Oswaldum, et

[104] Ibidem, p. 118. [105] Ibidem, p. 280. [106] Turfelin. Epita. an. dom. 57. [107] Idem. anno. 71. [108] Anno. 246. [109] Anno. 603. [110] Anno. 962. [111] Anno. 1027. [112] Anno. 1190. [113] Harpsfel. sec. 7, c. 5. [114] Ibidem, c. 15. [115] Beda *l.* 3, *c.* 18. [116] Harpsfel. cap. 15.

world; in far the greater number how few do you find dying a natural death! Thus the throne was generally purpled with the blood of its occupant." So true is it, that

> "To Pluto's realms, through blood and murder foul
> Most kings descend"—

And certainly

> "Fortune, the lowly in her fury spares,
> And lighter woes light goddess on them sends."

"At least fifty Roman Emperors," says Scribanus, "fell by poison, or by the sword of an enemy or their own." Caligula cut off his predecessor Tiberius by poison. Claudius and his son Britannicus fell by the treachery of Nero his stepson and successor. Otho rushes to the imperial throne over the body of his murdered victim, Sergius; and Vitellius secures the same prize by the murder of Otho. Vitellius in turn had his throat cut by the generals of Vespasianus, and his body flung into the Tiber. Helvius Pertinax fell by the treachery of Julianus Didius, and Julianus by the orders of Severus. The two Philippi, father and son, ascended the throne by the murder of Gordianus, and were in turn slain by Decius their successor. Phocas slew the emperor Mauritius, and was slain by Heraclius. John Zimisces laid violent hands on Nicephoras Phocas, emperor of the East, and obtained the crown as the reward of his guilt. Michael Calaphates deposed and slew Romanus Argyropolus the Greek Augustus. Myrtilus deprived Alexius son of Isaac Angelus of his crown and his life.

But if we survey other realms, we shall find that this rabid frenzy was not confined to emperors alone; it raged in other kingdoms. We need not go far for examples since England our neighbour supplies examples of atrocity in abundance. Egbert king of Kent, murdered Ethelbert and Ethelbrit, the sons of Eremenden, but if they grew up to man's estate they should slay him or his children. Lotharius and Edric, kings of Kent, were also slain, the former in battle, the latter by his own friends. Eorpuald, king of the East Angles was assasinated. Sigebert and Egfric fell in battle. King Oswin slew in battle Etheldred successor of Sigebert, and Penda king of the Mercians. Penda himself had slain in battle Edwin and Oswald, and together

præter memoratos jam orientalium Anglorum Reges, etiam Annam eorum successorem in pugna trucidavit.[119] Ethelfredus, et Edwinus Northumbriæ Reges in prælio perempti sunt.[120] Oswinus Berniciorum Rex Oswino Deirorum Regi vitam et regnum abripuit.[121] Oswii filius Egfridus cum Pictis prælio congressus periit.[122] Ethelbertus Orientalium Anglorum Rex in ædibus Offæ Merciorum Regis nefarie confossus est, et ejus regnum Offa sibi vendicavit.[123] Sigebertus Occidentalium Saxonum Rex à subulco peremptus est.[124] Ceolredus, et Ethelbaldus Merciorum Rex, ille horribili morte obiit, hunc è medio sui nefariè sustulerunt Berurendo duce, quem ante vertentem annum, regno vitaque Offa spoliavit.[125] In eodem Regno aliquandiu post successerunt Chenelmus porrecto à sorore veneno necatus; Bernulphus, et Ludicænus ab Egberto Visisaxonum Rege interfecti: Ultanus Berferthi insidiis oppressus est. Regem Northumbriæ Osredum, Chenredus et Ostricus jugularunt, quos postea regno sigillatim potitos sui confecerunt. Horum successor Osulphus suorum insidiis, et hujus successor Molo Alfredi astu extinctus est. De Ethelredo suorum perfidiâ sublato Alcuinus conqueritur his verbis: "Heu dolor! donis datis, et Epistolis in manus missorum, supervenit tristis legatio per missos, qui de Scotiâ reversi sunt, de infidelitate gentis" Anglorum "et nece Regis" Ethelredi "ita quod Carolus" Magnus "retractâ donorum largitate, in tantum iratus est contra gentem illam, ut ait, perfidam et perversam, et homicidam dominorum suorum, pejorem eam paganis æstimans, et nisi ego intercessor essem pro ea, quidquid eis boni abstrahere potuisset, et mali machinari, jam fecisset."[126] Ethwoldum deinde, et Ethelwaldnm seditio sustulit. Hujus filius Alcmundus in prælio cum Ultoniensibus inito periit. Verum horum aliquibus, sicut apud nos Cullenani filio, tam fausta mors obtigit, ut illa in terris Martyris nomen in cælis felicitatem æternam iis comparaverit.

Sed hæc frequentandæ regum cædis labes, præter Angliam etiam Scotiam infecit. Nam è centum, et octo Regibus quos Scotici scriptores Scotiæ imperasse memorant, amplius quam quadraginta, vel suum

[117] Ib. c. 21. [118] Beda *l.* 2, *c.* 12. 14, 20. [119] Lib. 3, c. 14. [120] Lib. 4, c. 26. [121] Harpsf. s. 8, c. 9. [122] Idem. cap. 10. [123] Cap. 13. [124] Cap. 14. [125] Cap. 21. [126] Malsmb. de Regib. *l.* 1, *c.* 3.

with the above mentioned kings of the East Angles, their successor Anna. Ethelfred and Edwin kings of Northumbria were slain in battle. Oswin, king of the Bernicii deposed and slew Oswin king of the Deiri. Egfrid son of Oswy was slain in battle by the Picts. Ethelbret, king of the East Angles, was savagely stabbed in the palace of Offa king of the Mercians, and his crown seized by the murderer. Sigebert, king of the West Saxons, was cut off by a swineherd. Ceolred, and Ethelbald king of the Mercians, died, the former by a horrible end, the latter by the barbarous treachery of his subjects under the command of Beorured, who, before the lapse of one year, was deposed and slain by Offa. Of the kings who succeeded shortly after in the same throne Chenelm died by poison administered by his own sister, and Beornwulph and Ludecen by the sword of Egbert, king of the West Saxons. Ulstan fell a victim to the treachery of Berferth. Chenred and Ostric assassinated Osred king of Northumbria, and after enjoying the throne in succession were slain by their subjects. Their successor Oswulph fell by the treachery of his subjects, and his successor Molo by the villainy of Alfred. Alcuin complains in the following strain of the perfidious murder of Ethelred by his subjects: "Alas, my grief, the presents were delivered, the letters were already in the hands of the envoys, when the shocking intelligence was brought by envoys from Ireland of the treachery of that people (the English), and the murder of the king (Ethelred). So indignant was Charles (Charlemagne) against that people, that he took back his presents, calling them a perverse, a perfidious, a rebellious race, the murderers of their lords, worse in his opinion than the Pagan nations themselves; if I had not interceded for them, all the injury in his power, all the good he could take from them, was already done." Ethelwold and Ethelwald afterwards fell in a sedition. Alcumund, son of the latter, was slain in a battle against the Ultonians. But the death of some of these victims was as happy as that of our own son of Culeannan, winning for them on earth the reputation of martyrs, and in heaven the crown of eternal happiness.

But this foul stain of the murder of their kings, infected Scotland as well as England; of the one hundred and forty kings who are said by Scottish writers to have reigned in Scotland, more than forty fell before

vel alienum ferrum, ante fati diem vita privavit. Nisi et lectori et mihi tædio foret paginam hanc plurium cædium commemoratione funestari, posset in continentem oratio excurrere, et funestos plurimorum Regum exitus, è singulorum regnorum historiis, huc transferre. Cum itaque in omni fere gente, paria aut non inferiora feritatis documenta ac in Hibernia reperiuntur : non debet tot cædium infamia Hibernis inhærere, quæ nationes alias pervasit, quibus fortasse Reges Hiberniæ dissimiles in hoc fuisse dicentur, quod his ut plurimum tenebras, et inertia furta perosis, hostem luce palam aggredi certum, illis dolo, insidiisve conficere usitatius fuit. Quod si cædium hujusmodi convitio Hibernos alia natio perstringat ; illo Salvatoris ad Judæos pœnas in adulteram deposcentes responso talis exprobratio retundenda est: "qui sine peccato est vestrum, primus in illam lapidem mittat."[127]

[127] Joannes 8, v. 7.

the natural term, either by their own or the swords of their enemies. Were it not too painful to me and to my readers to ensanguine my page with the dismal enumeration of violent deaths, it were easy to expand my narrative immeasuredly, by culling from the histories of each nation the bloody catalogue of slaughtered kings. It is unjust therefore to fix on Ireland the infamy of so many bloody deaths, when the same or more atrocious crimes blacken the annals of almost every other nation, as well as of Ireland; perhaps it may be pleaded even in extenuation of her guilt, that in one respect she was unlike all others—for while their usual weapons were craft and treachery, she generally spurned the dark plot, and the lurking trail of the traitor, and encountered her enemy in the light of day, when surprise was impossible. Should any nation upbraid Ireland with the infamy of these crimes, a crushing rebuke to the accusation is ever ready in the words of our Savior to the Jews, when they clamored for the death of the adulterous woman: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her."

CAPUT X.

QUOD DISCREPANTIA DE CÆLI, SOLI, SALIQUE HIBERNICI, ET ANIMALIUM ALIQUOT INDOLE GIRALDUS, AC AB EXPERIENTIA, SCRIPTORUMQUE ALIORUM TESTIMONIIS DISSONANTIA TRADIT.

[98] Inæqualitas inique vitio Hiberniæ vertatur.—Hibernia quomodo montuosa; quomodo mollis; quomodo aquosa; quomodo sylvestris; quomodo paludosa; Hibernia terra deserta inepte dicitur.—Giraldus pugnantia loquitur. [99] Inepte Hiberniam inviam fuisse dixit. —Hiberniam prope mare demissam esse falso dixit.—Hibernia quomodo sabulosa. [100] Mare Hibernicum navigabile.—Wickloensis et Arcloensis portus undis inusitatas dotes falso ascribit; Quibusdam etiam fontibus dotes inusitatas falso ascribit. [101] Laus Hiberniæ: eædem laudes extenuatæ; fertilis Hibernia. [102] Ultoniæ laus; Aer Hiberniæ temperatus; intemperies Hiberniæ. [103] Cæli constitutio semper eadem; perdices et phasiani in Hibernia—Hibernia non caret capris. [104] Frequentibus ventis Hiberniam infestari et ab iis arbores incurvari falso dixit.—Canes venatici in Hibernia magni; sicut et alia etiam pecora. [105] Non tantum color niger fuit Hibernis familiaris.

GIRALDUS è suorum præconiis,[1] et adversariorum vituperiis capite septimo prolatis, tandem eluctatus ad laudes Hiberniæ promendas excurrit; ita ut vituperia subinde assuat.[2] "Hibernia" (inquit) "quanto à cætero, et communi orbe terrarum semota, et quasi alter orbis esse dignoscitur, tanto rebus quibusdam naturæ cursui incognitis quasi peculiaris ejusdem naturæ thesaurus, ubi insignia, et prætiosiora sua secreta reposuerit esse videtur. In qua sunt multæ aliis regionibus aliena nimis, et prorsus incognita, suaque novitate valde miranda."[3] Videbatur Giraldus ad bonam se frugem recepisse, et finem calumniandi fecisse. Sed ecce ut ad ingenium rediit et familiarem sibi maledicentiam. "Ab Hibernia" (inquit) "potestne aliquid boni esse? sugamus mel de petra, et lac de saxo." Et iterum: "Hibernia est terra inæqualis, et montosa, mollis, et aquosa, silvestris et paludosa, verè terra deserta, invia, sed aquosa, interius in colles varios, arduosque montes enormiter erecta." Miror cur inæqualitatem Hiberniæ vitio vertat; perinde ac si solum, illi solum arriderit, quod in planitiem explicetur, vel in montes attollatur. Gratior omnibus (ni fallor) terra

[1] Topo. d. 1, c. 2. [2] Præf. 1. [3] Ibid. Topo. d. 1, c. 4.

CHAPTER X.

THE ACCOUNT GIVEN BY GIRALDUS OF THE CLIMATE, SOIL, AND SEAS OF IRELAND, AND OF THE NATURAL QUALITIES OF SOME ANIMALS IS CONTRADICTORY IN ITSELF, AND OPPOSED BOTH TO EXPERIENCE AND TO THE TESTIMONY OF OTHER WRITERS.

[98] Absurdly urged against Ireland, as a defect, that the soil is not level; in what sense Ireland is mountainous; soft; wet, wooded; boggy.—Ireland falsely called a desert land. [99] Giraldus contradicts himself; falsely calls Ireland an impassable land; falsely states that the lands are low near the sea shores.—In what sense Ireland is sandy. [100] The Irish sea navigable; certain properties falsely ascribed to the waves in the ports of Wicklow and Arklow.—Unusual properties falsely ascribed to the waters of some fountains. [101] Giraldus praises Ireland; detracts from those praises.—Fertility of Ireland. [102] Praise of Ulster.—Giraldus states that the climate of Ireland is temperate; and that it is severe. [103] Climates do not change with time.—Partridge and pheasants in Ireland; goats in Ireland.—Falsely said that Ireland is incommoded by frequent storms, and that the trees are bent by them.—Large hounds in Ireland.—Herds of other animals. [105] Other colors besides black used in Ireland.

GIRALDUS describes the climate, soil, and seas, and animals of Ireland in a manner both contradictory in itself and at variance with experience and the testimony of other authorities.

Having indulged in lavish encomiums on his friends, and violent invectives against their enemies, as we have seen, in the seventh chapter, Giraldus comes at length with a bad grace to celebrate the praise of Ireland, but in such a way, that he makes even his praise a vehicle of vituperation. "As Ireland," he writes, "is cut off from all intercourse with the other and common world, and is, as it were, another little world in itself, abounding in some things unknown to the course of nature in other countries, it appears to be a sort of peculiar treasury, where that same nature hath stored up some of her most precious and singular gifts. There you find many things, which, though strange and utterly unknown in other countries, must by their novelty excite your admiration." This looks as if he had repented at last, and renounced his calumnies. But mark, how his native temper triumphs and his virulence bursts forth fresh, "Can any good come from Ireland?" he asks, "can you suck honey from the rock, or milk from the stone?" And again, "Ireland is uneven, and mountainous,

est, quæ partim in planiciem effunditur, partim in colles clementer assurgit, cujusmodi Hiberniam esse qui eam oculis obibit experimento deprehendet.

Præterea dedecori esse Hiberniæ autumat, quod "montuosa" sit. Nimirum vir exsatiari difficilis, campestrium duntaxat amænitate, non rerum vicissitudine capitur. Fastidium illi parit, quod Hibernia quandoque montibus intumescat, aliquando in patentes campos expandatur. Sanè nihil jucundum est, quod varietate non commendetur; "Mollem" Hiberniam esse reprehendit, in ea uligines esse frequentiores forsitan innuens, quas Deum incolis suppeditasse ideo æstimamus, ut in locis lignorum, ad struendum ignem inopia laborantibus, cespites è molliori humo effossi, et ad solem desiccati, lignorum vice uterentur. Quod "aquosa" sit Hibernia, ego in laude pono, non ut ille in vituperio, propterea quod riguum solum semper vernet, vel quod Hibernia pluribus amnibus ad evectionem subvectionemque accommodatis scindatur. Si "silvestrem" ideo Sylvester Cambrensis Hiberniam appellet quod silvis abundaverit; miror cur indigenæ cespites ullibi foco tam frequenter admoverint, si lignorum copia ubique suppetierit. Sane hodie apud nos rariora nemora visuntur. Quid reprehensionis in eo sit quod Hibernia "paludosa" fuerit? non video. Nihil enim interest, si aliqua loca frequentibus Oceani alluvionibus paludescant.[4]

Obtrectanti autem Hiberniam esse "terram desertam" apposité Stanihurstus respondit Giraldum "alludere parum accommodatè ad istum vatis versiculum, Psal. 62, 'in terra deserta invia, et [in]aquosa.'

[4] Pag. 225.

[a] Giraldus speaks of his own day, and occasional references in the native annals prove that Ireland did then abound in woods and forests. Even in our Author's time, "forests many miles long and broad" were still remaining in those counties which had been the last strongholds of the native Irish. The woods may be said to have shared the fate of the Milesians: the allusion to "the following words" in the old song: "John O'Dwyer of the Glens," is not mere allegory but fact.—See Boate's Natural History of Ireland, chap. xv.; also Geoghegan's History of Ireland, p. 611—77, Dublin, 1844. In our Author's day, it is true, there were no woods or forests in that part of Connacht with which he was best acquainted.

and boggy and wet, and woody and marshy—truly a desert land, less, though wet; and in the interior disfigured with various hills and enormous mountains." I am at a loss to know why he finds fault with the unevenness of the Irish soil; is it that nothing pleases his taste but a clump of mountains, or a dead flat? All, but himself, I think, are more pleased with a surface which ever expands into smiling plains or swells into gentle hills, such a surface as greets the eye of the spectator in every part of Ireland.

He thinks it a great disadvantage that Ireland is mountainous. His taste is so fastidious that variety cannot please it. The amenity of champaign country alone can satisfy him, since he is disgusted with the swelling hills and extensive plains of Ireland. Yet nothing is really agreeable, which has not variety to recommend it. Ireland he complains is *soft*, that is I suppose, it abounds in bogs, which are supplied perhaps by kind Providence to give good fuel, when the turf is cut from the soft bed and dried in the sun, in a land where wood could not be procured in sufficient quantities to minister to the wants of man. Ireland, too, is wet, but that in my opinion is an advantage rather than a disadvantage; both because many rivers can alone feed the perennial verdure of the soil, and because they open by their intersections, inlets and outlets for import and export through the heart of the country. When Giraldus says that Ireland is woody, if he means that it was covered with forests, is it not astonishing that people take the trouble of digging and drying turf, when they have abundance of wood at hand for fuel?[a] At present, certainly, our forests are by no means numerous. I am at a loss to know what special disadvantage there is in the swamps of Ireland? If some tracts are submerged by frequent encroachments of the ocean, what is there very singular in that?[b]

To his charge that Ireland is a desert land, Stanihurst very appropriately answers, "that there was not any truth in Giraldus's allusions to the text of the Psalmist 62: 'In a desert land, where there is no way and no water,' as applied to Ireland. And that in his own day

[b] If this be intended to insinuate that there were no fens or wet lands except what were subjected to inundations from the sea or even from rivers, it cannot be reconciled with undoubted authorities.

Verum non adeo desertam fuisse eo tempore, (etiam Giraldo teste) liquide apparet." Cap. primo ita scribit; "Poteram quidem ut alii aurea forte munuscula, falcones, et accipitres quibus abundat insula, vestræ sublimitati destinasse." Cap. 6, "Campos frugibus abunde vestiri docet." Cap. 7, "Magnam vini vim in Hiberniam asportari testatur. Passim historia magnam Hibernorum multitudinem in armis esse declarat. Quibus omnibus in unum collectis consequens est Hiberniam non esse desertam. Nisi illam terram desertam esse Giraldus velit quæ aureis munusculis abundat, in qua incolæ agriculturæ operam navant, cum transmarinis mercatoribus commercia habent; quæ in quavis insulæ portione populis referta est."[5] Quæ, amabo, terra illa deserta esse potest,[6] in qua, teste Cambrensi ipso, "duo millia" hominum ex una Wexfordia in hostes eruperunt,[7] in quâ "partâ victoriâ,[8] hostium capita circiter ducenta ad pedes Dermicii sunt delata?"[9] in qua
[99] "multitudo infinita" versabatur, in qua "tria virorum millia," | impetum in hostes fecerunt; in qua "triginta millia" hominum in aciem educta sunt? ut me tacente, Giraldum pugnantia protulisse res ipsa loquatur. Nec Hiberniam terram esse desertam minus apposite Giraldus quam "inviam" dixit. Perinde ac si sic sylvis aut obturamentis aliis obstructa fuerit, ut pervius per eam incessus non patuerit, cum eam sylvæ non ita obduxerint, quin pascuis, cerealisque agri copia passim abundaverit, ipso Giraldo fatente, "fæcunda frugibus arva, pecore montes" fuisse. Hibernia certè non obsessa, oppressave nemoribus sed ad usum, decus et munimentum distincta fuit: è nemoribus enim cæduis robora secta, vel ad Ecclesias, vel ad ædes, vel ad naves, aliasque operas educebantur; sylvas pro receptaculis non pro habitaculis habebant.[10] Nec enim in antris, aut specubus ut veteres Germani, sed in domibus habitandi sedes figebant. Et quomodo "terra invia" illa dicetur, quæ triginta diœcesibus, infinitis templis, innumeris monachorum cænobiis, à conferta hominum multitudine quotidie frequentatis cumulate culta est?

Nec magis falso Hiberniam inviam fuisse Giraldus, quàm "interius

[5] Hibern. expugnat. *l.* 1, *c.* 3. [6] Ibid. c. 3. [7] Ibid. c. 4. [8] Ibid. c. 5. [9] Ibid. c. 13. [10] Warræus de Antiq. c. 22.

it was not a desert land appears evidently from the words of Giraldus himself. In his first chapter he writes, "I could have easily procured for your highness as others have done, presents of gold, and hawks and falcons, with which this island abounds;" chap. 6, he states "that the plains are clothed with abundant crops;" chap. 7, "that enormous quantities of wine were imported into Ireland." Every page of his history proves that Ireland had an immense multitude of soldiers; from all which it evidently follows, that Ireland was not a desert country, unless Giraldus means to assert, that a country which abounded in presents of gold, and yielded plenteous returns to her agricultural population, and supported an extensive traffic with foreign merchants, and was thickly peopled in all her borders was a desert country. In the name of common sense, how could that be a desert country in which a single town, Wexford alone, sent out from her gates two thousand soldiers against the enemy? in which "after a victory, the heads of two hundred enemies were laid at the feet of king Diarmuid;" which was peopled by "an innumerable multitude," in which we find "three thousand soldiers" leading a charge against the enemy and not less than thirty thousand drawn out in battle array. These facts are taken from the lips of Giraldus, so that it needs no argument of mine to convict him of contradiction. He had as slight reason to say that Ireland was a trackless land, as if it had been so completely encumbered with forest and jungles, that there was no facility of free transit.[c] Yet our author expressly states that there were abundant pastures and tillage, that the fields were crowned with fruits and the mountains with cattle. Ireland had her woods and forests, not in inconvenient excess, but for her ornament, her uses and strongholds dispersed over her borders. They supplied timber for her churches, her houses and her ships, they were retreats in time of danger, not the usual residence of her sons; for it was not in holes and caverns like the ancient Germans, but in houses that the Irish lived. And how could that be called a desert land in which there were thirty dioceses,

[c] See supra, p. 61. Bridges made even over the Sinnain (Shannon) by Toirdhealbhach O'Conchobhair. See also Iar Connacht, p. 41.

in colles varios, arduosque montes enormiter erectam" asseruit.[11] Debebat dicere terram editiorem in mediocrem altitudinem, non "enormem" celsitatem elatam esse, et hujusmodi tumulis leviter editis, qui se in planitiem sensim demittunt, interiora Hiberniæ frequentius intumescere quam sublimibus illis montibus, et cacumine cælum, (ut ita dicam) lambentibus turgescere. Ita se rem habere, et Hiberniam peragrantibus patet, et Girardus Boatus testatur, ejusmodi collium nomina sigillatim exhibens. Montes etiam magis arduos nominat et recenset, é quibus prospectus in remotiora patet; quos licet Pyræneis montibus ac Alpibus sublimitate cedere fateatur, attamen in editissimorum montium numerum referri oportere contendit. Imo Giraldum corculum suum Stanihurstus erroris arguens ait: "non ita passim imo admodum raro tales montes reperiri."[12] Ad oras quidem marinas prærupta promontoria crebrius à fluctibus verberari, et alicubi elatiora loca mari finitima in humilitatem quandam paulatim descendentia littore tandem excipi; ac proinde à vero alienissima Giraldum narrare dicentem: "Hiberniam esse per omnia sui latera; marinaque littora, terram valde demissam" Boatus affirmat.[13]

Nec minus à vero, me quidem judice, Giraldus aberrat asserens Hiberniam "non tantum circumferentias, verum etiam penitimas sui partes sabulosas magis habere quam saxosas." Videtur enim in ea sententia versari quod Hibernia, quanta quanta est, sabulo tota ambiatur, et pulviniis arenariis illius accessus obturetur. Sed nullum totius orbis mare magis esse hujusmodi obturamentis immune quam Hibernicum Boatus asserit; adjicitque unicum duntaxat sabulosum dorsum inter

[11] In histor. naturali Hiberniæ Anglice scripta an. 1652. [12] Pag. 225. [13] Topo. d. 1, c. 4, pag. 36, ubi. supra.

[d] Sir William Petty computes, that allowing the population to have been 1,200,000 in 1641, it could not have been more than 300,000 at the time of the English invasion. Political Anatomy, chap. v.—It may be observed here, that statements of Stanihurst regarding Ireland in the 16th century, are very bad arguments against Giraldus. The dioceses referred to are those still existing in the Catholic division, except that Galway has been established, and Emly, Kilfenora, Leighlin, and Clonmacnois, have been united to others.

and innumerable temples and monasteries, frequented daily by thronged congregations of the people ?[d]

Giraldus had as little grounds for asserting that the interior of Ireland was disfigured with various hills and enormous mountains. He ought to have said, that the highest land in Ireland rose to a moderate not to an enormous altitude, and that the interior of Ireland was studded with gently swelling hills, sloping gradually to the plain, and not with those soaring mountains which seem to kiss the stars. Any person who has travelled Ireland knows that such is the fact, and it is attested by Gerard Boate, who gives a detailed list of these hills, with their names. He gives also, the higher mountains, which command an extensive prospect, and though they cannot for a moment be compared to the Alps or the Pyrenees, they must be ranked, he contends, among high mountains. Even Stanihurst himself calls his pet to task, and asserts that these high mountains, far from being common, were very rare in Ireland. On the sea shore, it is true, you often find a craggy promontory buffeted by the waves, and sometimes highlands sloping gradually to the strand; which directly contradicts Giraldus's assertion; as Boate remarks, "that Ireland was very flat near all her borders and sea shores." He was equally wrong in my opinion, when he said, "not only the coasts, but also the interior of Ireland was sandy rather than rocky." He appears, as far as I understand him, to assert that Ireland was just round with sand, or that sandbanks blocked up all access to the ports. But Boate asserts that no seas in the world are more free from such obstacles than the Irish seas, there being one solitary bank stretching down from Dublin to Wexford.[e] "The country," he says, "is protected against the fury of the sea, either by steep promontories, or by highlands sloping gently from the beach." He gives the names and geographical position of these promontories with considerable accuracy. As to the assertion of Giraldus, that the interior of Ireland is rather sandy than rocky, it appears, as far as I can understand it, to imply that the central tracts of the country are covered with sand so friable, that, like a fluid, they yield under the foot

e "The sea which invironeth Ireland is as free from shelves, sands or grounds as any in the world." Chap. v. sec. 1.

Dublinium, et Wexfordiam protensum Hiberniæ adjacere.[14] Universam enim insulam ait arduis plerumque promontoriis, et quandoque solo in prominentiam quandam sensim sine sensu se attollente contra fluctuum impulsus armari.[15] Promontoriorum vero nomina, seriem, et positum non segniter edit.[16] Cum autem Giraldus dicat: "interiores Hiberniæ regiones magis esse sabulosas quam saxosas:" quantum ego percipio innuere vult penitiores Hiberniæ plagas arenis sic esse dissolutas ut fluidæ sint, et incedentium gressibus cædentes, non firmæ ac stabiles, aut ad culturam habiles. Sed indolem soli aliam omnino esse, et experientia, et Boatus docet, quod alibi ait ex humo subfuscâ, alibi ex argillâ; in aliquibus locis ex hac et illa constare, et subinde ex argilla et sabulo, quandoque è glarea, grunnis, et argilla conflatum esse. Nec "sabuletarum" (quorum frequentiam penitimis insulæ regionibus Giraldus adscribere videtur) usquam meminit, cum tamen omnibus terræ conditionibus exprimendis accuratê incumbat. Quod autem Giraldus intimas easdem plagas "saxeas" esse improperet, ac si saxetis obsitæ agricolarum operas refugerent; aliter omnino se res habet.[17] In regionibus Hiberniæ non paucis, Boatus ait: longos sax-
[100] orum ordines tenui solo | tegi, tam uberi tamen feracitate, ut frumenti optimi, et herbæ præstantissimæ maximam copiam effundant. Lapides enim friabiles sunt, et è calce; nec ad marmoris duritiem consolidati.

Porrò in Hiberniæ continenti nævos venatus ad Oceanum Hiberniam alluentem transiit, etiam inde maculam haurire contendens, quam Hiberniæ tanquam frigidam subdolè suffundat.[18] Sciens et prudens Solini errorum amplexus dicentis: "Mare quod Hiberniam, et Britanniam interluit undosum, inquietumque toto anno non nisi æstivis pauculis diebus esse navigabile." Cujus solitario suffragio Giraldus attractus à veritate declinavit, contra ac ipse freto illo plus vice simplice trajecto usu et visu expertus est.[19] Ut demirer cur non erubuerit scribere, "Hibernicum mare concurrentibus fluctibus undosissimum, fere semper inquietum esse, ita ut vix etiam æstivo tempore paucis diebus se navigantibus tranquillum præbeat."[20] Promptissimus nimirum erat ad id undequaque arripiendum, quod Hiberniæ dedecori

[14] Pag. 40. [15] Cap. 4, sec. 3, & seq. p. 36. [16] Ubi. supr. [17] Ibidem. [18] Cap. 5.
[19] Topo d. 2, c 1. [20] Page 230.

without any solidity or consistency and are totally unfit for culture. That such, however, is not the character of the soil is known from experience, and Boate himself states expressly, that the soil consists in some places of blackish earth, in others of clay, and in many parts mixed of both together, or of earth and sand, and sometimes of gravel, clay or earth. Though he descends to the most accurate details in describing all the qualities of the soil, he never mentions those sandy plains, which Giraldus insinuates were so common in the interior of the island. Now with regard to the other accusation of Giraldus against those same inland districts, that they were so rocky, so horrid with crags as to defy the labors of the agriculturist, nothing can be more false. There are, says Boate, in several tracts of the land, long beds of rock, covered over with only a slight stratum of earth, but they are so fertile, that they yield an abundant produce of the best corn, and the richest pasturage. The rocks are friable and limestone; but not so solid as the hard marble.[f] After having hunted out all the plans he could in the mainland of Ireland, he thence passes to the ocean that flows around her, expecting to fish up even there some charge by which his cunning could coldly depreciate Ireland herself. Against the evidence of his senses, he deliberately adopts the error of Solinus, who says, "that the sea dividing Britain from Ireland is tempestuous, and so rough through the whole year round, that it is utterly impassable, except during a few days in summer." This solitary testimony was so powerful over Giraldus, that though his eyes and his experience in crossing that sea more than once must have convinced him it was false, yet he abandons the truth and adopts the lie. Amazing, it truly is, how he could write, "the Irish sea is most agitated with conflicting currents; and so eternally restless, that except on a few summer days, it never allows the sailors an easy passage." But he was always on the eager watch to fly at anything that might be to the disadvantage of Ireland. Here, however,

[f] The passage is "The reason thereof is in those parts, because the stone whereon the mould doth lie so thinly, is not freestone or any such cold material, but limestone which doth so warm the ground and giveth it so much strength, that what it wants in depth, is thereby largely recompensed." Chap. x. sec. v.

cederet.[21] In qua re, non solum illi non adstipulatur patronus ejus acerrimus Stanihurstus, sed etiam adversatur dicens: "Mare Hibernicum satis tranquillum esse nisi ventorum vi agitetur, et non solum æstate, sed etiam summa hieme vectores ultro citroque navigare." Cui etiam Waræus assentitur his verbis:[22] "Ad mare quod attinet navigabile esse in ipsa summa hyeme, frequentes navigationes ex Anglia, Gallia, Hispania, etc. in Hiberniam, et ex ea in cæteras regiones sufficienter demonstrant." Eadem Boatus dicit: adjiciens non nisi orta tempestate naufragia in eo mari, sicut in cætero Oceano fieri. Ut perfrictæ frontis eum esse necesse sit, qui quod omnium oculis obvium est impugnat.

Nihilominus ille ad notissima quæque redarguenda progreditur.[23] Dicit enim "esse portum apud Wicklo, qui in generali maris refluxu, undas recipit influentes: in reversione vero fluctuum, quas jam recepit emittit, et amittit. Et cum totum jam sinum elapsis undis refluum mare deseruit, per omnem tamen anfractum continua salsedine fluvius influens amaricatur. E contrario vero contingit in portu proximo apud Arclo, ubi non minus influentibus sinumque replentibus, quam elapsis omnino marinis aquis, fluvius qui illabitur innatæ dulcedinis saporem illibatum et usque ad ipsum mare impermixtas salsedini aquas observat."[24] Sed omnia esse tam falsa quam quæ falsissima experimento deprehensum esse testatur Boatus. Et æque falsum oras Milfordiæ finitimas maris accessu pulsari, cum ex oris Dubliniæ proximis mare se subducit. In hanc quoque classem referenda est ista Giraldi fabula narrantis "rupem esse quandam marinam, non procul ab Arclo" cujus cum uno latere æquor influit ex altero refluit. Nec ad veritatem propriùs accedere Boatus contendit quæ Giraldus prodigia de fontibus congerit. "In Momonia" (si Giraldo credimus) "fons est, cujus aquis si quis crines aut barbam tinxerit mox canitie inficiet; In Ultonia fons alius visitur cujus undis si crines immaduerint, canitiei semper expertes erunt.[25] In Conacia aliam cernere est, qui ab hominibus epotus non nocet, à pecoribus autem haustus, vel damnum gravius, vel interitum adfert. Item alius ibidem in montis cacumine sublimis,

[21] Antiquit. Hibernic, c. 4, p. 97. [22] Page 49. [23] Topo. d. 2, c. 2. [24] Page 52 & 53. Giraldus Ibidem. [25] Page 56.

he is not supported by Stanihurst, his most ardent defender, who directly contradicts him: "The Irish sea is tranquil enough, except when it is excited by the fury of the winds; it affords not only in summer, but even in the depth of winter, an easy passage to the mariners from both coasts." The fact is confirmed by Ware: "With regard to the sea, it is navigable even in the depth of winter, as evidently appears from the voyages to Ireland from England, Gaul and Spain, &c., and from Ireland to other regions." Boate gives the same opinion, and adds, that unlike other parts of the ocean, shipwrecks are unknown in the Irish sea, except by tempests.[g] What a brazen front the man must have had, to deny what all knew to be true by the evidence of their eyes.

Nevertheless, he proceeds to blunder on the most obvious things. "There is a port near Wicklow," he says, "which, in the flow of the tide, receives the incoming waters, and in the ebb of the waves discharges and loses what it had received; and when the ebbing sea has entirely deserted the whole bay, with its retiring tides, the river that discharges itself there is salt and brackish across the entire channel. But the very reverse is the case in the nearest port at Arklow, where, whether the tide be in, filling the whole bay, or entirely out, the river preserves the taste of the original sweetness of its waters unadulterated, and keeps its waves from commingling with the salt, down to the sea itself." Now, Boate states from his own experience, that all this story is of all others the most false, and equally false it is, that on the shores near Milford they have high tide, when the sea retires from the shores near Dublin. To this class of fictions may be appropriately referred what Giraldus tells of the rock in the sea not far from Arklow, which he says, has high water an one side and not on the another. Boate also refutes the lying prodigies[h] which Giraldus collected regarding the wells. "In Munster (if we believe Giraldus) there is a well, and if any man wash his hair or his beard in it, they

[g] Yea it is a common proverb in England, "as unquiet as the Irish sea," nevertheless it is nothing so bad as they make it. True it is that some ships do perish upon this, but the same happeneth also upon other seas, which are all subject to the disaster of tempests and shipwrecks. Chap. vi. sec. 1.

[h] *Lying prodigies*. That the ancient

ad maris vel accedentis vel recedentis æstum intumescit, et subsidet. Non tamen hactenus quenquam offendere potui, qui ejusmodi fontes à se visos dicerit, aut vi tali imbutos esse animadverterit; ut ad credendum adducar bonum illum virum in errorem credulitate lapsum fuisse, tam in his quæ modo retulimus, quam in aliis innumeris narrationibus, quas omni penitus veritate vacuas, et indubitanter confictas ille pro veris lectori obtrudit." Hæc Boatus in sectione cujus titulum fecit de fabulosis fontibus Giraldi Cambrensis. Additque postea Giraldum scribere, sibi narratum fuisse fontem in Aquilonari Ultoniæ plaga versari, qui ligna immissa septenni spatio, lapidis forma, et duritie induit. Sed quoniam accuratis sciscitationibus de hoc fonte nihil expiscari poteram, utpote de quo nemo nunc quidpiam certi vel fando acceperat, facile me patier adduci ut credam quod in lacum Neacham verè quadrat hoc fonti nescio cui à susurronibus Giraldum dementantibus falso adscriptum fuisse.

[101] | Sed ne in rumusculorum hujusmodi pelagum provehamur, orationis vela contrahamus, et in Hiberniæ continentem recepti, quam non tenui laude præstantiam ejus Giraldus attollat audiamus.[26] "Multa" inquit "in Hibernia notavi aliis regionibus aliena nimis,[27] et prorsus incognita, suique novitate valde miranda, quæ quanto à cætero et communi orbe terrarum semota, et quasi alter orbis esse dignoscitur, tanto rebus quibusdam naturæ cursui incognitis, quasi peculiaris ejusdem naturæ thesaurus, ubi insignia, et pretiosiora sui secreta reposuerit esse videtur."[28] Et in Hibernia laudanda progrediens: "gleba" inquit "præpingui, uberique frugum præventu felix terra est. Fœcunda frugibus arva, pecore montes, nemora feris abundant."[29] Et alibi:

[26] Præfati. 2, Topo. [27] Topo. d. 1, c. 2. [28] Ibidem, c. 4. [29] Ibidem, c. 5.

Irish believed in these prodigies is quite evident from the *Wonders of Ireland* in the Book of Ballymote, and other MSS., of which a perfect copy has been printed in the *Irish Nennius*, p. 193 to 219. Our author, therefore, should have argued differently. He should have acknowledged that it appears from Irish MSS. that the ancient Irish had similar fabulous stories about the miraculous powers of these wells, but that Giraldus should have examined these wells and tested their powers before he ventured to transmit such fables to posterity as undeniable truths.

i I do not give the precise words of the extract.

immediately become grey; in Munster there is another well, and if you wash in it, you never shall be grey: in Connacht there is a well of which men may drink with impunity, but if a beast taste it, he perishes or catches some dangerous distemper. In the same place there is another well on the top of a high mountain, and yet it sinks and swells with the ebb and flow of the tide. Now I have never had the happiness of meeting one man who said he saw any of these wells, or knew that they possessed such properties; so that I am inclined to think that our good man must have been gulled by his own credulity, not only in those instances, but in innumerable other narratives, which are devoid of a particle of truth, and though transparent fictions were attempted to be palmed on his reader as truth." This extract is[1] from Boate's chapter on the fabulous wells of Giraldus Cambrensis. In another place he adds, that Giraldus said, he had been informed that there was a well in the northern parts of Ulster, which imparted to all wood the form and hardness of stone, in the course of seven years. But since, after the most diligent inquiry, I could not glean anything regarding this well, nor meet one who had ever heard anything certain of it, I have no difficulty in believing that the qualities ascribed by Giraldus's lying informants to this imaginary well, were founded on those which are really possessed by the waters of Loch n-Eathach (Neagh).

But returning from this ocean of wild rumors, let us turn our sails once more to the mainland of Ireland, and hearken to the elaborate encomium lavished on it by Giraldus. "Many things," he says, "have I seen in Ireland, entirely strange and totally unknown in other regions; which excite admiration by their novelty; for cut off as it were from all intercourse with that other and common world, and forming as it were a little world in itself, even so it aboundeth with many things unknown to the ordinary course of nature, being as it were a kind of peculiar treasure in which nature hath deposited some of her rarest and most precious gifts." Thus continuing his panegyric on Ireland, "Her soil is most fertile; her plains are gladdened with the most lavish fruits of the earth; her tillage lands teem with produce, her mountains with flocks, her forests with wild animals;" and again, "this isle is rich in pasturage and meadow, in milk and

"pascuis et pratis, melle et lacte, vinis, et non vineis, dives est insula." Verum quas congerit Hiberniæ laudes, easdem mox egerit, et vehementer extenuatas tanquam è medio tollit. Instar vaccæ, quæ mulctram magna sui lactis copia repletam pede pulsans in terram effundit. Statim enim post memorata subjungit: "pascuis tamen quam frugibus, gramine quam grano fœcundior est insula. Multam fruges in herba, plurimam in culmis, minorem in granis spem promittunt. Tritici namque grana contracta sunt, et minuta, et vix vanni alicujus beneficio purganda. Abunde satis et campi vestiuntur, et horrea farciuntur, solum vero granaria destituuntur." Veritus nimirum Hiberniam pabulationis commendatione insignire, nisi pascuorum numero cum frumenti frequentia collato, eandem ei commendationem mox detraheret.[30] Magis ingenue Mela dixit: "Juvernam adeo luxuriosam herbis non modo lætis sed etiam dulcibus fuisse, ut se exigua parte diei pecora impleant."[31] Et Solinus: "Juverna ita pabulosa est, ut pecuaria, nisi interdum æstate à pastibus arceantur, in periculum agat satietas." Candidius Bachananus, "in Hibernia pascua ferè totius Europæ uberrima esse." Verius Stanihurstus, "cum Hibernia pastionis magnitudine paucas regiones conferri, nullas anteferri posse," asserit.

Giraldus feracitatis etiam laude Hiberniam spoliare contendit, lectori obtrudens non pro specie, ac spe, quam germinantes, et adultæ spicæ præ se ferunt uberem segetis esse proventum: immemor pugnantia se loqui, cum paulo ante frugibus arva fœcunda fuisse dixerit: Hyponecteo præconio Hiberniam prosecutus, dum proba encomiis annectit, et assuit;[32] reclamante plurimorum scriptorum torrente, qui non mancâ illâ et mutilâ Giraldi fertilitate, sed omnibus numeris absolutâ Hiberniam exornant[33] Ab Orosio enim "cæli, solisque temperie magis utilis esse quam Britannia;" et eâdem Britanniâ situ "fœcundior esse" ab Isido: in vita S. Kiliani "fœcunda glebis;" et in vita S. Rumoldi, "Insula omnium terrarum gleba fœcundior" esse dicitur. Quid memorem Stanihurstum, cujus integram sententiam hic apponam, quanquam ejus partem antea produxi.[34] "Cum Hibernia" inquit "cæli salubritate, agrorum fertilitate, ubertate frugum, amænitate fontium, opportunitate fluminum, portuosis stationibus, silvarum pro-

[30] Lib. 3, c. 6. [31] Cap. 15. Histor. Scoti. p. 54., p. 4. [32] Lib. c. 2, l. 14, c. 6. [33] Serarius Surius 1, Julii. [34] Page 4.

honey: and if not in vineyards, at least in wines." But like the cow that kicks and upsets the vessel which she has just filled with her overflowing milk, Giraldus virulently assails his own elaborate panegyrics, and extenuates them till there scarcely remains a wreck behind; for immediately after he subjoins, "this island, however, is richer in pasturage than in fruit, in grass than in grain. The grass corn promises much; the corn in stalk, abundance; but the grain much less. For the grains of wheat are shrivelled, and small, and defy the power of any man to winnow them.[k] There is abundant clothing on the field; the barns are crammed, but the granaries are half empty." He was afraid that the character he had given of Ireland was too high, if he did not contrast the extent of pasture lands, with the arable portion, and thereby detract from his encomium. Mela bas been more candid. "Juverna aboundeth in pasturages so rich and sweet, that the cattle fill themselves in a few hours of the day." And Solinus, "Juverna is so rich in pasture that the flocks, in the summer time, must be driven from the fields, through fear of repletion." Buchanan himself was more candid, "the pasture of Ireland is the richest almost in Europe." Stanihurst, with more truth, says, "that few countries are equal and none superior to Ireland, in extent of pastures." Giraldus endeavours also to deprive Ireland of the character of great agricultural productiveness, by warning his readers that the actual produce of the crop falls far short of the promise of grass, of corn, and matured head; but here he appears to forget what he had said a few lines before, that the tilled lands yielded rich returns. Hipponax's eulogy alone—a wreath of praise and vituperation he doles out to Ireland, contrary to the opinion of the many writers who attribute to her, not his starved and imperfect fertility, but richness in all that can make a land fertile. "Both in climate and soil," says Orosius, "Ireland is superior to Britain." Her geographical position is "better than Britain's," according to Isodos. In the life of St. Kilian, "her soil is rich;" and in the life of St. Rumold she is declared to be

[k] Giraldus appears in his own circuitous and bombastic way merely to assert, that Ireland was better suited for pasturage than for cereal crops; a conclusion which it would be difficult to contest.

ceritate, ditissimis metallorum venis, pastionis magnitudine armentorum gregibus, conferri paucæ, anteferri nullæ regiones valent."[35] Et ex Analecte attexo, quod "solo sit lætissimo, et maximè luxuriante, adeo ut, si quid ad fœcundandum injiciatur, quasi dedignatum alicubi sterilescat." Davisius inter alia ex octavo Deuteronomii capite deprompta, Hiberniæ illud apposite accommodat, quod sit "terra frumenti, et hordei." Nec abs re fortassis erit Barnabæ Richii testimonium huc adducere, qui licet scriptor triobularis, et vappa maledicentissimus fuerit, tamen quia Hibernis infestissimus Hiberniam commendans fidem merebitur.[36] "Hibernia," inquit, "agris iis instructa est, qui ad serendum frumentum, et herbam æque accommodati sunt, ac ulla Europæ regio." Præterea Spenserus scriptor post homines natos cum à Cambrensi discesseris Hibernis injuriosissimus, ut qui infimæ plebis, et flagitiosorum hominum sordibus nationem universam illiniat ad invidiam genti conflandam, et avitas possessiones abripiendas, in Ultoniæ laudes orationem effundens, soli tantam esse ubertatem ait, ut è quovis ei semine mandato, messis copiosa proveniat. Et Cambrensis ipse campestribus, quæ pascua S. Brigidæ vocat, hæc adaptat carmina.[37]

"Et quantum longis carpunt armenta diebus,
Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponit."

[102] | Penes me Spenserus est calamo exaratus, è quo aliqua in edito Spensero desiderata, licet extra callem sciens abeam hic exhibeo. "Ultonia" inquit "tantâ incolarum frequentia, et rerum abundantia quandoque diffluebat, quantâ quæcunque Angliæ portio. Imo ex ea

[35] Page 63. [36] Anglica descript. Hiberniæ. p. 5. [37] Virgilis.

[1] For the life of Marianus an Irishman, founder of the Irish Monastery, Ratisbon, there is an allusion to the green fields of Ireland and a description of the country, as smiling as the portrait of Marianus himself. Speaking of the great numbers of Irish who left their country to follow Marianus, the writer, who lived in the 12th century, says: "Dulce solum natalis patriæ, solum omni genere serpentum, ac universis vermibus nocivis sequestratum, montes et colles, et valles, et saltus venatibus aptos, amænissima fluminum fluenta et *virides terras*, ex puris fontibus amnes, derelinquentes

"the richest land in the world."[l] Stanihurst has been cited already, but though it can hardly be necessary, I give the whole passage: "In salubrity of climate, in fertility of soil, in richness of fruits, in delightful fountains, in commodious rivers, in secure harbours, in noble forests, in the richest metallic mines, in the extent of pasturage, in flocks and herds; few countries can be compared, none preferred to Ireland." The author of the Analecta agrees with this eulogy, "the soil is so fruitful and luxuriant, that as if disdaining artificial helps, it becomes sterile in some places when the farmer manures it." Davis also, among many other passages from the 8th chap. of Deuteronomy, applies, with great justness to Ireland, the words, "a land of corn and barley." Even Barnaby Rich, himself, though a vile scribe, and most contemptible calumniator, may be permitted to tender his evidence, because his rabid hostility to the Irish gives weight to his words. "Ireland," he says, "can boast of lands which, whether for grass or corn, are inferior to no country in Europe." Then Spenser, too, the man who, with the sole exception of Cambrensis himself, was the most virulent of mortals against the Irish, the man, who charged against a whole nation the crimes of the dregs of the populace and of the most profligate characters, in order to blast the character of the people and rob them of their lands, even he, when speaking of Ulster, says its fertility was so rich, that what seed soever you entrusted to it, there was always an abundant harvest. Even Cambrensis himself applies the following lines to the plains, which he calls the pastures of St. Brighid:[m]

"The cooling dews of one short night restore
All that the herds in longest days devour."

I have in my possession a manuscript copy of Spenser, in which there are several things not found in the printed editions, and among others the following: "Ulster," he says, "was as thickly inhabited and as well stocked with wealth as any portion of England. Records of un-

tamquam filii Abraham patriarchæ in terram quam iisdem Deus præmonstrabat, se præcipitantes." *Vita Mariani:* Bollandists, Feb. 9, cap. 6. Marianus is described "decoro vultu, crine nitente, et ultra communem hominum volentiam forma erat speciosus; divinis ac humanis litteris, et eloquentia erat præditus." Ibid. p. 366.

[m] In the Curragh of Kildare.

triginta marcarum millia regi cum bello premeretur subministrata fuisse è bonæ notæ tabulis constat." Rursus in viam redeo.[38] Hoc agmen testium claudat Petrus Lombardus Archiepiscopus Armachanus, qui "agros Hiberniæ insigniter feraces esse" dicit: "ita ut minori hic cultura, quam in aliis multis regionibus proveniant feliciter frumenta omnis generis." Additque "agros fructificare in compluribus locis sine præviâ stercoratione: imo eam nonnulli agri, præsertim in occidente, et meridie, ob nimiam suam pinguedinem non admittunt, et tamen sine consueta, in aliis plerisque terris, anni tertii vel alterius cujuscunque intermissione patiuntur se quotannis coli."[39] Giraldo autem dicente grana tritici minuta esse Stanihurstus adversatur et Waræus his verbis: "raro in vicinis Hiberniæ regionibus, seu majora, seu graviora, quam in pluribus partibus Hiberniæ inveniri possunt."

Sed quæ authorum monumentis hactenus evicimus, rationum nunc momentis, idem roborari expedit. Vulgo nunc constat nullibi segetes majori proventu à novalibus fundi, nec triticum majoris esse grani quam in Hibernia. Quî ergo fieri potuit, ut iniquior seges olim è solo nondum satis attrito enasceretur, quam nunc temporis? omnia enim senescere, et vetustate confici, inque deterius ruere cernimus, quod in hominibus usu venire, testis est Horatius dicens:

"Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiorem."

Contrahit profecto senium fundus, et quo magis assidue vomere proscinditur, eo magis ubertas ejus reprimitur. Quare quantum temporis à Giraldi ævo ad nostrum effluxit, tantum de terræ Hibernicæ fœcunditate detractum esse oportet. Ut mirum sit, quæ minutiora tum fuerunt grana, non in atomos modo evaserint. Cum autem è contra grandiori nunc utamur, jure merito Giraldus errore aperto teneri censendus est, qui à tot scriptoribus, et ipsa ratione sic impugnatur, ut telis à fronte, à tergo, à lateribus, è rationis, ac tot scriptorum armamentario depromptis impetitus, confossus, et confectus esse videatur.

Sed missa faciamus ista, et Giraldo laudibus Hiberniam prosequenti

[38] Comment. de Hiber. p. 863. [39] Page 226. Antiquit. p. 99.

doubted authority prove that, when the king was engaged in war, 30,000 marks were paid by Ulster." But to return to my subject, I close this host of authorities with Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, who writes, "that the soil of Ireland is pre-eminently fertile producing most plenteous crops of all kinds of grain, with less cultivation than in many other regions;" "the land," he adds, "yields good crops in many places without any manure; and in others, especially in the South and West, the soil is too rich to allow the stimulant of manure; and yet without any intermission, without those rests allowed every third or second year in most other countries, it produces crops every year." Ware and Stanihurst contradict what Giraldus says of the smallness of the grain: "Grain, larger or heavier than what is grown in many parts of Ireland, is rarely found in neighbouring countries." But in addition to this evidence of testimony, let us produce some of the evidence of argument. It is now a notorious fact, that no land yields a greater quantity or larger grain than Irish lay or fallow. Can it be possible[n] then, that the crops were less abundant formerly, when the land was not reduced, than at present? All things grow old and are impaired by years, and become every day worse, as Horatius observes with regard to man:

> "More vicious than their fathers' age,
> Our sires begot the present race;
> And yet with crimes to us unknown,
> Our sons shall mark the coming age their own."

Time, certainly, cripples the land, and the oftener it is furrowed by the plough, the less prolific it becomes.[o] The Irish soil of to-day is therefore less fertile than in the time of Giraldus in proportion to the length of the intervening period. Amazing it is, that his shrivelled grain has not dwindled into atoms before now. Can any man defend the flagrant errors of Giraldus, attacked in front and flank and rear, by argument and hosts of authorities, is he not pierced through and dispatched?

But dismissing this topic now, let us listen to the encomiums he lavishes on Ireland: "Of all lands," he says, "this land is the most

[n] This is very possible, and the evidence of this argument is very weak.

[o] This is not true.

auditum accommodemus.[40] "Terra" inquit "terrarum hæc omnium temperatissima, non Cancri calor exæstuans compellit ad umbras, non ad focos Capriconi rigor urgenter invitat. Nives hic raro, et tunc modico tempore durare videbis. Aëris clementia tanta est, ut nec nebula inficiens, nec spiritus hic pestilens, nec aura corrumpens." Sed latum unguem sibi non constat: ut bisulcam linguam ori ejus inesse putes, quarum quod una lacinea profert, alterius sibilum è vestigio proflat.[41] Elogium enim obtrectatio pene sequitur in hæc verba: "hic tenor rebus inerat, sed mundo senescente, natura rerum corrupta, et in deterius mutata, nam tanta pluviarum hic inundat ubertas, tanta nebularum, et nubium hic incumbit impuritas, ut vix tres dies vel æstivas continua serenitate clarescere videas."[42] Et alibi præterea dicit: "quod Ver gignit, et parturit, æstas nutrit, et provehit, vix messem pluvialis aquositas colligi permittit. Æolicis enim flatibus, et pluvialibus inundationibus, præ aliis terris hæc exuberat." Et paulo post, "magnam loci intemperiem" memorat. En quomodo quæ sunt è diametro contraria eodem emittat ore. Hibernicum "cælum temperie feliciter fœcundari antea dixit, et aëris amænitate temperieque tempora ferè cuncta tepescere, terrarumque omnium esse temperatissimam, in qua nec nebula inficiens, nec aura corrumpens."[43] Nunc ventos, nubes, cælum, et pluvias ad Hiberniam omni temperie exuendam conspirantes induxit totamque hujus mali culpam in rerum conversiones confert. Dignum patella operculum. Si Giraldo superstite, natura senectute fuit adeo provectâ, amplius quadringentorum exinde annorum
[103] accessione gravis silicernio frangatur necesse est; ut in imbrium | ac ventorum procellas tota liquescere, ac nova eluvione terram jam pridem operie debuerit. Quando autem ne nunc quidem Hibernia immodicis imbribus humectatur, nec insolito æstu torretur, sed eadem serenitas, et fœcunditas, quâ scriptores ante natum Giraldum, illam imbutam fuisse dixerunt, ad hæc usque tempora perennent: lucide liquet totam deliriorum Giraldi molem huic fulcro innixam sua sponte corruere,

[40] Topogr. 4. 1. c. 25. [41] Ibidem. [42] Cap. 5. [43] Cap. 4.

[p] The editor has never seen this manuscript copy of Spencer's State of Ireland.

[q] A very accurate description of many Irish summers.

temperate, no scorching blaze of Cancer ever drives you to the shade; no severity of Capricorn confines you to the hearth. Snow falls seldom, and rarely rests long on the ground.[p] Great is the clemency of the atmosphere; no malignant cloud, no pestilential exhalation, no tainted gale." But the man has not the shadow of consistency: one would think that he must have had a double forked tongue; demolishing with the hiss of one prong, what the other had uttered. Thus depreciation follows quick on eulogy in the following words: "Such were things formerly, but now as the world waxes old, the nature of things is changed, corrupted for the worse; for so unceasing are the deluges of rain, so enormous the mountains of malignant clouds and vapors that even in summer, you cannot enjoy the unclouded sunshine of even three days successively."[q] And in another place he adds, "Spring conceives and brings forth, summer nourishes and matures, but harvest, with his pluvial aquosity, will not allow you to reap. No land in the world is so subject to the breathings of Æolus and torrents of rain." And again, he mentions "the great severity" of the climate. Thus, from the same mouth, do contradictions issue. A moment ago he said that "Ireland happily was fertilized by the temperature of the climate; that there was a perennial glow over all things by the mildness and temperature of the air; that of all climes it was the most temperate, where there was neither malignant cloud, nor tainted gale." But now storms and clouds, and sky and torrents, rush like conspirators at his instigation, to rob Ireland of her temperate climate; and the whole blame of this evil is laid, forsooth, to the charge of a revolution in nature herself.[r] But if Nature had grown grey so rapidly during the life-time of Giraldus, she must have been long ago shattered to pieces by the weight of more than 400 years,—the funeral feast of the old dame is long since over—she was dissolved in torrents of wind and rain, and a second deluge must have embraced the earth. Now, since Ireland is not deluged at present with rain, nor scorched by unusual heat, but enjoys the same

[r] Giraldus sets forth with all the pomp of rhetoric, what old people say now and have been saying probably since his time, that the seasons are changing. There are frequent records in Irish annals of the increasing autumnal rains destroying the harvests.

ac ipsius commenta hoc manubrio teneri. Ut furibus enim aliquid excidere solet ad indicium; sic ille hoc jacto fundamento, assertionis suæ infirmitatem prodidit. Natura enim in omnibus suis rebus obeundis admirabilem constantiam et incredibilem quandam æqualitatem immutabili prorsus æternitate tueri solita est. Et nunc cælum pariter naturali se conversione contorquet, et terra suis librata ponderibus immota jacet: sol, et astra, nunc etiam terras clarissimâ ut ante luce collustrant, et cætera eodem quo ante modo à natura gignuntur. Ut Aristoteli cæterorumque philosophorum torrenti cælis incorruptionem assignanti nec quicquam ille solus obnitatur. Sed iniquo fortasse patriæ nostræ fato factum est ut Giraldo in ea diversante, ventis omnia sævius solito perflantibus, assidui è cælo imbres deciderint ansam Giraldo subministrarint; iis Hiberniam malis semper affligi. Verum si rem ad judicii sui trutinam revocare dignaretur, et omnes terræ plagas mente obire, nullam deprehenderet, quæ non ejusmodi pluviarum assiduitate quandoque infestetur, et è continuis imbribus ad immodicam diuturnitatem subinde protractis, annonæ caritatem pluries ubique terrarum enasci. Qua peste patriam meam tum exemptam cuperem, cum in eam Giraldus pedem intulerat, ut ab intemperie illi adscribenda sibi temperaret, et à fortuito, ac temporario eventu infamiam illi sempiternam non affingeret.

Dedecus verò cæli, sali, solive vitiis Hiberniæ comparare non valens, notam illi atram inurere nititur, quod rerum quarundam deficientia laboret: sed irrito conatu. "Perdicum," et "phasianorum," quos ille in Hibernia "desiderari" comminiscitur tanta copia est, ut majorem vix ac ne vix quidem alibi reperias.[44] Hibernia enim omni alite ad lautiores dapes adhiberi solito abundat, et incolæ aucupium scienter exercent. Ut miseratio me teneat patriæ meæ quæ Giraldi ganeam hujusmodi avium

[44] Top. d. 1. c. 18.

[s] It would seem that our author did not admit the Copernican system.

[t] Strange that Giraldus in his remarks on Irish agriculture makes no allusion to the Cistercian Monks. Twelve at least of their monasteries had been founded in Ireland before his time, and though a bitter enemy to them he admits, that "give them a desert and it soon became a garden." *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 871.

serenity and fertility as in the days of the writers previous to Giraldus, his enormous superstructure of lies, resting on his own visionary basis, falls with it, and his comments vanish at the touch of a weapon supplied by himself. For as the thief often lets some hint escape to his own condemnation, so by one of his own principles, Giraldus reveals the falsehood of his positions. Nature, in all her works, maintains an admirable constancy, and an incredible consistency, grounded on immutable eternity itself. The heavens still roll in the revolving course marked by nature; the earth stands[s] immoveable, balanced by its own weight; the sun and the stars illumine, now as before, the earth with their brilliancy; and all other things are produced now as in times gone by. Can Giraldus outweigh the authority of Aristoteles and a host of philosophers, who assert that the heavens are incorruptible? But, perhaps, by the evil destiny of our country, it so happened that when Giraldus was in Ireland, the wind raged with unusual savageness, and continual torrents descended from the skies to give him an occasion for asserting that Ireland was at all times a prey to those ills. If, however, he had condescended to examine the matter deliberately, and to take a mental survey of all the regions of the earth, he could not find one, which is not subject occasionally to excessive rains, and by these continual rains protracted to an immoderate length, famine has frequently been caused in all regions of the globe. Would that my country had not been suffering from that scourge, when Giraldus set his foot in it—then he could not have the impudence to say the climate was bad, nor attempt to brand her with eternal infamy, for one transient and fortuitous event.[t]

Being unable to find in the soil, seas and climate of Ireland, the defects which would enable him to affix the black brand on her capabilities, he charges her with being deficient in several things; but with as little success as before. The partridge and pheasant, which, he says, are unknown[u] in Ireland, abound here perhaps more than in any other country. Ireland is well stocked with all the fowl that usually

[u] He also remarked that there were no nightingales in Ireland; no black crows, nor magpies; and generally that the smaller birds were not so numerous here as in other countries; a fact not at all surprising, if what he states be true, that eagles were as common here as kites in other places.

autitiis non exsatiaverit, et cæteris cibis qui in delicatiores epulas expetuntur ejus mensæ appositis, horum alitum cupediis eam non instruxerit; ut palato ejus tum expleto, nobilis insulæ famam dente genuino non roderet.

In Hiberniæ famâ extenuendâ progrediens, "eam" (inquit) "capris semper caruisse, et carere constat."[45] Viro fortassis oblivioso memoriâ excidit, quod ipso narrante intra sepem quæ S. Brigitæ ignem obit, "per imprecationem virginis caprarum fœtus non perveniunt."[46] Præterea cognitionem ipsius fortè subterfugit hircus, qui in S. Patricii famulatu, ac ministerio victitans, furto sublatus, per prodigium in furis alvo balatum edidit.[47] Ut non memorem agnoscere Giraldum, in hac re, venerabili se Bedæ refragarii, et Stanihurstum acerrimè adversantem habere.[48] Sanè nunc temporis plurimos caprarum greges per arva vagari cernimus, quarum etiam copiâ Hiberniam tritavorum memoria abundasse compertum habemus. Quo autem tempore in Hiberniam importatæ fuerint ignoramus. Fortasse perdicibus et phasianibus in Hiberniam advolantibus, itineris se comites adjunxerunt. Quantum quidem conjectura assequor, Giraldus campos tantum amænos, et in planiciem effusè porrectos peragrabat: ad loca vero montibus horrida, vel nemoribus obsita non concessit. Cum autem in hujusmodi recessibus capræ plerumque pascerent, in eas utpotè oculis ejus subductas, ne tam spurci animalis aspectu contaminaretur, obtutum defigere non potuit. Et religioni duxit vir (si diis placet) quidpiam scriptis tradere quod oculis ipse non usurparet.[49] Nimirum pluris est ocularis testis unus, quam auriti decem. Qui audiunt audita dicunt, qui
[104] vident planè sciunt. |

Dixit Giraldus Bedam et verbis et sensu secutus Hiberniam "melle divitem" fuisse.[50] Sed ante finem capiti eidem impositum, illam mellis abundantiam extenuare non dubitavit dicens: "Apes in majori ut arbitror copia scaturirent, si non venenosas, et amaras quibus silvescit insula fugerent examina taxos; vel potius, si non aeris Hibernici tanta cum humiditate ventositas, minuta corpuscula tam disperderet quam corrumperet."[51] Apum vero abundantiâ Hiberniam circumfluere Stanihurstus

[45] Top. d. 1. c. 5. [46] Ibidem, d. 2, c. 36. [47] Jocelin, c. 148. [48] Pag.
[49] Plautus Tit. [50] Topo, d. 1, c. 5. [51] Pag. 229.

graces the costly banquet, and her inhabitants are expert fowlers. What a pity, my country! that some of these delicious wild fowl did not crown the luscious feasting of Giraldus, when his board smiled with all the viands that minister to luxury? Why were not the delicate birds served up? Were they lying on his palate, he had never crunched with his dog-teeth the fame of a noble island.

Tracking his course of depreciation, we hear him saying "goats there are none in Ireland, and never were." The man, perhaps, must have forgotten the goat, which, he said, went within the circle of St. Brighid's fire, "the curse of the Virgin brought sterility on the goats." Perhaps, too, he forgot the pet goat that followed St. Patrick, and remained with him, and when it was stolen, began to bleat, by a prodigy, in the belly of the thief. It is needless to add, that Giraldus is violently opposed by Stanihurst on this point, and that, according to his own admission, he is opposed by venerable Bede. At the present day numerous flocks of goats are seen wandering over the country, and that such was the case within the memory of our great grandfathers is ascertained beyond a doubt. But when were they imported into Ireland? that is a mystery. Perhaps when the partridge and pheasant visited us, the goats accompanied them in their flight. If I be allowed the liberty of conjecture, Giraldus never wandered from the open and smiling plains: the mountains were too craggy, the forests too dark for his tastes. Now, these recesses being the usual haunts of the goats, his eyes were never offended by the sight of such filthy animals, because they never came within his range. Moreover, he made it a solemn obligation (bless the mark) to write nothing but what he saw. For, an eye-witness is better than ten who depose what they heard. The man that sees knows—the hearer can say only what he heard.

Adopting the opinion and the very words of Bede, Giraldus had written that Ireland was rich in honey. But, before the close of that very chapter, he must, as usual, disparage this richness in honey. "Bees," he writes, "I am confident, would be much more numerous here, if the swarms had not an antipathy to the bitter and poisonous yew tree, with which this island is overgrown; or rather this stormy and humid climate of Ireland scatters and destroys the frail little animals." Stanihurst, however, asserts that Ireland

asserit his verbis: "Non in rusticanis modo aveariis, sed passim etiam ferè in quovis vacuo silvestri trunco, et terræ cavernis examina reperiuntur."[52] Quod à Camdeno confirmatur dicente: "Apum tanta est multitudo ut non solum in alveariis, sed etiam arborum truncis," et terræ cavernis reperiantur."[53] Similia Lombardus narrans: "constat" (inquit) "in tanta abundantia apes hic mellificas esse, ut non solum in alveariis, sed etiam in aliis vasis, in cavatis arborum truncis, et in cavernis terræ favos disponant distentissimos."[54] Quibus omnibus David Rothus Ossoriensis Episcopus accinit dicens: "non uspiam major apum crescit multitudo, quæ non in alvearibus solùm, sed etiam in cavernis terræ, in tectorum suggrundiis, et in cavitatibus arborum abunde mellificant." Ut frustra Giraldus venenosas, et amaras taxos obtrudat. Non enim in Hibernia res vitâ sensitiva quam vegetativâ animatæ magis veneno vacant. Nec tanta est in Hibernia vel humiditas vel ventositas,[55] quantum esse Giraldum prædicat dicens: "Eolicis flatibus, et pluvialibus inundationibus præ aliis terris hæc exuberat. Frequentior et procellosior aliis Corus hic regnat, omnes fere occidentales arbores in eminenti positas, partim in oppositam vel inclinans vel evertens."[56] Tot autem flatibus, aut pluvialibus inundationibus Hiberniam infestari "raro" (inquit Stanihurstus) contingit: "alioquin agricolarum labor prorsus inanis esset, si per aquam et pluviam quotannis adveheretur tantum incommodum." Qui ad arborum inclinationem aut eversionem respondens,[57] "nihil sane minus" (inquit) "quassari possunt hic arbores ut alibi turbidâ aliquâ, et extraordinaria tempestate, quod non ita frequenter obtingit." Ita ut insolita illa ventositas, ac humiditas non impediverit quominus apum examina ubique diffusa per quævis loca vagarentur.

Quod autem Giraldus dicat "S. Dominicum Ossoriensem ut asserunt quidam, apes in Hiberniam detulisse," non dissentio, ita tamen ut certum genus apum primus in Hiberniam retulisse dicatur.[58] Nam ante ipsum

[52] Pag. 747. [53] Cap. 3. [54] Elucid. 4, in Jocelinum. p. 130. [55] Topo. d. 1, c. 5. [56] Pag. 228. [57] Ibidem. [58] Topo. d. 1, c. 10.

[u] Boate's experience agreed to this extent, that Ireland was subject more than most other countries to continued winds and rain. Chap. xxi. sec. iii; Chap. xxii. sec. vi. Petty states that from the 10th of Septem-

abounds with bees, "not only in the hives through the country, but in almost every hollow trunk in the forest, and in holes in the earth," which Camden repeats, "so great is the multitude of bees, that they are found not only in hives, but in the hollow trunks of trees and in the holes in the earth." Lombard speaks to the same effect; "honeymaking bees so abound here, that they build their enormous combs not only in hives, but in other receptacles, in the hollow trunks of trees, and in holes in the earth." In addition to these, we may cite David Roth, Bishop of Ossory, "in no country is there a greater abundance of bees, which deposit their rich stores in hives, in holes in the earth, in the eaves of houses, and in the hollow trunks of trees." What now becomes of the bitter and poisonous yew trees of Giraldus: for animal life is not more safe against vegetable poison in Ireland than elsewhere. Neither is Ireland so rainy or tempestuous as Giraldus describes her. "No land in the world is so subject to the breathings of Eolus and such deluges of rain. Of all winds, the North-west reigns supreme, blowing frequently and fiercely, and either uprooting, or bending to the opposite direction, all trees planted in exposed situations."[u] Stanihurst testifies that storms and inundations of that kind were rare in Ireland, "for the labor of the husbandman would be utterly fruitless, if such damage was done every year by rain and floods;" and with regard to the uprooting or bending of the trees, he answers, "that some violent and extraordinary tempest might, no doubt, in Ireland as elsewhere, shake the trees, but such was not often the case." These unusual tempests and floods could not prevent the bees from flourishing and swarming over all parts of the island.

I admit, with Giraldus, that St. Domhnoch of Ossory, is said by some to have introduced bees into Ireland; but I contend they must have been a peculiar kind of bees. For long before his birth, bees and honey were known in Ireland, as is evident from the authentic testimony of

ber to the 10th of March, it blows a kind of storm for some time or other almost every day. Political Anatomy, Chap. viii. See *ibid.* his observations on the points from which the winds generally blew; they do not agree with Giraldus. Boate also observed "that not only storm winds but others also do in Ireland much seldomer blow out of the east than out of the west, especially in winter."

natum, apes et mella in Hibernia fuisse constat ex irrefragabili testimonio regulæ S. Albæi, in qua ita legitur.[59] "Cum sedent ad mensam, adferantur herbæ sive radices aquâ lotæ in mundis scutellis: item poma, cervisia ex alveario mellis ad latitudinem pollicis. Id est aliquot favi." Sanctus autem Albæus floruit in Hibernia simul cum S. Patricio et aliquot etiam annis ante adventum ejus, sive ante annum 431. S. vero Dominicus, S. Davide Menevensi qui anno post Christum natum 544 vita excessit, magistro usus est. Apum reprehensioni, pecorum culpationem Giraldus adjunxit dicens:[60] "Omnium animalium ferarumque, et avium corpora hic quam alibi suo in genere minora repertum iri, solis hominibus suam retinentibus majestatem." Cur tacuit etiam præter homines, canes quoque sui generis animalia corporis proceritate superare?[61] Rectius Camdenus dixit: "animantia omnia (præter homines et canes illos venaticos, quos Greyhounds vocamus) minora hic sunt quam in Anglia." Olim "septem Scoticos canes" (sive quod idem est Hibernicos) "prælusionis die, ita Roma mirata est, ut ferreis caveis putarit advectos."[62] Cæterum Galliæ, Hispaniæque animantium magnitudinem, à nostris animalibus exæquari hodie cernimus. Pecorum Germaniæ molem expressit, non iis ad alia collatis, depressit Tacitus; dixit enim tantum "improcera" fuisse, et Lipsius addidit sua tempestate, "ita contra fuisse, ut armenta Britanniæ, et Frisiæ palmam poscere audeant contra omnia Europæ."[63] Nostri etiam greges, et armenta hodie generis sui ex Anglia deducti magnitudinem corporis mole referunt. Adeo ut inquit Boatus, oves, equi, ac boves in Hiberniam ex Anglia relati primæ granditatis molem non solum ipsi, sed etiam soboles ab iis procreata retineat.[64]

[105] Post pecudem universim reprehensam, alia nulla nominatim pecora |

59 Colgan. 13, Febru. p.' 328, n. 2. 60 Topo. d. 1, c. 19. 61 Pag. 727. 62 Symach. *l.* 2, Ep. 76. 63 De moribus Germanorum in illum Taciti locum. 64 Pag. 89.

v St. Domhnoch settled at *Tibraid Fhachtna*, i.e. St. Fachtna's well, now *Tybroughney*, in the County of Kilkenny, near Carrick-on-Suir.—Speaking of his own countrymen, the Welsh, Giraldus says "they cultivate neither gardens nor orchards, but they very willingly eat the fruit of both, when they get them." *Itinerarium*, cap. xvii. The Irish it would appear were not so deficient in horticulture.

the rule of St. Ailbe, which provides, "That when they sit to dinner, the monks shall, on clean dishes, get herbs or roots washed in water: likewise apples,[v] mead from the hive a thumb's depth. That is some combs." St. Ailbe flourished in Ireland with St. Patrick, and some years before him, namely, A.D. 431. St. Domhnoch was pupil of St. David of Wales, who died A.D. 544. From his assault on the bees, Giraldus next turns against the cattle. "All sorts of animals, wild beasts and birds, are much smaller here than those of the same species in other countries; man alone retains all his majesty." Why has he forgotten to mention that Irish dogs,[w] as well as men, were superior to animals of their species in other countries? Camden was more correct: "all living things (except man and those hunting dogs, which we call greyhounds,) are smaller here than in England." Formerly "Rome was so struck with admiration at seven Scotic (Irish) dogs that the day before the sports she had them exhibited in iron cages." Our animals at present are not inferior in size to those of France and Spain. Tacitus describes the size of the animals in Germany, but does not make a disparaging contrast between them and others; he merely says "they were not stately;" but Lipsius states that in his own day, "the reverse was the case, as the herds of Britain and Friedland could take the palm from all in Europe." Our flocks and herds at present retain the size of the English species, from which they descend, so that in the words of Boate, "the sheep, oxen and horses imported from England into Ireland, not only retain their original dimensions, but transmit them to their progeny."[x]

After his first sweeping condemnation of Irish animals in general, he

[w] It is very strange that none of our writers have preserved the Irish name of the wolf dog, which was so celebrated in the 15th and 16th centuries. In the Brehon laws, mention is made of three kinds of dogs, namely, the *Cu*, or greyhound, which was kept by kings and princes, and generally belonged to Brughaidhs or farmers; the *Arcu*, which was kept chained at night; and the *Oirce*, or lap-dog, which belonged to queens and ladies of rank. This omission is the more singular as Giraldus in his Itinerarium descants on the merits of the canine species, with all the relish of a connoisseur. Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 842. It is probable that had he seen those remarkable Irish dogs, he would have noticed them.

[x] Boate expressly states, that the "*Irish*

præter oves carpit, quas "nigras" fuisse dixit: Et "Hibernos laneis tenuiter uti omnibus ferè nigris."[65] Cum tamen paulo post braccas "colore plerumque fucatas" fuisse asserat. Lippis autem et tonsoribus notum est pannum quemcunque nigredine semel imbutum, aliam nullam tincturam imbibere posse. Vetus etiam Tigernaci regis Hiberniæ institutum fuit, anno mundi 2816 ut plebeiorum vestis unius esset coloris. Cæterorum ordinum vestimenta pluribus ac paucioribus pro dignitatis gradu coloribus distinguerentur: reges ipsi, et nobilium classis regi proxima vestitu septem coloribus distincto uterentur. Nec putem antiquum illum morem Giraldo superstite antiquatum fuisse.

6· Topogr. d. 2, c. 10.

breed of kine, sheep and horses, were of very small size, Chap. x, sec. viii. but in sweetness or savoriness it doth surpass the meat of England itself."

y If the dark color of their dress were a matter of choice, it might be regarded as a collateral proof of their Spanish origin. The Celts of Spain, unlike their French brothers, who were fond of gaudy colors, generally wore black clothes "Die manner trugen alle schwarze Kleider von gribee, haarahln licher wolle." Prufrong der untersuchunger, uber die verbeuoloner Hispaniers, p. 158. "In the 16th

attacks none in particular except the sheep, which, he says, "were black;" and that the little woollens used by the Irish were almost all black,[y] though a few moments before he had stated that the braccæ were generally colored. But the "purblind and barbers" themselves know, that a cloth once tinctured with black, will not take any other color. There was also an ancient ordinance of Tighearnmas, king of Ireland, A.M., 2816, that the dress of the plebeians should be of one color only; and the dresses of the other orders, of more in proportion to their rank, seven colors being the badge of the king and of the highest order of the nobles. This custom, I believe, was not antiquated in the time of Giraldus.

century their garments they (the Irish) die with the barkes of trees, that Englishmen name alders: they use also elder berries to colour their wool yellow. With the boughes, barks and leaves of the poplar tree bruised and stamped, they staine their large wide shirts with a saffran colour, which now are almost out of use, and adding thereunto the rine of the wild arbut tree." *Good apud Camden.* The dresses worn by the children during their fosterage, which varied with their ranks, are described in the Brehon laws; as are also the dresses of the wives of the different chieftains, with their value. From these descriptions it is quite clear that a variety of colors and ornaments was used in the dresses of persons of rank.

CAPUT XI.

QUOD IN OMNIS ÆTATIS ET SEXUS INSTITUTIONE, ALIQUOTQUE CONSUETUDINIBUS HIBERNORUM GIRALDUS, ET ALII FRUSTRA NÆVOS VENENTUR.

[105] Nutricum in educandis alumnis diligentia. [106] Nutrices ubera non alimenta dura infantibus præbent.—Prolis deformitas in parentes conferri non debet. [107] Præpostera libido Hibernis ignota.—Adertoni libidines et supplicium.—Mulierum Hibernicarum modestia.—Divaricatis pedibus mulieres non equitasse videntur. [108] Goodus arguitur.—Goodus male toti genti paucorum vitia ascribit.—Ab Anglis Hiberni spurcis moribus imbuuntur. [109] Goodus male collectaneorum nexum carpit.—Ullechus de Burgo primus Clanrichardiæ comes. [110] Nutriciorum in alumnos beneficia.—Peregre studium alumnorum et nutricum enituit. [111] Belluarum erga nutritios affectus.—Honor alumnorum erga nutritios.

INDIGENAS Hiberniæ "natura dotibus ad plenum excultos fuisse" Giraldus affirmat.[1] Attamen quod efflavit more suo mox resorbens: "tot cæcos natos, tot claudos, tot corpore vitiatos, et naturae beneficio destitutos, in alia natione se non vidisse" scribit. Quam rem ego mente reputans inde promanasse suspicatus sum, quod (si Cambrensi credere dignum est)[2] "Hiberni cum nascuntur, non accurate nutriuntur, alimentis duris sustentantur, per cætera ferè cuncta naturæ relinquuntur. Non in cunabilis aptantur, non fasciis alligantur, non frequentibus in balneis tenera membra foventur, vel artis juvamine componuntur; nam obstetrices aquæ calentis beneficio nares non erigunt, faciem non deprimunt, tibias non extendunt, sed sola naturæ quos edidit artus, præter artis adminicula pro suo arbitrio componit."[3] Altius in hujusce rei reputationem me descendentem cogitatio subiit fieri non posse, ubi nutritiones summâ contentione ambiebantur, ibi alumnos tam negligenter habitos

[1] Topogr. d. 3, c. 10. [2] Ibidem, c. 35. [3] Ibidem, c. 10.

[a] In the portion of the Brehon laws relating to fosterage, the most minute regulations respecting the care, food, and education of the children, are laid down, and fines are prescribed for any neglect on the part of the fosterer. Alliance by fosterage or gossipred between the Irish and English was prohibited by many Irish parliaments. Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny, p. 9. Alliance by gossipred was held so sacred among the Irish, that when it was proposed in the Council of Trent to abolish the church law, which annuls marriages between parties related by spiritual kindred (cognatio spirit-

CHAPTER XI.

HOW GIRALDUS VAINLY ENDEAVOURS TO DISCOVER FAULTS IN THE HABITS OF EVERY SEX AND AGE, AND IN SOME CUSTOMS, OF THE IRISH.

[105] Solicitude of nurses in rearing their foster children. [106] They give their breasts and not hard food to the infants.—Deformity of children not to be attributed to the parents.—[107] Unnatural lusts unknown to the Irish.—Crime and execution of Atherton.—Modesty of Irish women.—How they rode on horseback. [108] Censure on Good; he unjustly attributes to the whole nation the vices of a few.—The Irish infected with filthy customs imported from England. [109] Good's groundless invectives against the social bond of fosterage.—Story of Ulick Burke, first Earl of Clanrickard. [110] Kindness of fosterers to their foster children.—Examples of this affection in foreign countries. [111] Animals themselves attached to what they have reared.—Honor paid by foster children to their nurses.

GIRALDUS admits that the natives of Ireland are richly endowed with all the gifts of nature. But withdrawing this eulogy, according to his usual mode, he adds immediately, "so many persons born blind, so many lame, so many deformed, so many wanting some of nature's gifts, I never met in any other land." These facts, I at first attributed to what Cambrensis tells (if indeed we can trust him) that "when the Irish baby is born, it is not carefully nursed; it gets hard diet, and is abandoned in almost every respect to the care of nature. They are not rocked in cradles, nor bound with swathing clothes, nor are their tender limbs nerved by frequent baths, nor developed in their proportions by artificial aid. The midwives never use warm water, to raise the nose, nor to depress the face; nor to stretch the knees. Nature alone shapes, without the aid of art, the limbs which she has formed." On more mature consideration of the matter, it occurred to me, that in a country where the nursing of a child was most anxiously coveted as an honor,[a]

ualis), Donagh Mac Congal, Bishop of Raphoe, protested against its abolition, on the ground that in his country the tie contracted by that kindred was deemed so sacred that any person striking his spiritual kinsman would be excommunicated and not absolved except at the time of death. The remonstrance was successful: the sponsors of a child or the person who baptizes it, cannot, according to the present law in the Catholic church, validly marry the child or its parents.

fuisse. Quomodo enim tam ardenter alumni et nutricum filii mutuo se amore complecterentur, si vagientis alumni tenella ætas fomentis non mulceretur, et cunis non exciperetur? nulla tam inhumana nutrix est, præsertim in Hibernia (ubi nutricibus alumni chariores sunt quam sui liberi) quæ prius in amantissimi pusionis os durius alimentum quam ubera sua ingereret. Quod si alumni jam adulti distortus nasus, crura vara, et repanda, oculi coclites, aut cæteri artus nutricis culpâ deformitate notarentur; nonne omni amore sublato, odiorum seges mox enata foret? nec adeo mente captæ nutrices esse censendæ sunt, ut quem contrahendæ amicitiæ causâ suis uberibus admoverunt, ob eundem negligentius habitum, odium colligere niterentur. Nunc temporis in Hibernia operosiori sollicitudine infantulis enutriendis nullibi terrarum incumbitur, nec diutius fasciis involvuntur infantes, aut crebrius tepidioribus balneis lavantur. Imo egentiores mulierculæ non mediocrem adhibent solertiam ut sua proles fasciis, pro modulo suo astringatur, calentibus aquis sepius abluatur, ne distortio colli, cruris, aut lacerti vel sibi dedecori, vel soboli adultos annos assecutæ detrimento foret.

Nec in gente priscis moribus mordicus adhærente consuetudinem istam nuper enatam esse credimus, sed ejus originem ad gentis primordia referendam. Lingua enim Hibernica cunarum et fasciarum vocabulis non instrueretur, si cunarum et fasciarum usus ab Hibernica gente non frequentaretur. In superiore Hiberniæ regum indice Ængusio Turmecho ad Hiberniæ clavum anno mundi 4867 sedente fasciarum habetur mentio. Itaque fabulones istos qui Giraldo ista insusurrarunt nimis
[106] fuisse petulantes | oportuit et Giraldum calumniatorem insignem, qui ad teneras etiam unguiculas, et obstetricum ministeria, infra virilem, et ecclesiasticam dignitatem se abjectissimè demittit, ut inde ansam eliciat ignominiæ Hibernis creandæ.[4] Quid quod Hibernos "natura" (ipso Giraldo affirmante) "in robur perfectum pulcherrimis, ac proceris cor-

[4] Topogr. d. 3, c. 10.

[b] The description given by Giraldus of the Irish of his day, which is confirmed by the accounts given by Froissart, Castide, Spenser, Campion, Dimocke, and Moryson, has scarcely one of the characteristics, attributed by modern ethnography to the Celtic race, from which it must be inferred, either that the Irish of his time were not Celts, or that modern ethnographers are in error. See Physical Atlas.

the foster-child could not be so carelessly reared. For how could the foster-child and the son of the nurse have so ardent a love for each other if the tender age of the infant fosterson had not been affectionately attended nor been allowed even a cradle ? There never was a nurse, especially in Ireland (where nurses love their fostersons more than their own children) that could think of giving her darling little charge any harder diet than her own breast. Now, if the fosterson when grown up, found he had a crooked nose, or crooked or bandied legs, or eyes awry, or any other defect arising from the negligence of his nurse, could there be a bond of affection and not rather the seeds of hatred and enmity ? Moreover, we cannot suppose the nurses to have been so devoid of common sense as to make the babe, which they had taken to their arms for a bond of friendship, become, by their gross negligence, a cause of enmity. There is no quarter of the world where the infant is attended with more affectionate solicitude than in Ireland at the present day, where they are kept longer in swathing bands, or are more frequently bathed in tepid baths. Even the poorest woman strains every exertion to swathe her babe according to her means; she bathes it often in warm water, lest a distortion of the neck, or legs or arms, should be a disgrace to herself or an injury to the child when it arrived at the years of maturity. Now, it is utterly incredible that a custom of this kind can be of modern growth among a people who cling so tenaciously to ancient manners. It must have been coeval with the origin of the nation itself. If cradles and swathing clothes had been unknown in ancient times to the Irish people, there would not be names for them in the Irish language. Yet, under the reign of Ængus Turmach, A.M. 4867, in the regal catalogue of the kings of Ireland, swathing bands are mentioned. The knaves who imposed this fiction on Giraldus must have been shameless deceivers, and Giraldus himself was an arrant calumniator, to poke into the little secrets and humble duties of the nursery, with a curiosity unbecoming a priest and a man, in order to buttress an infamous charge against the Irish. Had he not himself asserted "that nature fashioned her stoutest models in the tall[b] and most beautiful persons, the regular features and glowing complexions of the Irish." And again, " whatever they have received from nature is of the highest order." And in another place, " the good figures amongst them are

poribus congruis et coloratissimis vultibus."[5] Et "quod in his naturæ, illud optimum :" et alibi, "qui benè formantur, exquisitissime."[6] Quomodo autem tam eximia corporum species, seu potius (ut Giraldus loquitur) "majestas" in ætatis maturitatem assecutis appareret, nisi in iisdem apte formandis, dum adhuc in primâ teneritudine constituerentur, solertior nutricum industria præcessisset ?

Cum infantes "duris alimentis sustentari" dixit: fortasse commento amplificare voluit Strabonem scribentem, [7]infantes "prima nutrimenta patrum mucronibus prætenta gustare." Aut illi forsitan in mentem venit locus ille Virgilii :

"Durum a stirpe genus, natos ad flumina primum
Deferimus, saevoque gelu duramus, et undis."

An inianite in Hibernia fœminis ubera lacte distenta è pectore pendent ? feræ pullis suis ubera admovent, et mulieres ratione præditæ liberos suos à mamillis sugendis removebunt ? et duriorem cibum in os edentulum, ac escas proinde molere nesciens ingerent ? apagè apagè feritatem istam plus quam belluinam, non solum ab humanâ naturâ, sed etiam à ferinâ maximè abhorrentem. Quomodo usum à barbaris quibusque nationibus assidue frequentatum, natio Christianis instituta disciplinis aut ignorabit, aut non exercebit ?

Quod plures oculorum, aut incessus usu destitutos, aliave corporis deformitate notatos, in Hibernia cernere tum erat, "non dubitandum" (inquit) "si de gente adultera, gente incesta, gente illegitime natâ, et copulatâ, gente exlege, tales interdum contra naturæ legem naturæ producat," in parentum, et natalium vitia deterioris liberorum figuræ causam injuriâ refundens.[8] Non enim semper proles parentum similitudinem, vel ore, vel moribus refert. Præstantissimi patres profligatissimos quandoque filios procrearunt. Heroum filios noxas proverbio dicimus : et è contra, è libidinoso, imo vel incestuoso coitu, etiam sanctimonia claros prodiisse constat.[9] Neque enim "cæcus ille à nativitate" in Evangelio, aut parentum, aut sua culpa cæcitate multatus est. Deus plures sibi gratos plectit, ut immissos cruciatus æquanimiter ferentes, æternis gaudiis ipse remuneret.[10] Quod si ejusmodi prolium fœditatibus

[5] Ibidem. [6] Ibidem, c. 35. [7] Georgr. [8] Topogr. d. 3, c. 35. [9] Joannis, cap. 9. [10] 2 Mach. c. 6.

exquisite." Now, how could this surpassing beauty, or rather (to use Giraldus's words,) this majesty of person, be found in the grown-up man, if the skilful solicitude of the nurse had not watched and fashioned the tender age of the child?

Perhaps, when he said that the infants got hard diet, he wished merely to amplify or illustrate the words of Strabo, "that the first nourishment of the babe was given to it from the point of its father's sword." Or perhaps he had the passage of Virgilius before his mind—

> "Strong from the cradle, of a sturdy brood
> We bear our new-born infants to the flood."

Is it in vain that the bosoms of the Irish matrons swell with the nutritious food of their babes? The wild beast itself gives its dugs to its young, and could women, gifted with reason, spurn their children from their breasts? Would they thrust hard food into the toothless mouths or teach them how to masticate it? Away with this worse than beastly savageness, repugnant not only to human nature, but even to wild beasts. How could a custom, invariably observed in all nations however barbarous, be unknown or neglected in a country civilized by the religion of Christ?

Giraldus states that the great number of persons in Ireland wanting the use of their eyes or limbs, or otherwise deformed, cannot be a matter of surprise, if we reflect "that nature sometimes produces such things against her own laws, among an adulterous nation, an incestuous nation, a nation illegitimately born and married—a nation without any law." But to attribute the natural deformities of the child's person to the crime of its parents or the illegitimacy of its birth, is false philosophy, because the child does not always resemble the parent either in character or in face. The most excellent fathers have had the most profligate sons. "The sons of heroes are pests," has become a proverb, while, on the other hand, men distinguished for sanctity, have been the issue of a libidinous and incestuous amour. The man blind from his birth, mentioned in the Gospel, was not punished with blindness either for his own crimes or those of his parents. God often chastiseth those whom he

ob flagitia in Hibernos, "non ad interitum, sed ad correptionem," Deus animadverteret, quid inde majoris probri contrahent quam Angli, quos S. Bonifacius Moguntinus Archiepiscopus Giraldo magis idoneus author, "spretis legibus adulterando, et luxuriando ad instar Sodomiticæ gentis fœdam vitam ducere" quæritur, et præsagit "de tali commixtione meretricum æstimandum esse degeneres populos, et ignobiles, et furentes libidine ferè procreandos."[11] Quod in Giraldum retorqueo, ut meminerit, "qui sibi hoc sumpsit ut aliorum peccata reprehendat, neminem huic ignoscere, si qua in re ipse à religione officii declinarit."[12] Nemo Hibernus vel cæcutiet, vel ingressu cæspitabit, quin toti nationi mox inde calumnia struatur. Cæteræ gentes impunè ferent, visu, vel incessu orbis abundare. Sed plures apud nos lippitudine, cæcitate, aut claudicatione laborasse, ineptus iste calculator deprehendit. Retorto sanè livoris oculo nostrates intuitus est, et pauciores in majorem numerum excrevisse ratus, calculos male subduxit. Et minutias quasque ad vivum rimatus est, in lucro id ponens, quod famæ dispendium Hibernis pareret.[13]

Quibus non est cur exprobetur, quod præpostera libidine in naturæ leges impegerint. Capiti cane talia demens probra tuo. Vesana illa salacia in alios torqueatur. Unicum illud hujusmodi flagitium de semiviroque bove, semiboveque viro, quod Hibernis Giraldus affixisse videtur, ita vivente, et vidente Giraldo convulsum, eversum, et dilutum
[107] est, ut nihil idoneum habuerit ipse quod retorqueret. |

In ejusmodi scelerum ignoratione Hibernia versabatur, nec nisi nuperrime, et multis annorum centuriis, post Giraldi excessum, ad ea coercenda, leges conditæ sunt. Nam sicut medicorum pharmacis nihil opus est, nisi morbis laboraretur, ita leges ferre nihil attineret, nisi perperam viveretur. Itaque bonæ leges è malis moribus procreantur. Solon rogatus quam ob causam non tulisset legem in parricidas respondit: quod non sperasset futurum parricidam. Novum crimen, et ante inauditum in Hibernia præposterus ille veneris æstus

[11] Cap. 10, de publ. concubina. [12] Cicero. [13] Præfa. t. expug. Hiber.

c The editor has no means of confuting this assertion by Giraldus. It is certain that subsequent English writers did not remark among the Irish a greater proportion of deformed persons than in other countries. We read frequently in the annals before the 12th century, that chieftains fre-

loves, that their patience under the trials he sends, may be rewarded by the eternal joys of heaven. But, if God had sent those natural defects on the children to punish the crimes of the Irish, "not for their destruction, but their amendment," what greater disgrace is that to the Irish than to the English, who, as St. Bonifacius, Archbishop of Mayence (a better authority than Giraldus,) complains, "led scandalous lives, indulging against all laws in adultery and other abominations, like the people of Sodom." This promiscuous intercourse, he predicted, "should beget a base and degenerate people, the slaves of sensual passions." If a single Irishman limp or be blind, the whole nation is at once charged with the defect, though other nations have a large stock of blind or deformed, without any disparagement of the national character. By an arithmetic peculiar to himself, Giraldus found more blear-eyed and blind and lame in Ireland than in any other country.[c] But he viewed our country with a jaundiced eye, and by an error in his calculations magnified a few into an enormous number. Every little trifle he sifted to the bottom, thinking himself amply rewarded if he could thereby injure the character of the Irish.

But there is not the shadow of evidence for charging them with being plunged by sensualism into unnatural crimes. That preposterous lust must be laid at the doors of others. On thine own head, mad dog, be such enormities. The only instance of such a crime, on the man half ox, and the ox half man, which Giraldus seems to have charged on the Irish, was during his life, and before his face so refuted and disproved that he had not one specious word to say in its defence.

Ireland was ignorant of these crimes, and it was not till lately, and many centuries after the death of Giraldus, that laws were made to repress them. For as there is no need of medicine where there is no

quently deprived of sight their captive rivals, but that barbarous custom was not peculiar to Ireland. If, indeed, the "lex talionis" "an eye for an eye," which is said to have been anciently enforced, vol. 1, p. 469, were existing so late as the 12th century, it would corroborate the assertion of Giraldus, but that law had long before been modified and commuted into pecuniary fine: *Ogygia, p.* 307.

erat, non hic enatus, sed exoticus, et â Joanne Adertono Pseudoepiscopo Waterfordiensi huc primum importatus. Homo iste libidinis omnimodæ fœditatibus coopertus, in strupri, adulterii, et incestus reos quam gravissimè animadvertebat, et quorum scelerum summum præ se ferebat odium, eorum cœno animum contaminatum gessit. Is comprimendæ libidinis studio (si diis placet) incensus, author fuisse dicitur Hiberniæ comitiis, ut lege sancirent, eum morte plectendum fore, qui pæderastiæ scelere se macularet; sed laqueo quem aliis posuit, ipse captus est. Primus enim legem ipso rogante nuper latam infregisse deprehensus, pœnas in crucem actus morte dedit.

Eutropius Eunuchus simili prorsus ratione olim sibi ruinam struxit.[14] Is enim dum expetit aliquos qui templi defensione se tegebant pœnis affici, persuasit Imperatori ut lex ferretur, quâ templi religio nulli sonti prodesset.[15] Lata lege contigit ut Eutropius in Imperatoris offensam incidens ad altare confugerit, unde protractus capite plexus est.[16] "Thomas" etiam "Cronwellus Fabri Ferrarii pauperculi filius, qui comes Essexiæ" tandem evasit, ob legem ipso poscente latam, et paulo post ab ipso violatam obtruncatus est, et supplicii comitem habuit "Baronem Hungerfordium qui crimen quoddam non nominandum capite luit."[17] Cinædorum, spinthriarum, exoletorum, et meritorum puerorum vocibus aures Hibernorum, ne dum cogitationes earum vocum notionibus adhuc non fœdabantur. Hujusmodi lasciviam cum peregrino luxu natio dominatrix invexit. Quam nominare non solum hæretici, set etiam Ethnici erubuerunt; Suetonio Tyberii turpia referri, audirive nedum credi fas esse negante: quæ utinam nec in libris legentium oculis obversarentur. Sanè Suetonius, et Lampridius plurium reprehensione vapulant, quod sic ad vivum libidinosa narrando resecent, ut ea non dicere sed docere videantur.

Quare non mediocris admiratio me tenuit, cur hominem non modo catholicum, sed etiam divino cultui sacratius addictum non puduerit, etiam scriptis committere, "quod viri sedendo, mulieres stando urinas emittant."[18] Non in illius ordinis virum cadebat illa spectare. Et si postibula, aut infimæ notæ mulieres ita se mictu exonerantes aspexisset,

[14] Socrates Histor. [15] Goodwin in Anna. an. 1536, et 1640. [16] Ibidem. [17] Ibidem. [18] Topogr. d. 3, c. 26.

disease, so laws would be of little use if there were no evil doers. Therefore good laws are occasioned by bad morals. When Solon was asked why he made no laws against parricides, because, he replied, he hoped there would be no parricide. A novel crime, and unheard of hitherto in Ireland, was that unnatural lust not the growth of our soil, but an exotic first imported here by John Atherton, Anglican Protestant bishop of Waterford. This man, who was himself guilty of all kinds of lust, punished most severely fornication, adultery, and incest in others, though his heart was polluted by those very crimes of which he affected so stern a hatred in his neighbour. In his zeal for repressing lust, he originated, we are told, in the Irish parliament, a law which made sodomy a capital crime; but he was himself caught in the snare which he had laid for others. He was the first person committed of having violated his own law, and was executed for the offence.

It was in the same way, that the eunuch Eutropius formerly brought down ruin on his own head. For, desiring to bring to punishment some persons who had taken refuge in a church, he induced the emperor to abrogate by law the right of sanctuary for criminals. After the law was made, it happened that Eutropius having incurred the displeasure of the emperor, fled to the altar, but he was dragged thence and executed. Thomas Cromwell, also, the son of a poor blacksmith, but afterwards earl of Essex, was beheaded for the violation of a law made at his own suggestion, and with him suffered "baron Hungerford, who was executed for some nameless crime." So far were the Irish from having their hearts polluted with thoughts of those crimes, that they had never even heard the names of the degraded objects of unnatural lust. These disorders were introduced with the foreign luxury of the conquerors. Not only heretics, but even pagans, were ashamed to name these enormities, as they denied that Suetonius ought to have published the crimes of Tiberius, or be listened to, much less believed. It were to be wished indeed, that they had never been committed to writing. In truth, Lampridius, as well as Suetonius, is gravely censured by many, for narrating deeds of lust in words so vivid that they appear rather to teach than to tell them.

How great, then, was my astonishment to find Giraldus not only a Catholic, but consecrated by his profession to the worship of God, so far

multo minus eorum moribus cæteras Hiberniæ fœminas metiri. Major est mulierum Hibernicarum verecundia, quàm ut ad talia se demittant, quarum "familiaritas etiam cum maritis sola est in cubiculis." Contraria profecto consuetudo, et viris, et fœminis nunc est in usu, quam à majoribus quasi per manus traditam fuisse non ambigo.[19] Rituum enim suorum adeo tenaces erant Hiberni, ut ab iis divelli nisi patrum et nostrâ memoriâ non potuerit. Ut non urgeam qua ratione ista munia viri sedentes obeant: nam te pudor haud violabo, nec tua jura revellam.[20] Dicit quoque "mulieres, et mares divaricatis cruribus, et tibiis utrinque protensis equitare." Ego quidem existimo morem mulieribus in equis sedendi nunc usitatum, eundem iis prorsus familiarem Giraldo superstite fuisse, ea duntaxat ratione fretus, quod majorum vestigiis Hiberni mordicus insistere assueverint. Si plebe jam aliquam præpostero illo more jumento insidentem Giraldus vidit, non debebat id ad omnium fœminarum dedecus torquere, nisi calumniandi causâ undequaque arreptâ, Hibernorum famæ securim esset injecturus. Ipsissimum illum equitandi morem mulieribus in Anglia fuisse familiarem ille tacet, Camdenus asserit. Ut alterutum falsi convictum esse necesse sit. Si
[108] non | credere proclivius esset quempiam gentis suæ maculas silentio tegere, quam falsas eidem affingere.[21] "Et proprium stultitiæ et aliorum vitia cernere, et oblivisci suorum." Camdeni verba sunt. "Anna regis Richardi 2., uxor Wenceslai Imperatoris filia, prima mulieres Anglicas eam insedendi equi formam quæ hodie in usu docuit, cum antea parum decorè, divaricatæ perinde ac viri obequitarent."

Præterea facilius adducor ut credam maculis à me proximé memoratis mulieres Hiberniæ Giraldum falso notasse, quod Goodus apud Camdenum illas tacitus prætermiserit, qui alioquin spurcitiarum Hiberniæ sagacissimus indagator est, et in bubulcorum, subulcorum, opilionum, equisonum, sagarum, vernarum, cæteræque vulgi fecis assiduo contubernio versatus fuisse, et eorum haras, ac viliora tuguriola frequentius obtrivisse videtur. Nam eorum inconditos quosque ritus summâ diligentiâ cumulat, et in eorum inconcinnitatis communionem, gentem universam ore infræni trahit. Fateor ingenuè pleraque quæ Goodus evomuit, me ne fando quidem ante audivisse, quam decimum septimum ætatis annum paulò supergressus, et in Galliam trajiciens, tenuique

[19] Stanihur. p. 38. [20] Topogr. d. 3, c. 26. [21] CiceroTuscul. 3, p. 214.

forgetting all decency as to commit to writing a filthy observation on Irish women. (For which the reader is referred to the original Latin.)

He also asserts that men and women ride on horseback, the same way. But I am firmly convinced that the mode of sitting on horseback now practised by the women, is that which prevailed in the days of Cambrensis; and my opinion needs no other support than the universal and obstinate adherence of the Irish to ancient usages. If, perchance, Giraldus saw some one humble peasant woman riding on horseback, like a man, what but his insatiable avidity of seizing every trifling opportunity of hurling his weapons against Irish character, could have induced him to defame all the women of Ireland? He forgets to tell us (but Camden does not,) that that very custom was common among the women of England. One or other of their testimonies must be false. But a writer, generally, is more inclined to suppress whatever is disgraceful in his own nation, than to make false charges against it; "for it is peculiar to folly to notice the vices of others and to forget one's own." Camden's words are, "Anna, wife of King Richard II., daughter to the Emperor Winceslaus, was the first that taught the ladies of England the modern fashion of riding, in place of their former indecorous habit of riding like men."

A powerful argument for refusing credit to Giraldus's calumnies against the women of Ireland, may be taken from the fact, that Good, as quoted by Camden, does not mention them. Good was the most scrutinizing collector of all the calumnies against Ireland. He was constantly in company with pig-boys, shepherds, cow-boys, ostlers, old hags and sorcerers, and the vilest dregs of the populace, and must have evidently spent many days in their vile sties and cabins. All their rude habits are detailed with the most minute accuracy, and then the whole nation is shamefully accused of similar barbarities. I solemnly protest that I never once heard, even by public rumor, most of these crimes which Good lays to our charge, until coming over to France, shortly after my seventeenth year,[d] and having then only a slight knowledge of the French language, I learned what they were from a French book.

[d] See Editor's Introduction to vol. I. p. iv.

linguæ Gallicæ cognitione imbutus, è libro Gallico ea primum hauserim. Obstupescens, et indignatus ea mendacia patriæ meæ affingi, quæ ipse in ultimis et incultioribus Hiberniæ plagis genitus ne extremis quidem (ut ajunt) auribus unquam audiverim.[22] Camdenus càlumniarum earum primus propalator, dum eos "in extremis Hiberniæ delitescentibus" ascribit, et Anglicæ provinciæ incolas iis inquinari negat aerem verberat.[23] Nam scriptores exteri Hibernos omnes eadem æstimatione metiuntur. Et ubi peregre versamur, ab iis in quorum consuetudinem venimus, ejusmodi spurcitiis infecti esse censemur, plerisque vel lectione, vel crebra sciscitatione mores gentium edoctis. Hominibus enim sic à natura comparatum est, ut aviditate quapiam rapiantur, ad ea cognoscenda, quæ in regionibus à se longè remotis geruntur.

Præstigiis mehercule alibi frequentius quam in Hibernia indulgetur, superstitio pluries exercetur; fascinatione hominibus, et animalibus, magis crebro sanitas, aut maleficiis pernicies quæritur, sagæ ad tribunalia, et supplicia sæpius rapiuntur. Infamiæ tamen contagio ad nationem universam minimè serpit. Quæ hujusmodi rerum innumera exempla Martinus Delrio suppeditat, non dedecoris notam genti ulli affigunt. Lege ista vetari documento est, ea longè latèque diffusa fuisse. Cur ergo nobis vitio sceleratorum delicta dabuntur? in exteris regionibus furtorum quædam artificia sunt, nec tantum vi ac cæde, sed etiam ingenioso dolo prædones in viatorum crumenas grassantur. Ut præ illis nostri fures idiotæ sint: attamen ad furem pœna, ad alium neminem facti ignominia pervadit[24] Goodum qui ludum literarium Limbrici, anno post Christum natum 1566, aperuisse dicitur, Stanihurstus per-

22 Pag. 789. 23 In disquisitionib. magicis. 24 Pag. 31.

e Many of the worst charges made by Good, regard principally the Irish nobles; his account of the state of religion is frightful: "of late days," he says, writing in 1566, "they spare neither churches nor hallowed places, but thence also they fill their hands with spoil—yea, and sometimes they set them on fire and kill the men that there lie hidden." The cause he says was the incontinency of the priests, that is, as he explains it, of the men who had seized the revenues and made them hereditary in their family, but never took the order of priesthood themselves. This was one of the abuses against which an Irish bishop had protested in the council of Trent. O'Sullevani Historiæ Catholicæ, p. 109. Dublin, 1850.

I was astounded and indignant that such lies should be told of my country, I, who though born in the most remote and uncivilized district in Ireland, had never once heard the slightest mention of any of them.[e] Camden, who was the first to propagate these calumnies, says, it is true, that they applied only to the Irish of the remote districts, and that the inhabitants of the English pale were entirely free from them. But this was a weak precaution, because foreign writers apply the same moral standard to the character of all the Irish, and wherever we roam in exile, those with whom we associate, most of whom either by reading or diligent inquiry, have formed opinions on national character, look upon us as guilty of these enormities. Men are naturally impelled by a voracious curiosity to know the manners and customs of remote nations.

In Ireland, magical charms are certainly less common than in other countries; superstition is less frequent, the injury or death of men and animals, is less frequently compassed by witchcraft and malignant sorcery; witches are not brought up in such crowds to the dock or strung up to the gibbet. And yet these other nations have not forfeited their national character. The innumerable examples of those crimes given by Martin Delrio, are not regarded as a stain on the fair fame of any country whatever, though the fact of laws being made against them proves that they must have been common.[f] Why are the crimes of a few abandoned wretches imputed to our whole nation? Robbery and theft are so consummately organized in other countries, that the traveller is deprived of his effects, not by assassination or violence, but by the most ingenious craft. Compared to these foreigners our Irish are fools, and yet abroad the thief alone pays the penalty of the law, the infamy of his deeds is not charged against his nation! Good opened a school in Limerick about the year 1566.[g] It is to him, probably, that Stani-

[f] Many of the superstitions mentioned by Good undoubtedly existed and still exist; but, as our author justly remarks, they never assumed so truculent and barbarous forms as in England or Scotland, or other countries.

[g] Perhaps that referred to in Robert Payne's description of Ireland, p. 3, "in which there were 160 scholars, most of them speaking good and perfect English." *Tracts relating to Ireland*, Irish Archæological Society. Good was an Oxford priest, according to Camden.

stringere videtur dicens: "Qui Hibernos his conviciis infamant, à mendacio contra verum stant."

Aliquorum animos incessit opinio putidioribus hisce moribus Hibernos Anglorum culpâ imbutos fuisse. Recte ne an secus, aliorum esto judicium. Qui enim ajunt fieri potest ut tam uberem ignominiarum segetem navus loliorum messor Giraldus non messuerit, qui omnem movit lapidem, ut minimæ quæque sordes Hibernis infamiæ cederent? è circulis ille rumusculos non segniter aucupatus est, multa præterea visu comperta solerter advertit; quæ scriptis omnia naviter commissa posteritati commendavit, ne sui ævi hominibus tantum cognita futuros mortales fugerent. Cum autem eorum quæ mundo Goodus obtrudit, apud Giraldum eadem avidius venantem ne tenuis quidem memoria sit, quilibet rerum æquus æstimator planè cernit Giraldi cognitionem ista subterfugisse; ac proinde in rerum natura tunc non extitisse. Quare post Anglos Hiberniâ potitos, isti spurci mores exorti fuisse censendi sunt, morum sordibus è bellorum assiduitate plerumque contrahi solitis.[25]
[109] Imo Spenserus "præcipuos | abusus quibus nunc Hibernia sordet, ab Anglis originem duxisse affirmat. Consuetudines enim" (inquit)[26] "Angliæ Henrico secundo Rege, valde rudes, et barbaræ fuerunt, quibus si hodie quis uteretur, gravi animadversioni obnoxium se præberet ita ut ad tales consuetudines abolendas, novas leges cudi oporteret." Itaque inconditas illas consuetudines à Goodo memoratas ideo fortasse in sordium Hibernicarum album referre Giraldus omisit, quod culpæ vacuas existimaverit, utpote à popularibus suis perinde ac ab Hibernis usurpatas. Nec enim sperandum erat fore ut Anglorum gens tam inculta concinnitate morum, cujus ipsa expers erat Hibernos excoleret. In Camdeni residuis (si bene memini) Anglos non nisi Richardo secundo Rege colli nuda collaribus circumdedisse legi.

Hinc arbitror arctum amoris, et amicitiæ vinculum, quo alumni ac nutricii inter se mutuo colligantur, à Giraldo non reprehendi; nedum ita graviter accusari, "ut ab eo Hiberniæ corruptelæ profluxisse credantur." Quæ cum apud Goodum legissem non potui risum tenere, hominis indolem admiratus, novum et aliis nationibus inusitatum neces-

[25] Pag. 44. [26] Pag. 47.

hurst alludes in the words, "they who vent these calumnies against the Irish, abet the lie against the truth."

Some persons are of opinion that these revolting habits were introduced into Ireland by the fault of the English, with what truth I leave it to others to decide. How, they ask, is it possible, that so abundant a harvest of horrors could have escaped Giraldus—that most careful gleaner of all rank weeds, who left no stone unturned to collect all ill-odored things, how trifling soever, provided they were disgraceful to Ireland? The vague stories of the fireside he collected most industriously; his searching eye was always on the watch, for the many things that came under his own observation; all these were scrupulously committed to writing, for the benefit of posterity, lest the men of his own generation alone should enjoy them. Giraldus, therefore, with all his voracious researches for bad things, not having made the slightest allusion to those which Good has published, must, in the judgment of every candid man, be admitted not to have seen them, and, therefore, in his day they were utterly unknown in Ireland. The conclusion is obvious—these loathsome habits must have sprung up in Ireland after the English invasion—continual wars being generally the rankest hot-bed of immorality. Spenser himself says, in express terms, "that the principal abuses now disgracing Ireland were introduced by the English." "For," says he, "English habits during the reign of Henry II. were rude and barbarous, and, if revived at the present day, would deserve severe penalties, and call for the enactment of new laws to suppress them." Perhaps Giraldus neglected to chronicle those barbarous customs among the infamies of this island, because he believed them to be blameless, as being practised by his own countrymen as well as by the Irish. For it could not be expected that the English people could introduce into Ireland a code of moral civilization, of which England itself appears to have been, at that time, entirely destitute. Thus, (if memory deceive me not), it is stated in Camden's remains, that it was not before the reign of Richard II. that the English began to use collars around their necks. That was the reason, I think, why Giraldus did not censure the link of love and bond of friendship between foster-child and foster-father, much less denounce it vehemently as the source of the degeneracy of Ireland. It was with difficulty I could refrain from

situdinis genus ideo condemnantis, quod eam aliqui scelere contaminaverint. Perinde ac si amicitiam è medio sublatam velit, quod eâ complures abutantur. Apposite dixit Ovidius:

"Nil prodest, quod non lædere possit idem.
Igne quid utilius? si quis tamen urere tecta
Comparat, audaces instruit igne manus.
Eripit interdum, modo dat medicina salutem;
Quæque juvat monstrat, quæque sit herba nocens.[27]
Et latro, et cautus præcingitur ense viator,
Ille sed insidias, hic sibi portat opem.
Discitur innocuas ut agat facundia causas,
Proregit hæc sontes, immeritosque premit."

Hic credo undis quod navium hominumque copiam obsorbeant, soli quod herbas subinde torreat calumniam struet; et neutri quod mortalium commodis cumulate inserviat laudem tribuet. Hæreticum illum imitatus, quem Emanuel Almada Episcopus Angrensis exoptasse scribit, ut è medio sacræ literæ sublatæ forent,[28] quod illinc lites omnes in re religionis arripi diceret. Si quis peccati sordibus adhuc oblitus sacra se synaxi munierit non gratiæ divinæ accessionem, sed jacturam comparabit; quippe non res ipsa, sed non rectus rei usus culpandus est. Nec ex artificum maleficiis ars ipsa improbanda est. Sin minus ars militaris destruatur, quia multi duces Remp. nefariis bellis confecerunt. Politica eliminetur quia multi magistratus iniquas leges promulgarunt. Medicina expellatur quia multi medici vita sæpenumero homines devolverunt. Quin etiam (ut inquit Quintilianus) cibos aspernemur, attulerunt sæpè valetudinis adversæ causas. Nunquam tecta subeamus, aliquando super habitantes procubuerunt. Non fabricitetur gladius, illo abutuntur homines sanguinarii. Denique quis nescit elementa omnia, sine quibus vita non ducitur aliquando nocere?

Quod si collactaneorum aliquot in alumnos perfidia innotuerit, aut alumnorum ascitâ sibi collectaneorum colluvie conjuratio in Remp. eruperit; non continuo in hunc amicitiæ nexum in Hibernia temporis diuturnitate inveteratum tam acriter invehendum erat. Afflictis et vel

[27] Tristium 1, 2. [28] Contra Haddonum.

laughing when I met that assertion in Good, who, by a strange obliquity, denounces this singular tie of relationship, which is peculiar to Ireland, solely because it had sometimes led to crime. With equal reason he might denounce all friendship, because many abuse it. Ovidius has truly written—

"There is no good, which may not be abused:
Fire is a good; yet should the robber plot
To bare the roof, he arms his hand with fire:
Physic at times gives or destroys our health
And culls the poisonous or the saving herb;
Robbers and cautious travellers wear a sword
The first to kill, the latter to defend;
To guard the guiltless, eloquence is taught,
And yet both guilt and innocence arraigns."

But Good would rail against the sea because it sometimes swallows vast numbers of men and ships; and against the sun because he sometimes scorches the earth; nor allow any praise to either for their bounteous munificence to the wants of man. He acts like the heretic, mentioned by Emmanuel Almada, Bishop of Angers, who prayed that the Sacred Scriptures might be destroyed in order to put an end to religious controversies. If a man approaches the holy communion in a state of mortal sin, he gains no increase of grace, but a deeper guilt. The fault lies not in the thing itself, but in the evil use of it. If the tradesman commit a crime is his trade to be abolished? is the art of war to be prohibited, because many generals have fatally used it against the good of the state? are governments to be abrogated because many magistrates enacted bad laws? or is medicine to be declared a crime, because many physicians have sometimes killed great numbers of men? nay, even food itself (as Quinctilianus remarks), is it to be rejected because it has sometimes been injurious to the health? are we never to cross a threshold because roofs sometimes fell on the inmates? are no swords to be made, because men of blood abuse them? Finally is it not a notorious fact, that all things necessary for the support of human life are sometimes deleterious?

If some foster-fathers have been perfidious to their foster-children, or if the foster-children have sometimes mustered the hosts of their foster kindred in rebellion against the state, fosterage itself, that bond of love which was so long inviolably observed in Ireland, ought not to be so

rei familiaris tenuitate, vel æmulorum potentiâ depressis magnatibus crebrò collactaneorum cuneus tempestivè subvenit. Plura hujus rei documenta alibi forsan promentur. Unum hic nunc exhibeo.

Ullechus de Burgo primus Clanricardiæ Comes, Ullechi hodierni Clanricardiæ in Hibernia Marchionis, Galviæ Vicecomitis, Emaniæ, Dunkelliniæque Baronis; in Anglia Santalbaniæ Comitis, Tumbrigiæ Vicecomitis, Sumerhilliæ Baronis atavus, vir erat ita pedibus captus, ut
[110] vestigia figere, | aut equo insidere non valuerit, et proinde honori avito pro dignitate sustinendo impar fuerit. Quare qui proxima eum cognatione attigerunt in amplam ejus hæreditatem protinus advolarunt et per agros ejus direptionibus jam ad satietatem grassati, eoque successu elati, ad ipsum pecorum reliquiis spoliandum, et in vincula rapiendum Duntellinam accurrerunt, ubi stipatus collactaneis, lecto defixus jacuit, et eorum peculio satis pro Ullechi dignitate tenui vitam in otio toleravit. Is obaudiens prædas abactas, præ ira vix sui compos infremuit, indignissimè ferens sanguinis sibi communione junctos nulla sui miseratione teneri, qui orbum incessus, alimentis etiam orbarunt. Itaque infrendentes collactaneos, et de injuriâ, jacturâque illata gravissimè conquerentes conspicatus: tollite me inquit in equum, optimus Deus qui tibiis meis vires ademit, easdem forsan denuo suppeditabit, et facultatem præbebit ex immanium illorum prædonum unguibus pecora eripiendi. Ille in equum sublatus, ei ad duos passus inhærere non valuit; frequentius tamen in eo collocatus, in porrigendis tibiis diu luctatus, tandem ossibus grandem sonum et ab adstantibus auditum edentibus, compages locum ac vires pristinas assequuntur. Æstuans enim animi excandescentia impetum quendam corporis artubus indidit, quo Ullechus in hostes

h *Ulich, Earl of Clanrickard.* He was created by Henry VIII. at Greenwich, on the 1st of July, 1543, Baron of Dunkellin, and Earl of Clanrickarde; and obtained at the same time from the king, a grant of the monastery, *De Via Nova*, in the diocese of *Clonfert*, with the advowsons and donations of all the rectories in the territory of Clanrickarde belonging to the Crown. The king, moreover, defrayed the charges of his journey, and made him a farther grant of a piece of land, near Dublin, for keeping his horses and attendants, when he repaired to parliament or council. He did not, however, long enjoy his honors, for he died on the

reversely denounced. The foster kindred were often of the most material benefit to the afflicted fosterson, when family misfortunes, or the encroachments of rivals, absorbed the properties of the great lords of the kingdom. Many examples of this may be given in another place: for the present let one suffice.

Ulick de Burgo, first Earl of Clanrickard,[h] great grandfather of the present Ulick, Marquis of Clanrickard in Ireland, Viscount Galway, Baron of Ui Maine and Dunkellin, Count of St. Alban's in England, Viscount Tunbridge and Baron of Summerhill, was so paralysed in the feet, that he could neither stand nor sit on horseback, and was consequently unable to sustain, with becoming dignity, the ancient fame of his house. His nearest relatives immediately invaded his ample patrimony, and after plundering at pleasure all his lands, they became so elate with their success, that they pressed forward to Dunkellin, to carry off the remnant of his cattle, and make himself prisoner. Ulick was then at Dunkellin, confined to bed and attended by his foster-brethren, who supplied him with all that was necessary to support his dignity in his retirement. But hearing the spoils that were taken from him, he grew stark and beside himself with rage, foaming with indignation, that they who were bound to him by the closest ties of blood, had hearts so merciless as to deprive him, a cripple, of the necessaries of life. Seeing around him the eager host of his foster-kindred, burning with rage, and clamorously resenting the insult and the injuries that had been inflicted; "A horse, a horse," he cried, "set me on horseback; may not the great God who took away the life of my limb, restore it again, and enable me to recover my cattle from the fangs of those merciless thieves." He was set on horseback; but could not hold his place in the saddle for two paces: many trials were made, till at length after persevering attempts to extend his legs, the bones emitted a sound loud enough to be distinctly heard by the attendants, and on the instant the sinews recovered their natural position and strength. The overheated intensity of his feelings commu-

19th of October, 1544, and was succeeded by his only legitimate son, Richard. His son Thomas and other children were declared illegitimate, according to the laws of England. See *Lodge Clanrickarde*, and Annals of the Four Masters. Ed. J.O'D. A.D. 1544, p. 1484, note [x].

illatus, tam validâ in pecora rapientes impressione irruit, ut non solum prædam ab iis, sed etiam excisa ipsorum capita retulerit. A quo facinore provenit, ut et Ullechus à capitibus cognomento dictus fuerit, et avitum patrimonium, dignitatemque sibi vindicaverit. Ac tandem ab Henrico octavo Comitis Clanricardiæ titulo insignitus fuerit.

Nec hac solum ratione alumnis nutritii eorumque liberi beneficia præbent: frequentissimè pusiones parentibus orbati, et à patruorum, avunculorum, materterarum, cæteræque cognationis turba pro derelictis habiti, à nutritiis, et ætatulæ tenerioris institutionem, et adultioris sustentationem nacti sunt.[29] Puellæ quoque à nutritoribus amplâ dote instructæ, ordinis sui viris matrimonio sæpè collocantur. "Ut olim Olympiadem Alexandri magni matrem Philippo suus altor matrimonio collocavit."

Denique alumnis ad bellum proficiscentibus, et quævis discrimina subeuntibus individuos se comites collactanei adjungunt.[30] Nec Pylades Oresti arctius, quam illis ad angustias redactis hi affixi sunt. Ut perinde sit horum conjunctionem culpæ arguere, ac aliarum regionum magnates reprehendere, quod numerosiore clientelâ cingantur, aut fidissimarum asseclarum multitudine muniantur.[31]

Neque solum in Hibernia sed et alibi nutrientium, et alumnorum summa mutuo benevolentia, et fides emicuit.[32] Mardochæus "nutricius" Esther "deambulabat quotidie ante vestibulum domus in qua virgines servabantur, curam agens salutis Esther et scire volens quid ei accideret."[33] Philippus regis Antiochi "collactaneus," cadaver ejus alio transtulit: et Manahen Herodis Tetrarchæ "collactaneus" inter doctores Apostolicos recensetur:[34] "Hellanice" quoque "quæ Alexandrum magnum educaverat, haud secus quam mater ab eo diligebatur."[35] Hellanices vero frater Clyto ab Alexandri latere nunquam in quibusvis periculis discessit, "et apud Granicum amnem nudo capite Alexandrum dimicantem clypeo suo texit,[36] et Rhosacis manum capiti regis imminentem gladio amputavit," ac tandem Clytone occiso "nutricis absentis eum maximè pudebat."[37] Photinus Ptolomæi regis Egypti nutricius regni procurator alumno puer fuit.[38] Et Ganymedes nutricius Arsinoes

[29] Justinus 1, 7. [30] Stanihur. p. 42. [31] Esther. c. z. [32] Z. Mul. cap. 9. [33] Act. Apostol. cap. 13. [34] Curtius 1, 8. [35] Idem ib. [36] Justinus 1 iz. [37] Cæsar de bello civili. 1, 3. [38] Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. Sueton. in Neron. n. 42, & 50.

nicated some of its vigor to his body; and Ulick rushed upon the enemy with so terrible an assault, that he not only retook his cattle, which they were carrying off, but also brought back in triumph the heads of many of his enemies. From this fact he was surnamed Ulick of the heads. By it he recovered his honor, and saved the inheritance of his ancestors, and was at length created Earl of Clanrickard, by Henry VIII.

But these were not the only services done to the foster child by his foster parents and their children.[i] Helpless children who had lost their parents, and were abandoned by paternal and maternal uncles and stepmothers, and the whole tribe of their blood relations and kindred, were very often protected in their infancy and supported in manhood by their fosterers. Young women were often provided with an ample portion by the same means and formed matrimonial alliances suitable to their rank, "as Philippus received the hand of Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, from her foster parent."

Whenever the foster son was going to war or exposed to any danger, his foster brethren were faithfully at his side. The friendship of Pylades and Orestes was not more devoted than theirs in every extreme of fortune. And if the bond of fosterage is condemned, how can we vindicate the great men of other countries who were attended by crowds of clients or supported by bands of devoted adherents.

But Ireland is not the only country in which the mutual affection and devotion of the foster parents and foster children exhibited itself. Mardochæus "the foster parent of Esther, walked every day before the porch of the house where the virgins were kept, in order to watch over the safety of Esther and know what might happen to her; Philippus removed to another place the body of king Antiochus, his foster brother, and Manahen, the foster brother of Herod the Tetrach, is ranked among the Apostolical doctors.

Alexander the Great as ardently loved his nurse Hellenia as his mother; and was ever attended faithfully in all his dangers by Clytus,

[i] Good winds up his assertion against fosterage in these words, "To conclude, the greatest corruptions of Ireland are thought to spring from these foster fathers and noverces and from naught else." The bishop of

memorati Ptolomæi sororis secundus ab alumna regnante rerum summa potitus est. Neronem in angustiis positum nutrix consolabatur, et ejus reliquias duæ nutrices ejus Ecloge et Alexandra monumento condiderunt. Ac proinde majori studio nutrices quam matrem et uxorem prosecutus fuisse videtur, cùm his occisis illas coluerit. Non mediocris etiam studii ejus indicium erga Tuscum nutricis filium fuit,[39] quod alios in
[111] levem ejus offensam incidentes morte, illum exilio tantum | multaverit.[40] Domitianum cæsum "Phyllis nutrix funeravit."

Rectè nimirum Cicero dixit: "nutrices et pædagogos jure vetustatis plurimum benevolentiæ postulare."[41] Hinc Poëtæ fabulantur Jovem Amaltheæ nutricis tanto amore captum fuisse, ut eam inter sydera collocaverit. Et clari scriptores plurium nutricum memoriam posteritati commendaverunt, et ab alumnis summo loco habitas fuisse judicarunt.[42] Æneam Cajeta nutrix per tot discrimina rerum insecuta, in Italia sepulturam nacta Cajetæ nomen dedit. Barce Sichæi nutrix non Sichæo solum, sed etiam ejus uxori Didoni domesticam se comitem assiduam præbuit.[43] Eryclæa nutrix Ulissis ipso etiam absente, cum ejus uxore Penelope domi semper hæsit.

Non hominibus modo summum erga nutrientes studium, sed etiam belluis natura inseruit. "Civitas est," inquit Elianus, "in Achaiâ nomine Patræ; in ea puer Draconem parvulum emebat, magnaque cum cura educabat, cumque crevisset, loquebatur quasi cum intelligente ludens ac dormiens cum ipso, cum vero ad ingentem magnitudinem draco pervenisset, in solitudinem, à civibus est dimissus. Post cum puer adolescens factus reversus à spectaculo quodam cum aliquibus in latrones incidisset, et clamorem extulisset, ecce Draco præsto est qui alios in fugam vertit, alios interemit, ipsum verò salvum conservat."[44] Simili quoque benevolentia leonem educatori suo gratificatum fuisse

[39] Ibid. n. 35. [40] Idem in Domini num. 17. [41] De amicitia. [42] Æneidos 7. [43] Ibid. 1, 4. Ovidius in Epist. [44] Lib. 13, cap. ultimo.

Raphoe in the council of Trent stated directly the reverse—that fosterage was the best social corrective in Ireland for discord and enmities; one of the reasons perhaps why Good, in his English View, condemned it: "most certain it is, saith this same Good, that cows in Ireland give no milke, unless their own calfe be set by their side alive, or else the skin of the dead calfe stuffed with straw, so as it may carry the resemblance of a live one;" very wonderful and as true as most of his stories.

the brother of Hellenia. In the battle of Granicus, when Alexander was fighting without his helmet, Clytus covered him with his shield, and cut off with his sword, the arm of Rhosaces, which was falling on the king's head. When he slew his friend Clytus, the thought of the absent nurse was the cause of his most poignant shame. Photinus, foster parent of Ptolemæus king of Egypt, was regent of the kingdom for his youthful foster son. Nero in his greatest extremity was consoled by his nurse, and it was by his two nurses Ecloge and Alexandra that his remains were deposited in a monument. Thus, while he slew his mother and wife, he appears to have had much more affectionate feelings towards his nurses. A singular evidence of his attachment to Tuscus, the son of his nurse, is that while he slew all others who incurred his slightest displeasure, he only banished Tuscus. Domitianus, also, after his assassination, was buried by his nurse Phyllis.

Cicero has observed with great truth, "that nurses and tutors by the law of seniority are entitled to great affection:" hence the fiction of the poets, that Jove was so fondly attached to his nurse Amalthea, that he placed her among the stars, and hence the numerous examples recorded by eminent writers of nurses who were held in the highest consideration by their foster children. Cajeta, the nurse of Æneas, after attending him in so many perils, was buried in Italy, and gave her name to Cajeta. Barce, the nurse of Sichæus, was the inseparable companion of him and of his wife Dido. Eryclea, nurse of Ulysses, during his long absence, never abandoned the roof of his wife Penelope. Even the beasts themselves, by the instinct of nature, imitate the powerful affection of man for his nurse. Ælianus relates, "that in a city of Achaia, named Patras, a boy bought a young dragon, and reared it with the greatest care. As it grew up, he conversed with it, as if it could understand him, played with it, and slept with it. But when it had attained an enormous size, it was turned out into the wild places by the citizens. After the lapse of many years, the boy being a grown man was returning with some companions from a play, and being attacked by robbers, screamed aloud, when, lo! the dragon appeared—dispersed some, killed others of them, and preserved its benefactor's life." There is an example of similar affection of a lion for its master recorded by Plinius. What a savage then a man must be to censure in

Plinius narrat. Ita ut bene ferum hominem illum esse oporteat, qui quod natura belluas, institutio gentes docuit in Hibernis vituperat.

Pristina etiam consuetudo tulit alumnos tanto nutricum, et nutritiorum amore teneri, ut illum patrem, illam matrem appellare consueverint. Ulpianus enim dixit: "Indignum militia judicandum esse, qui patrem, et matrem à quibus se educatum dixerit maleficos appellaverit."[45] Hic enim de parentibus illa nomina patris et matris accipienda non sunt: quid enim addidisset, "à quibus se educatum," dixerit? aut quid opus fuisset hac educationis confessione, si notam maleficii naturalibus parentibus inussisset? nonne hoc satis esset ad malitiæ indignitatem quamvis non esset educatus ab illis. Idem affirmat divus Hieronimus his verbis: "nutritius, post naturalem parentem pater,"[46] et chara nomina familiæ appellat, fratrem, sororem, filium, filiam, matrem, vitricum, generum, et "nutricium."[47] Cui Plautus accinit dicens:

> "Ita forma simili puer et mater sua
> Non inter nosse posset quæ mammam dabat:
> Non adeo mater ipsa quæ illos peperit."

Virgilius quoque lupam quæ Romulo, et Remo ubera admovit matrem vocat.[48]

> "Geminos huic ubera circum
> Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem."

Sicut enim plantæ indolem soli cujus succum hauriunt induunt, sic infantes ingenium ejus referunt cujus lac sugunt; narrat Causinus virum quendam è sua societate Jesu, optimis et religiosis moribus imbutum remotis arbitris in morem capræ saltare, et currere solitum fuisse, nec se continere potuisse quin hanc ludicram spectationem exhiberet, quia nimirum capræ lacte fuit enutritus. Sic Halis Hispaniarum rex cervæ lactè sustentatus, cursu pernicissimo cervos æquabat. Hinc Mithridates Romanos arguit de crudelitate, aviditateque lupina, utpote qui referebant originem ad homines lupæ uberibus enutritos. Sic vulgo quando quempiam feris, ac ferocibus moribus præditum esse innuimus, dicimus quod illi Hircanæ admoverunt ubera tigres. Aut alia simili forma eum compellamus. Sed Goodo hac digressione compresso, Giraldum denuo impedimus.

[45] Laurent. Ramires in 101. Ep. rior, l. 1, 5, ultimo de obsequio parenti præstando. [46] Epist. 1. [47] Epist. 9, *l.* 2. [48] Æneid. 8.

the Irish a thing, instilled into the beast itself by nature, and enforced by education on the Pagans. So powerful was the affection of the foster child for its foster parents in ancient times, that the usual name for them was father and mother. In the opinion of Ulpianus, " a man ought to be disqualified for the army, who had ever called the father and mother by whom he had been educated, malefactors." The words father and mother, in this passage are not understood of natural parents, for of what use could it be to add, " by whom he was reared ?" or why should this fact of the education appear necessary if the child had maligned its natural parents ? would not blood itself, without education, be a sufficient aggravation of the guilt ? St. Hieronymus also asserts that after a natural parent, the nurse is a parent, and in the endearing word " family," he includes " brother, sister, son, daughter, mother, father-in-law, son-in-law, and nurse." Plautus does the same :

> "Of form so like the mother and her boy,
> That nor the mother who had nursed, nor she
> Who bore him, could between both distinguish."

Virgilius, too, calls the she-wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus, a mother.

> "Here by the wolf were laid the martial twins,
> Intrepid on their mother's dugs they hung."

For as plants imitate the qualities of the soil, whose juices they absorb, even so, children acquire the characters of those on whose breast they have been reared. Causinus tells a singular story of a brother Jesuit, a most excellent and pious man, who, whenever he was alone, used to skip and bound like a goat, and that this propensity to this ludicrous exhibition could not be resisted, because he had been reared on goat's milk. Again, Halis, king of Spain, who was reared on hind's milk, equalled the swiftest steed in fleetness. On the same principle Mithridates accused the Romans of wilful cruelty and ravenousness, as they owed their origin to men who had been suckled by wolves. Hence too, a common expression for a man of savage and ferocious character—" Hyrcanian tigers gave thee suck," or other similar allusions. But after this digression against Good, return we once more to Giraldus.

CAPUT XII.

QUOD HIBERNOS LANIFICIO, MERCATURÆ, ULLI MECHANICÆ ARTI OPERAM NON DEDISSE, ET LINO NON USOS FUISSE, GIRALDUS FALSO DIXERIT.

[112] Hiberni lanificiis usi sunt.—Mercaturam exercebant.—Lino abundabat Hibernia.—Tegmina capitum mulierum Hibernicarum.—Mechanicæ artes apud Hibernos in usu.—Varii opifices in Hibernia. [113] Fabri ferrarii in Hibernia.—Fabri lignarii. Domus et ecclesiæ de ligno.—Curruum usus Hibernis familiaris. [114] Hiberni curru in pugna usi sunt.—Curruum nomina varia.—Pugna ex essedis.—Navium usus in Hibernia. [115] In Britanniam Hiberni navigant.—Hibernorum in Scotia progenies. [117] Latomi in Hibernia.—Castella in Hibernia. [118] Aurifabri in Hibernia.—Literæ Tulgnii O'Moelchonrii ad auctorem.

"NON lino," inquit Giraldus, "Hiberni, vel lanificio, non aliquo mercimoniorum genere, nec ulla mechanicarum artium specie vitam producunt."[1] Pugnantia sanè loquitur, dum Hibernos "lanificiis" operam dare negat, cùm paulò antè eosdem braccis, penulisque uti affirmaverit. Ac si pannus in ovis pelle, sine nendi, texendi, aut densandi opera ultro natus esset.[2] Non minori dissidio a se discrepat, dum Hibernos commerciis uti modo negat, modò annuit dicens: "ad Hibernos Pictaviam copiose vina transmisisse, eique animalium coria, et pecudum, ferarumque terga Hiberniam non ingratam remisisse." Tacitus Hiberniam negotiationibus fervisse testatur his verbis: "melius Hiberniæ quam Britanniæ aditus, portusque per commercia, et negotiatores cogniti." Quando nimirum Hiberni sui juris erant, et ab omni potestatis alienæ jugo liberi, circa vigesimum et centesimum a Christo nato annum quo Tacitus floruit.[3] A primo enim (inquit Giraldus) "adventus sui tempore gens Hibernica ad annum 838 quo Norwegenses in Hibernica litora appulerunt, et à Gurmundi, ac Turgesii obitu ad hæc nostra tempora, ab omni alienarum gentium incursu libera permansit, et incussa."

Lini verò copia Hiberniam cumulatè instructam fuisse scriptores etiam exteri testantur.[4] Aiunt enim "lino abundare Hiberniam, quod

[1] Topogr. d. 3, c. 10. [2] Topogr. d. 1, c. 5. [3] Topogr. d. 3, c. 37, et 46. [4] Descript. Hiber. impressa Lugduni Batavo. an. 1627.

CHAPTER XII.

GIRALDUS STATES FALSELY THAT THE IRISH WERE IGNORANT OF THE MANUFACTURE OF WOOLLENS AND OF COMMERCE AND MECHANICAL ARTS, AND THAT THEY NEVER USED LINEN.

[112] Woollens used among the Irish.—Trade in them.—Linen abundant in Ireland.—Head dress of Irish women.—Mechanical arts in use in Ireland.—Mechanics and artists of various kinds. [113] Workers in iron and wood in Irelaud.—Wooden houses and churches.—Chariots commonly used in Ireland. [114] The Irish used them in battle.—Various names of Chariots.—A Chariot fight.—Ships in Ireland. [115] The Irish sail to Britain; descendants of the Irish in Scotland. [117] Masons in Ireland.—Castles in Ireland. [118] Workers of gold, in Ireland.—Letter of Tuileagna O'Moelchonaire to the author.

"THE Irish," says Giraldus, "have few comforts of life; no linen, no manufacture of woollens, no commerce of any kind, nor any sort of mechanical arts." How can he say that the Irish had no manufactures of woollens, in contradiction to his own words, that they wore braccae and cloaks. Could the cloth grow spontaneously on the sheep's back ready made, without sewing or weaving, or closing? As to Irish commerce, he denies, with similar inconsistency, his own statements, "that Poictiers imported wine in great abundance to Ireland, and received from Ireland in return the hides of animals, the skins of cattle and wild beasts." Tacitus testifies that commerce flourished in Ireland. "The Irish estuaries and ports were more familiar," he says, "to merchants and traders than the British."[a] And this, when the Irish were their own masters, and independent of the yoke of foreigners, about the year 120, A.D., when Tacitus flourished. Giraldus himself admits "that from the first arrival of the Irish people, to the year 838, in which the Norwegians descended on the Irish shores, and from the death of Gurmund and Turgesius, down to our own times, Ireland was unmolested by the invasion of any foreign people, and independent."

Foreign writers attest the great abundance of linen in Ireland.

[a] See Moore's History of Ireland, vol. I., p. 12, for some remarks on a different translation of this passage of Tacitus, adopted by Murphy and others.

in fila ducunt indigenæ, et magna copia ad alias nationes transferunt. Olim quoque magnam lineorum pannorum vim texere solebant, cives ipsi maximam partem intra regnum consumebant, quippe qui triginta, et plures ulnas in singulis indusiis adhiberent, in varias spiras contortis, et astrictis. Quorum manicæ largiores erant, et ad genua usque fluentes." Quæ anno 1566, "nullo ferè in usu erant."[5] Quid memorem vulgaria illa è lino pepla, quorum pluribus spiris mulieres capita obvolvebant, aut ricas aliquarum etiam fœminarum operimenta? nulla enim è fœminis erat quæ non vel peplo, vel ricâ caput obtegebat, præter virgines, quarum promissi crines multis nodis comptè astricti, et conspectioris coloris tæniâ intexti, capita pluribus spiris obibant. Quod si in hunc censum altarium, ac mensarum mappas, varia sacerdotum linea gestamina, et sindones quibus cadavera involvebantur retulero, maximam lini abundantiam Hiberniæ suppetiisse constabit.[6] Sanè S. Brigida "linteamen propriis manibus nendo, et texendo præparavit, quo sanctissimum S. Patricii corpus obvolvebatur."

In improbando autem Giraldo dicente "nulla mechanicarum artium specie" vitam Hibernos tolerare, argumentorum copia me potius impeditum iri, quam inopia laboraturum pertimesco. Cum nihil opere sit confectum, quod artificum manibus non elaboretur: effecta enim produnt unde ipsa prodierunt. Non secus ac quam quis viam carpserit

[5] Goodus apud Camdenum. [6] Jocelin c. 188.

[b] Lesley, Bishop of Ross, describes in nearly the same terms part of the dress worn by his contemporaries the Irish-speaking Scotch in the 16th century. "Ex lino quoque amplissima indusia conficiebant, multis sinibus, largioribusque manicis, foris ad genua usque negligentius fluentia. Hæc potentiores croco, alii autem adipe quodam, quo ab omni sorde diutius manerent integra illinebant; filo serico, viridi potissimum aut rubeo, indusiorum singulas partes artificiosissime continuabant." De origine, &c. &c. Scotorum, p. 58, 59. See Good, apud Camden. Holland's Translation, p. 144.

[c] The women as well as the men make great account of the hair or glibbes of their heads, especially if they be of a golden color and long withal, for they show and lay them out platted to the full length, and suffer them when they are finely and trimly curled to hang down; when in the mean time they wrap in folds,

"Ireland," they say, "abounds in linen, which the natives spin into thread, and export in enormous quantities to foreign nations. In former ages, they manufactured very extensively linen cloths, the greater portion of which was absorbed by the home consumption, as the natives allowed thirty or more yards for a single cloak, which was wound or tied up in flowing folds. The sleeves also were very capacious, extending down to the knees.[b] But these had gone nearly out of fashion in 1566." Need I mention the common linen covering, which the women wear in several wreathes on their heads, or the hoods used by others; for a woman was never seen without either the veil or a hood on her head, except the unmarried,[c] whose long ringlets were tastefully bound up in knots, or wreathed around the head, and interwoven with some bright-colored ribband. If to these we add the linens[d] for the altar, the cloths for the table, the various linen robes of the priests, and the shrouds which were wrapped around the dead, there must have been a great abundance of linen in Ireland. We read of St. Brighid that "she spun and wove, with her own hands, the linen cloths which were wrapped around St. Patrick's sacred remains."[e]

My difficulty in refuting Giraldus's assertion, "that the Irish used no sort of mechanical arts," for the wants of life, arises from the great labor of selecting, rather than from the want of abundant arguments. For there is no work made which does not require the hands of the artist who made it; the effects themselves reveal their causes, as the

and rolls about their heads many ells of the finest linen or sandal. This kind of coronet or head tire they all wear that are able to get it, after their child birth." Good ubi supra, p. 145: on their necks they wore chains and carkaneth; and on their arms bracelets, ibid. p. 148. With the exception of the "head tire," the Scotch in the 16th century appears to have been the same. "Mulierum autem habitus apud illos decentissimus erat. Nam talari tunicæ arte phrygia ut plurimum confectæ amplas chlamydes quas jam diximus, atque illas quidem polymitas superinduerunt. Illarum brachia armillas ac colla monilibus elegantius ornata maximam habent decoris speciem," p. 58.

[d] For linen veils also, or screens used in ancient Irish churches, see Petrie's Round Towers, pp. 194, 201.

[e] These arguments prove that the ancient Irish knew what linen was, and used it for many purposes; whether so generally as our author supposes, may seems doubtful against the testimony of Giraldus.

vestigia progredientis edocent. Ubi autem caputii, phalingæ seu pallii, braccæ, et caligæ Giraldus et tunicæ usum S. Bernardus invaluisse affirmat, ibidem opifices fuisse oportuit qui ad pannum è quo vestes istæ fiebant faciendum operas contulerunt. Lanam enim necesse est primum carminari, deinde tingi (caputia enim variis colorum generibus fuisse Giraldus ait) proximè colui admotam in fila deduci, tum texi, pannum postea ad fullonicam ferri, tandem a panni tonsoribus concinna lanugine exornari, postremo à sartoribus in vestem efformari. Itaque Giraldo ipso teste habuerunt Hiberni carminatores, tinctores, netrices, textores, fullones, panni tonsores, et sartores.

[113] | Præterea fabros ferrarios in Hibernia fuisse Giraldus non obscurê indicat. Quis enim Hibernorum lanceis, et jaculis ferreas cuspides, aut ad manus militum armandas, secures optimè "chalybeatas," quæ cataphractariorum loricas uno ictu perscinderent cudebat,[7] nisi faber ferrarius? fabris etiam lignariis Hibernos abunde instructos fuisse vel inde perspicimus, quod domos habuerint, et Ecclesias è robore confectas. Ecclesia enim S. Brigidæ "in altum minaci proceritate porrecta è ligno fuit." Et Beda dicit Scotos sive Hibernos "non de lapide, sed de robore secto," Ecclesias construxisse. Additque S. Bernardus "oratorium à S. Malachia consummatum fuisse de lignis quidem levigatis, sed aptè, firmiterque contextum, opus Scoticum pulchrum satis." Huc

[7] Cogitosus c. 35, *l.* 3, *c.* 25, in vita S. Mal.

f This appears to me to be the sense in which our author understood the "caputium" of Giraldus. Moore, History of Ireland, vol. I., p. 196, calls it a short mantle; whether hooded or not it is described as small and tight, stretching down over the shoulders as far as the elbow.

g See the word in Moore, vol. I., p. 147, where he calls it "a sort of petticoat." According to our author in the next chapter, it was the same as the famous Irish mantle, Fallaing, from which Giraldus manufactured the word phalingæ. In more recent times the phalingæ and caputium appear to have been formed into that one garment which excited the wrath of the poet Spenser, "the overslipp Irish coat and hood" of Baron Finglass. According to Giraldus the phalinga was worn under the caputium in place of the pallium.

h Giraldus mentions no tunics. According to Lesley the ancient Scots wore them. "Brevis ex lana tuni-

foot-prints mark the course of a man that walks before you. If, as Giraldus admits, there were hooded capes[f] and mantles[g] in Ireland, to which St. Bernard adds tunics,[h] there must have been some persons to manufacture the cloth of which those articles of dress were made. The wool should be first combed, then dyed (for according to Giraldus the caputia were of different colors) then applied to the distaff and spun into thread, then wove, then carried to the fuller, then adorned by the cloth-dressers, with elegant nap, and finally come from the tailor's hands a finished article of dress. Giraldus himself, therefore, admits that Ireland had combers, fullers, cloth dressers, and tailors.[i]

He insinuates also, not very obscurely, that smiths were not unknown in Ireland. For who, pray, but a smith, could manufacture the lances, and iron-pointed arrows of the Irish, or arm the native hosts with those battle-axes "of purest steel," which clove at a single blow the breast-plates of the cuirassiers? Carpenters must also have been common in Ireland, as appears from the single fact, that the houses and churches were sometimes made of wood. Thus the church of St. Brighid "which reared its aspiring pinnacles to the skies was of wood."[k] And, Beda asserts "that the Irish churches were made not of stone but of worked wood." St. Bernard also adds "that the oratory of St. Maelmaedhog was constructed of planed planks, but elegantly and firmly built, a very respectable work in the Irish style." We also cite Hove-

cella, manicis inferius apertis," p. 58. "Little jackets they have of woollen and those very short," Camden, 148, speaking of the Irish. For the ancient Irish dress, see Harris Ware, vol. I. p. 174. Walker's Irish Bards, vol. II., Dublin, 1818. Preface to Bunting's Irish Music, &c. &c.

[i] In latter ages they certainly employed many of those tradesmen; "they have many goodly flocks of sheep, which they shear twice a year, and make of their coarse wool, ruggs or shagge mantles, caddous also, or coverlets, which are rented into foreign countries," Camden, p. 63; also authorities edited by Walker's Irish Bards, vol. II., p. 44, 53. The art of making these coverlets appeared to be lost before 1672. Political Anatomy, chap. xiii. The Irish were then better clothed than the peasantry of most other countries. The women were the dyers, *Ibid.*

[k] See a long and valuable dissertation on that church in Petrie's Round Towers, p. 194, et seq.

accedit quod Hovedeno authore Henricus secundus rex Angliæ an. Domini 1172 Dublinii "moram fecerit, à festo S. Martini usque ad caput jejunii, ibique fecit sibi construi palatium regium miro artificio de virgis levigatis ad modum patriæ illius constructum, in quo ipse cum regibus, et principibus Hiberniæ festum solemne tenuit die Natali Domini."[8] In fabrili etiam opere plures olim eminuerunt, quorum non postremi fuerunt Beoanus S. Mochocmoci pater, et alter Beoanus pater S. Kierani Cluanensis, ambo e regio sanguine oriundi. Ut hinc liqueat Hibernos non semper adeo superbia intumuisse, ut aliquando nobili genere orti ad vitam artibus humilioribus tolerandam non descenderint.

Curribus etiam Hiberni sæpius utebantnr,[9] quos fabri lignarii proculdubio confecerunt. Sedebat multoties in curru S. Patricius cujus auriga Odranus fuit.[10] Filii Almalgadii "in duodecem curribus" Temoriam iverunt.[11] Curru quoque S. Brigida crebrius vehebatur, in quo quidam animam agens collocatus convaluit.[12] Conlani quoque Episcopi currus ipsa precante cursum obice rotis non oppositâ diu tenuit.[13] Dum ipsa quadam vice in bijugi curru itineraretur, uno ex equis collum jugo subducente, alter solus currum sine successione traxit, et ut de illa S. Coenlanus ait:[14]

"Ascendit currum, vehitnr per compita læta."

Deinde leprosis cupidis currum concessit habendum :

"Largiturque ipsis devota mente caballos."

Sanctus etiam Columba "currui insidentem vidit Clericum, qui gaudenter peragrabat campum Bræi."[15] Ipse alia vice "aliquibus Ecclesiasticis visitantibus currum ab eo benedictum ascendit," extremis axis foraminibus non obturatis, multam viam progressus est. Dum Aidus iter curru ageret, alterâ è rotis inter eundum perfractâ, alterâ

8 Vita utriusque S. apud Colganum. 9 Vita tripartita 2. part. c. 77. in Triad. Thau. 10 Jocel. c. 73. 11 Ibid. 166. 12 Ultanus in ejus vita c. 34 in Triad. 13 Ibidem c. 50. in vita metrica. 14 Adamnanus *l.* 2, c. 38. 15 Ib. *l.* 2, c. 43.

den's statement, that when Henry II. fixed his court for some time in Dublin, 1172, " from the Feast of St. Martin to the commencement of Lent, he had a royal palace constructed for himself of planed wood, built with wonderful taste, in which he and the kings and princes of Ireland kept the solemn festival of Christmas-day." Many persons were famous in ancient times, for skill in the working of wood, amongst whom not the least eminent were Beoanus, father of St. Mochocmoc, and another Beoanus, father of St. Kiaran of Cluainmicnois, both of royal descent, whence it appears that the Irish were not so inflated with pride, that persons of high rank would not sometimes descend to the humbler arts, as a means of livelihood.

Chariots also were used by the Irish, and were not constructed, no doubt, without the carpenter's aid. St. Patrick often rode in a chariot, driven by Odran, his charioteer. The Mac Amhalghaidh drove to Teamhair in twelve chariots. St. Brighid also often used a chariot, and a person who was expiring recovered his health by being placed in it. The chariot of Conlan, the Bishop, was stopped in its course by her mere prayer, without any sensible obstacle obstructing the wheels. On another occasion, when she was travelling in her chariot, one of the horses forced his neck from the harness, and the other continued alone to draw the vehicle; a circumstance alluded to by St. Conlan:—

"Borne in her coach along the pleasant roads."

She also presented a chariot to the lepers:

"Her steeds, with pious wish, on them bestows."

St. Columba " saw a cleric sitting in a chariot, driving pleasantly over Magh Breagh;" and on another occasion " when visited by some ecclesiastics, he ascended a chariot, which had been blessed by himself," and proceeded far on his journey, without having the ends of the axles secured in the boxes. When Aedh was driving in his chariot, one of the wheels broke down, but the remaining one supplied the place of two and brought him safely to his journey's end. Laeghaire

duarum rotarum vicem implente, ad itineris calcem illæsus pervenit.[19] Præterea Leogarius vim in ter novem curruum numero superstitiosè ponens, præter armatorum multitudinem septem etiam supra viginti currus non secus ac aciem ad signa cum hoste conferenda proficisceretur,[20] ad ruinam S. Patricio moliendam adduxit; S. Patricio interim indemnitatem adepto, ac dicente: "hi in curribus, et hi in equis, nos autem nomen Dei nostri invocabimus."[21] Eadem hora qua prælium apud Monmor de Doirelothuir in aquilonaribus Ultoniæ finibus gestum est, "S. Columba coram Conallo rege in Britannia conversatus per omnia narravit de bello commisso, et de rege Cruithniorum, qui Echodius Laib vocabatur, quemadmodum victus currui insedens evaserit, similiter prophetavit." "Columbanus" sive Colmanellus "Episcopus, positis equis in curru, et sua nutrix S. Bethina cum suis comitibus viam carpebant."[23] S. Declanus audiens Ballivum S. Patricii legatum submersum fuisse: "ponite me," inquit "in curru agere exequias ejus."

Nec modo sanctorum gesta, sed historiarum etiam monumenta nos docent Hibernos pridem curruum usu instructos fuisse. Modchorbus sub annum mundi 4700 Hiberniæ rex, rhedam filii Corbii fortuitò effractam instauravit, unde Moghcorbus quasi famulus Corbi dictus est. Et hinc reges ipsos opificio alicui operam impendisse autumem. Cormacus quoque Ulfhadus Hiberniæ rex sub annum Domini 226. tantum agri Tadæo Keniadi contulisse dicitur, quantum curru invectus uno die emensus esset. Itaque sicut è cæteris locis hactenus adductis
[114] Hibernos currum ad | itinera sic etiam è posteriori S. Adamnani loco currum ad pugnas adhibuisse perspicuum est. Nec scientissimi Colgani authoritate moveor dicentis: Eochodium illum regem Pictorum fuisse, cum in Pictorum regum apud Ninnium albo nullus Eochodii nomine affectus S. Columbæ coævus occurrat. Et prætereâ Cruthnios in Hibernia esse constet, Oduvegano dicente: Dalaraiam à Carriguiske

16 Vita S. Aidi. 17 Jocelin. c. 40. 18 Psal. 19. 19 Adamn. lib. 1, c. 7. 20 Vita S. Itæ. 15. Janu. c. 2. 21 Trias Thaum. p. 202. num. 15. 22 Ketingus. 23 Fol. 67.

1 By some supposed to be Monaidhmor (Moneymore) in county of Londonderry. See O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 557, p. 198.

also, who attached a superstitious importance to the number of three times nine chariots, led out an enormous host of armed men, accompanied by that number of chariots, to compass the ruin of St. Patrick, as if they were marching against an armed host; but St. Patrick was not injured; "those," he said, "in chariots, and those on horses; but we will invoke the name of the Lord." At the same hour that the battle of Monmor of Doire Lothuir,[l] in the north of Ulster, was fought, "St. Columba who was then in the presence of Conal, king of Britain, knew by inspiration, and told all the circumstances of the battle, and how the king of the Cruithnians, who was called Eochodh Laib, escaped in his chariot after the defeat." "Columbanus, or Colmanellus, bishop, harnessed the horses of his chariot, and was accompanied on his journey by his nurse St. Bethina and her companions." Again, St. Declan when he heard of the death of Ballif, legate of St. Patrick, cried out, "get the chariot ready, that I may go to his funeral service."

Other monuments of our history, as well as of the lives of the saints, prove that the use of chariots had been long well-known among the Irish. Modchorb who was king of Ireland, A.M. 4700, repaired the chariot of the son of Corb, which had been accidentally broken, and hence he was called Modchorb, which means servant of Corb. Kings, themselves, it would appear from this fact, were not unacquainted with the mechanical arts. Cormac Ulfada, king of Ireland, about the year of our Lord, 226, is said to have granted to Tadhg, son of Cian, as much land as a chariot could compass in one day's drive. But if the first of these authorities prove that the Irish used chariots on their journeys, it is equally clear from the last passage of St. Adamnan, that the chariot was also used in battle. The most learned John Colgan, I am aware, maintains that Eochodh was king of the Picts,[m] but without grounds, for the catalogue of Pictish kings in Nennius, has no Eochodh, contemporary of St. Columba. It is certain, however, that there were Picts in Ireland; for the Dalaradians, from Carriguiske to Linnduachaill,[n] were descended, according to O'Dubhagain, from Conall Cearnach, and the same

[m] i. e. maintains that the Picts and Crutheni were the same.

[n] Carraic inbhir uisce in the book of Leacan, site unknown. Linnduachaill, i. e. Magheraglin, O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 699, p. 300. Reeve's Ecclesiastical Antiquities, p. 335.

ad Linduachail, a Conallo Kearnac oriundam esse. Eandemque familiam alio etiam nomine Cruithnios vocari, quia Connalli uxor Concheada filia Echachi Eachbeoil è Cruthniis Albanæ fuit.[24] Præterea Tigernachus Cruthnios in Ultonia collocat dicens: ad annum Domini 707, "Cuacharanus rex Cruthniorum Ultoniæ vulneratus est à Finchoin."[25] Regionem etiam Cruthniorum, secunda, tertia, quarta, et quinta, vita Patricii. Adamn: etiam cap. 36. et 49. lib. primi, in Ultonia constituunt, et illam Usherus Clanoibiam hodiernam autumat.

Sed præter indicatum S. Adamnani locum, alia etiam documenta curruum usum Hibernis inter pugnandum asserunt.[26] Tadæum Keniadem pluribus perfossum vulneribus pugnà Crionda-Kincomerensi, quâ Cormacho Ulfhado regnum comparavit excedentem currus excepit, qui nimirum in procintu erat, ut ad pugnandum ubi res exigeret adhiberetur. Sane Dermicius Kerualli filius Hiberniæ rex cum S. Columbæ cognatis prælio congressurus, in apparatu bellico currus habuisse dicitur his verbis: "collecto grandi exercitu in curribus, et equitibus et pedestribus in hostem movit."[27]

Quo autem nomine afficiendus ille currus fuit quo in via, et pugnâ Hiberni utebantur nondum comperi. Ignoro enim cisiumne an petorium, curruca, pilentum, carpentum, plaustrum, Rhedo, soracum, epiredum, arcima, arcera, benna, esseda, aut thensa fuerit. Non ignoro quidem vocem Hibernicam carppat, sive Carbad qua currum exprimimus, ad vocem latinam carpentum syllabarum similitudine magis appropinquare. Nec dubito quin essedarum usus fuerit ab Hibernis inter pugnandum subinde frequentatus, quod loci supra producti abunde testantur. Nec Hibernicæ voces quibus axis, absis, et temo, cæteræque curruum partes indicantur, Hibernis essent cognitæ, si res vocibus subjectæ non essent ab iis usitatæ. In libello qui Tainbocuailgne sive insectatio bovis Cuailgniæ inscribitur, pugna ex essedis pari formâ initur, ac

[24] In triade Thauma. [25] Pag. 10, 9. [26] Ketingus. [27] Apud Usherum, p. 502.

[o] See Reeve's Ecclesiastical Antiquities, p. 343, 337.

[p] Some place on the Boyne, near Stackallan Bridge. Four Masters, A.D. 226, p. iii.

family were also called Cruithnians, because Concheada, daughter of Eochaidh Eachbheoil, and wife of Conall, was an Albanian Cruithnian. Tighearnach also records the Ulster Picts, A.D. 707. "Cuchuaran, king of the Cruithnians of Ulster, was wounded by Finchu." The territory of the Picts in Ulster is also mentioned in the second, third, fourth, and fifth life of St. Patrick, and by St. Adamnan. Lib. 1, cap. 36, 49. Ussher conjectures that it was what was afterwards called Clannaboy [Clann Aedha Bhuidhe].[o]

Besides the passage of Adamnan already cited, other historical documents prove that the Irish used war chariots. Tadhg, son of Kian, when pierced with many wounds in the battle of Crinda-Kincomer,[p] in which Cormac Ulfhada won the royal crown, was carried out of the field in a chariot, which was at hand, to be employed in battle as occasion required. And again, when Diarmuid, king of Ireland, son of Cerbhall, was about to wage war with the kindred of St. Columba, his host is said in express terms to have been provided with chariots: "gathering an immense army of horse, foot, and chariots, he marched against the enemy."

I have not yet been able to ascertain the precise name of those chariots, which the Irish used for travelling and battle. I know not whether they were gigs or open carriages, a calash, the pilentum open at the sides, or entirely covered in, or waggons, or the four-wheeled travelling carriage, or wicker wains, or the epirhedum, or the Gallic benna, war chariot, or the sacred thensa. The Irish word, Carpat or Carbad, the modern name for a chariot, resembles in the quality of its syllables, the Latin "carpentum."[q] And the essedæ were, I am convinced, afterwards used by the Irish in battle, as appears clearly enough from the passage already cited. Moreover, the Irish language would not have names for the axle, the gyre of the

[q] For conjectures on the different shapes of all these vehicles, the curious reader is referred to the proper authorities. As several of them were adopted by the Romans from the Gauls it is not improbable that the Irish Celts employed more than one of them. Benna appears like a word found in Irish dictionaries, for a vehicle. The carriages certainly used in Ireland were of very cheap construction, Petrie's Round Towers, p. 342. See Harris Ware, vol. II., p. 164.

Cæsar Britannos ex iisdem pugnasse describit, dicens:[28] quod essedarii "per omnes partes perequitant, et tela conjiciunt, atque ipso terrore equorum, et strepitu rotarum, ordines plerumque perturbant, et cum se inter equitum turmas insinuavere ex essedis dissiliunt, et pedes præliantur. Aurigæ interim paululum e prælio excedunt, atque ita se collocant, ut si illi à multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum receptum habeant. Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in præliis præstant, ac tantum usu quotidiano, et exercitatione efficiunt, ut in declivi, ac præcipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere, et brevi moderari ac flectere, et per temonem percurrere, et in jugo insistere, et inde se in currus citissime recipere consueverint.[29]" Nimirum vere Tacitus dixit: quod in Hibernia "solum, cælumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum à Britannia differunt."

Sed ut cæptam rem denuò prosequar, non magis in curribus, quam in navibus fabricandis fabrorum operæ desudabant. Piscationi, et navigationi Hiberni adeo addicti erant, ut in navibus assiduè versati fuisse videantur. Frequentior autem piscationis usus indè apud nostrates fuisse cognoscitur, quod piscium grandium dentibus Hibernorum cultiores ensium capulos insignire assueti fuerint.[30] "Qui student," (inquit de Hibernis Solinus) "cultui dentibus mari nantium belluarum insigniunt ensium capulos. Candicant enim ad eburneam claritatem. Nam præcipua viris gloria est in armorum nitela." Absque immensâ hujusmodi belluarum copiâ, quæ sine frequenti piscatorum numero, ac sedula opera capi non posset, materies huic ornatui minimè suffecisset, apud gentem bellicosissimam, in qua nullus nascebatur cui in os in bellici studii auspicium, paterni gladii mucrone primos cibos
[115] inferre | puerpera non solebat.[31] Solemnia nimirum erant matrum vota ut non aliter ac in bello, et inter arma mortem filii oppeterent. Cre-

[28] De bello gallico, lib. 5. [29] Vita Agricolæ. [30] Cap. 25. [31] Seldenus in mari clauso, lib. 2, c. 2,

[r] From the fragments of the Brehon laws cited in Petrie's Round Towers, p. 359, it appears there were at least three different kinds of boats or ships used in Ireland. How they differed in size or shape is not stated, but the expense of their construction appears to have been the same, namely, four

wheel, the poles, and the other parts of the chariot. In the work called Tainbocuailgne, or the pursuit of the cows of Cuailgne, a battle is described in which chariots were engaged like the British war chariots described by Cæsar : "the warriors in the chariots drive forward in all quarters and hurl their javelins, and often throw the lines into disorder by the terror of their horses and the rattling of the wheels; and when they succeed in pushing their way into a squadron of horse, they alight and fight on foot; the charioteer, in the mean time, withdraws a short distance from the scene of the battle, and takes up a position, whither his warriors can securely retreat if they feel themselves overpowered by the multitude of the enemy. Thus they combine the celerity of cavalry, and the solidity of infantry in battle, and become so expert by daily exercise and use, that it is quite common to see them urge and steer their fiery coursers in a steep and precipitous place, and suddenly stop and wheel them, or run along the pole and stand on the yoke, and bound nimbly into the chariot." Tacitus has truly observed, "that the soil and climate of Ireland, and the character and manners of the inhabitaats did not differ much from those of Britain."

But to continue my task—the carpenter's trade was exercised in the construction of ships,[r] as well as of chariots. The Irish were so addicted to fishing and navigation, that they appear almost to have lived in ships. The extensive fisheries of ancient Ireland are known from the common custom of adorning the hilts of the swords with the teeth of large fish. "Those who aspire after elegance," says Solinus, "adorn the hilts of their swords with the teeth of the monsters of the deep, which rival the ivory in whiteness: for the polish of their armour is the chief glory of the men." Without this extensive fishing and sedulous industry, so immense a quantity of large fish[s] could not be taken as to supply materials for those ornaments, especially among a most warlike nation, where all the boys in their infancy, received their first food

cows; six being the charge in the same document for the erecting of a wooden church. See Ogygia, p. 250.

[s] A sad proof! If we believe Philip O'Sullivan, Historiæ Catholicæ, p. 12, the Irish of the 16th century did not, at least in Kerry, emulate the enterprize of their ancestors in turning Irish fisheries to account.

berrimas piscium captiones gesta sanctorum scriptis tradita exhibent. Cambrensis etiam cum alibi, tùm Topog. distinct. 2. cap. 5. piscationis meminit. Naves autem Hibernis plurimum usitatas Solinus describit dicens: "navigant autem vimineis alveis, quos circumdant ambitione tergorum bubalorum. Quantocunque tempore cursus tenebit, cibis abstinent."[32] Et Poëticè Lucanus;

"Primum cana salix madefacto vimine parvam
Texitur in puppem, cæsoque induta juvenco
Vectoris patiens tumidum supernatat amnem."

Festus Avienus:

"Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus
Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt salum."

Hujusmodi limborum usus in Hibernia etiam hodie nondum obsolevit, nam alicubi ad minus lata freta, aut flumina trananda, et nonnunquam animi relaxandi gratia adhibentur, et duorum aut ad plurimum trium capaces sunt, et Hibernice, Nimhog, aut Corrocha vocantur.[33] Attamen ad septem dierum iter ejusmodi scaphas in oceanum progressas Westmonasteriensis narrat.

Verum Hibernos postea instructioribus classibus vela fecisse non obscure Claudianus indicat dicens:

"Totam cum Scotus Ibernem
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Thetis."[34]

Etenim circa illa ipsa tempora "Scotiensis" sive Hiberniensis "exercitus stipatus multitudine navium transnavigavit in Britanniam et sub rege suo Nial Naoigiallach, Hibernienses bello, et classibus expulerunt habitatores plagæ Aquilonaris Britanniæ."[35] Addit etiam Cambrensis, eodem "Nello Hiberniæ Monarchiam obtinente, sex filios Muredi regis Ultoniæ, mortui, an. Domini 472, in classe non modica Boreales Britanniæ partes occupasse. Unde et gens ab illis propagata, et specificato vocabulo Scotica vocata usque in hodiernum diem, angulum

[32] Lib. [33] Ad annum 392. [34] Vita 2 et 3, S. Patri, c. 11. [35] Triade vita tripartita S. Patricii latina MSS.

from the point of their father's sword, as a sort of inauguration of the martial spirit. The most solemn prayer of the mothers was, that their sons should never die except in battle or in arms. In the Lives of the Saints also, we have frequent examples of fishing recorded. Cambrensis also, Topog. distinct, 2, cap. 5, and in other places, alludes to the fisheries. The ships commonly used by the Irish are described by Solinus: "They sail in wicker boats, covered round with ox hides. During the voyage they use no food," or as Lucanus poetically describes it:

> "At first of sallow hoar, the pliant twigs,
> Are shaped into a slender ship, which bears
> Proudly its sailor o'er the swelling stream."

And Festus Avienus—

> "On ships encased in firmly-folded hide,
> O'er the high seas they often fearless ride."

Boats of this kind are still to be seen in Ireland. They are employed for ferrying over rivers or narrow streights, and sometimes for pleasure boats. Two, or at most three, is all they can accommodate. They are called in Irish Naemhog, or Currach. Yet in these frail vessels, the Irish ventured on a seven days' voyage into the ocean, as we learn from Matthew of Westminster.

It would appear clearly from Claudianus, that the Irish afterwards sailed in much nobler vessels, when he says,

> "The Scot from all his Irish shores,
> The ocean vexes with his hostile oars."

For it was about that very period, that the Scotian or Irish army, supported by a multitude of ships, sailed over to Britain, under the command of king Niall of the Nine hostages, defeated, by land and sea, the inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain, and expelled them from their territories." Cambrensis also adds "that during the reign of Niall king of Ireland, the six sons of Muireadhach, king of Ulster (who died A.D. 472) descended in a large fleet and seized the northern parts of Britain. Whence, the people, descended from them, are to this day called by the distinctive name, Scots, and still inhabit that territory."

illum inhabitant."[36] Ad hanc expeditionem Gildas alludere videtur dicens: "Tetri Scotorum Pictorumque greges emergunt certatim de carrucis, quibus trans Scythicam vallem evecti." Carrucæ vero vitiles naves sunt corio vel bovino vel equino circumsutæ, ut anteà dixi. Hanc vero expeditionem existimat Usherus incidisse in annum Domini 431, sive Theodosii junioris (post mortem Honorii) annum octavum.[37] Fortasse Beda eandem expeditionem innuit dicens: "duabus gentibus transmarinis vehementer sævis Scotorum à Circio, Pictorum ab Aquilone Britannia multos stupet gemitque per annos."[38] Qui "advecti navibus cædebant omnia, et anniversarias prædas milite nullo obsistente cogere solebant." Et postea dicit: "grassatores Hibernos domum reversos post non longum tempus reversuros."[39] Scilicet ut ego interpretor 498 quo Annales nostri narrant Fergusium Erci Mungramori filium cum fratribus in Albaniam concessisse, et omnibus Albaniæ (quam hodie Scotiam dicimus) regibus generis authorem fuisse. De Fergusii vero ac fratrum possessionibus in Albania, et sobole propagatâ O'Duveganus fuse agit.[40] Additque centum eorum, et quinquaginta in navibus assidue egisse. Huic Fergusio S. Patricius benedictionem impertiit, et plures ab eo reges oriundos fore prædixit.[41] De eodem Camdenus: "Fergus filius Eric fuit primus qui de semine Conaire suscepit regnum Albaniæ etc."[42] Ut vere Buchananus dixerit: "non semel Scotorum ex Hibernia transitum in Album factum nostri Annales referunt."[43] Et ad Buchanani assertionem confirmandam Ketingus addiderit dicens: "attexam aliquot præcipuæ notæ excursiones e veterum Annalium monumentis haustas, quas in Albaniam Hiberni per intervalla fecerunt. Ac primum triginta supra ducentos annos post Milesianos in Hiberniam appulsos, Ængusius Olbhuadachus Fiachi Labhrinni filius in Albaniam transmisit, ut stata vectigalia Hiberniæ regi pendenda Pictis imponeret. Interjecto deinde aliquo temporis intervallo Rachtaus Rigdargus Hiberniæ rex eodem concessit, ut incolas vel
[116] invitos solvendo sibi tributo obnoxios redderet. Carbrius | Riafhodus multis armatorum copiis comitantibus in Albaniam profectus est, bellum, et vastationem Aquilonari Albaniæ plagæ illaturus, ut eam suæ ditioni

[36] Topogr. d. 3, cap. 16. [37] De primor. pag. 606. [38] Lib. 1, cap. 12. [39] Ib. c. 14. [40] Pag. 51. Jocelin, c. 137. [41] Pag. 707. [42] Lib. 2, p. 55. [43] Lib. 1, prope finem.

Giraldus, also, appears to allude to this expedition: "Black squadrons of the Scots and Picts rushed down from the currachs in which they had been wafted over the Scythian valley." The currachs, as I have already explained, were wicker vessels, covered over with leather, or cow or horse skins. This expedition occurred, according to Ussher, about the year 431, or about the 8th year of the reign of Theodosius the younger, from the death of Honorius. Probably it is to the same that Beda alludes: "During many years Britain groaned and wept from the incursions of two most mercilessly savage nations, from beyond the seas, the Scots, from the north-west, and the Picts from the north of Britain. Descending from their ships, they cut all down before them, and carried off their annual spoil, without molestation from a single soldier:" and again, he says "the Irish invaders returned home, but only to come back very quickly." This was in my opinion about the year 498, in which our annals record that Fergus, son of Erc Mungramor, went with his brothers into Albania, and founded there the royal stock from which all the kings of Albania (that is Scotland) are descended. O'Dubhagain gives a detailed account of the possessions of Fergus and his brothers in Albania, and of the families sprung from them, adding, that one hundred and fifty of them lived constantly in their ships. This was the Fergus whom St. Patrick blessed, predicting that a long line of kings would spring from his loins. Camden also says, "Fergus, son of Erc, was the first of the race of Conaire, who possessed the kingdom of Albania;" and this is confirmed by Buchanan, who states, that "our annals record several migrations of the Scots, from Ireland to Albania." Keating, too, may be adduced in confirmation of Buchanan: "I will now relate, from the monumental records of our annalists, some of the principal expeditions made at different times by the Irish into Albania. And first, about 230 years after the arrival of the Milesians in Ireland, Ængus Olmuchadh, son of Fiach Labhrinn, crossed over to Albania to regulate the stated tribute paid by the Picts to the king of Ireland.[t] Then after another interval of time, Reachta Righdearg, king of Ireland, passed over to compel the inhabitants to pay him the tribute.[u] Cairbre Riada, also, at the head

[t] Ogygia, p. 88, 206.

[u] Ogygia, p. 259.

adjungeret. Ex hoc Carbrio Riado qui Dalreudini Bedæ dicti sunt, originem traxerunt. Macconus item in Albaniam, et Britanniam transfretavit, ac utramque populatus est, et in Hiberniam regressus, signa cum Arturo unico, ad montem [Campum] Macrumium contulit ubi fuso hostili exercitu, Arturoque perempto, regnum Hiberniæ sibi vendicavit. Fathadus etiam Canonus Macconi filius Albaniam adivit, ibique sede in fundis sua virtute partis fixâ, ita copiosa ex illo scaturivit soboles, ut Maccaliniorum familiæ, cæterisque gentibus ex eadem familia pullulantibus generis author fuerit. Postea Collaus Uais illuc se cum fratribus contulit, ubi ampla latifundia consecutus, Clandonellis Hiberniæ, Albaniæque stemmatis initium exstitit. Crimtoni quoque regis Hiberniæ Albania os vidit, et arma persensit. Nec non et Ercus filius Eochodi Mungramori, Ængusii Firti nepos è Carbrii Riadi prosapiâ, latissimam ibi potestatem, et amplissimas possessiones nactus est, multæque inibi gentes ex eo propagatæ sunt. Nimirum Clanerti, Kenelgabhrani, Kenelloarni, Kenelcongelli, Kenelangusi, Kenelconerichi in Ila, reliquæque minorum gentium familiæ quas hæ germinarunt. Eodem etiam ex Hibernia trajecit Mainius Lamhnius Curki filius, Lugdochi nepos, terraque quam is insederat Muighleamhna, sive Campus Lamhna nuncupatur, titulusque illius fundi domino accrescens fuit olim Mormorlamhna. Sed nunc plaga illa, et nomen, et domini titulum mutavit, ipsa enim Lenoxia, et dominus, dux Lenoxiæ appellatur. Eoganachti de Muighgargin in Albania à Carbrio Crutnechano hujus Maini fratre originem trahunt, qui post Nellum noviobsidem in Albaniam commigrarunt." Hactenus Ketingus. Hibernos autem maximam navium multitudinem ad tot trajectiones adhibuisse oportuit.

Per omnem quoque secuti temporis vicissitudinem navium usum, ubi causa postulavit, ab Hibernis frequentatum fuisse Annales nostri creberrime narrant. Naufragia enim, et aggressiones, decertationesque maritimas, tam inter se mutuo, quam cum hostibus sepissimè memorant, et varias sanctorum in extera regna profectiones, ad religionem, pietatemque disseminandam, nec non etiam septennem S. Brendani, aliorumque sanctorum pro terrâ incognitâ indagandâ navigationem. Præ-

[v] Ogygia, p. 322.

[w] Ogygia, p. 330. Magh Mucruimhe, the plain in which this battle was fought is near Athenry. O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 195, p. 108.

[x] Ogygia, p. 360, 352.

of an immense army invaded Albania, to subdue by the sword and devastation the northern parts of that country to his sceptre. From this Cairbre Riada were descended the tribes, called by Beda, the Dalreudini.[v] Maccon, also, sailed over to Albania and Britain, and plundered them, and on his return to Ireland, he fought the battle of Macrom mountain, [*rectè* plain] against Art, whom he defeated and slew, and thus won the crown of Ireland.[w] Fathad Conon, son of Maccon, also settled in Albania, and, having won for himself by his valor a good inheritance, became the founder of the Mac Callin [now Campbell] family, and of many others which sprung from the same stock. Colla Uais afterwards went over with his brethren, and, having acquired a large property, founded the Albanian and Irish families of the Clandonalds.[x] Albania also saw and felt the arms of Crimthann, king of Ireland.[y] Erc, son of Eochodh Mungramor, and grandson of Ængus Firt, of the stock of Cairbre Riada, also acquired great fame and very extensive possessions in Albania, and was the parent of many illustrious families, namely—Clanerti, Kenelgabran, Kenelloarn, Kenelcongal, Kenelangus, Kenelconcrichi in Isla, and other families of lesser note.[z] Maine Leamhna, son of Corc, grandson of Lughaidh, also passed over from Ireland, and the territory which he occupied was called Maghleamhna, or the plain of Leamhain, and the title of the heir to that property, was formerly [called] Mormoer leamhna. But the name of the territory and the title of its lord are now changed—the former into Lennox, the latter into the duke of Lennox.[a] The Eoghanachts of Maghgergin, in Albania, are descended from Cairbre, brother of Maine, who emigrated to Albania, after Niall of the Nine hostages."[b] Such is Keating's account. An enormous quantity of ships must have been employed by the Irish in all those voyages.

In all succeeding centuries our annals attest that whenever the occasion required, the Irish were provided with ships. They record seafights and maritime expeditions and contests, either between themselves or against the enemy for the command of the sea, as also the missions of the saints to foreign countries, to propagate religion and

[y] Ogygia, p. 380.
[z] Ogygia, p. 470.
[a] Ogygia, p. 382.
[b] Ogygia, p. 382.

terea narrant victoriam anno Domini 920 aut paulo secus partam, Keallachano Buedachani filio Momoniæ rege in captivitatem à Danis adducto, Kennedus præter copias terrestes, ad eum vinculis quibus Ardmachæ adstringebatur educendum, classem adornabat apparatu bellico,[41] et magna epibatarum numero apprime instructam, quæ portu propè Dundaltium capessito, cum classe hostili, in quam præsidii majoris causâ Keallecanum intulerunt extemplo pugnam iniit. Falbius verò classis imperator navem suam prætoriæ hostium navis lateri admovit, et duos gladios dextera et læva gestans, in eam prosiliit, altero funes Keallachanum malo vincientes proscindens, altero ictus hostium propulsans. Ubi Keallachanus nexibus solutus vestigia in foris fixit, gladio quem Falbii læva tenuit correpto, ad suos viam sibi sternens, in propinquam navem desiliit. Anno Domini 939 Murchertachus filius Nelli, ut puto rex Ultoniæ, magna classe in Hebrides vectus, post victoriam in iis relatam, multa inde bona, thesaurosque abduxit. Anno Domini 953, Donaldus Murchertachi superioris filius Orgallienses navibus in Lochniam, Dabhallum, deinde in Ernii lacum, denique in Lochuachter inductis Brefnenses populatus est, obsidibus ab O'Ruarco relatis. An. Domini 960, Murachus O'Kellii insulam magnam in lacu Ribhio Keallacho Mac Rouoirk Fearculliæ, sive Silronaniorum domino ademit, Murachi navibus spolia inde in Mainecham importantibus. Eodem etiam anno
[117] Momoniensium classis Sinnæum | amnem ingressa Tarmankiarani, sive asyli Kerani partem, Iubharo ab Occidente adjacentem vastavit. Anno Domini 961, Donallus filius Murchertachi rex Hiberniæ præter morem, navibus per montem Fuaid in Lochannin vehi jussis, lacus insulas expilavit. Anno Domini 976, pugna navalis inter Orgiallenses, et Tirconallenses in lacu Ernio commissa est.[42] Anno Domini 987, Momonienses, et Dani Waterfordienses majoribus mioparonibus ad lacum Ribhium profecti, à Connaciensibus propelluntur. Anno Do-

[44] Ketingus Lib. 2. [45] Tigern. continuator.

[c] See O'Donovan's Four Masters, A. D. 953.

[d] There is probably some typographical error in the Latin text. The latter part of the entry is given thus in the Four Masters, p. 81, "and he

piety, and the seven years' voyage of St. Brendan and other saints in search of the unknown land. They also record a naval victory gained about the year 920, by Ceallachan, son of Buadhachan, king of Munster, who had been carried into captivity by the Danes. Kennedy marching his land forces towards Ardmacha, where Ceallachan was confined, ordered his fleet around the coast to the bay of Dundalk, where being amply provided with all the muniments of war, and a great number of marines, it encountered the Danish fleet, to which Ceallachan had been transferred for greater security. Failbhè, admiral of the Irish fleet, bore down on the ship of the Danish admiral, and casting out his grapling irons, bounded on the hostile deck, with two swords, one in either hand. With one he defended himself against the attacks of the enemy, and with the other cut the cords that bound Ceallachan, who as soon as he found himself at liberty, seized the sword which Failbhè held in his left hand and hewing his way through the enemy, bounded unhurt to his Irish ship. Again, in the year 939, Muircheartach Mac Neill, king of Ulster (I think), sailed with a great fleet to the Hebrides, and after gaining victories there, returned loaded with spoils and treasure. In the year 953, Domhnall, son of the same Muircheartach, launching his ships [boats] on Lochneagh, on Dabhal in Oirghialla, and then on Loch Eirne and Loch Uachtair, plundered the Breifnians and took hostages from O'Ruairc.[c] In the year 960, Murchadh O'Keallaigh, took Inismor in Loch Ribh from Ceallach Mac Ruairc, Lord of Fearul, or Silronain, and brought home the spoils in his ships to Ui-Maine.[d] In the same year the Munster fleet, sailing up the Shannon laid waste the district of Termon Kiaran (Kiaran's sanctuary), adjacent to Iubhar on the west.[e] In the year 961, Domhnall, king of Ireland, son of Muircheartach, by a singular strategy, carried his ships [boats] over Sliabh Fuaid and launching them on Loch Ennell, pillaged the isles of the lake. In 976 a naval battle was fought between Oirghialla and Tirconaill on Loch Eirne. In the year 987 the men of Munster

was carried as a prisoner with his fleet into Ui Maine."

[e] Dr. O'Donovan translates ón in-bir siar "from the river westwards," p. 681.

mini 1127. Tordelvachus O'Conchabor Hiberniæ rex centum, et nonaginta navium classem in Momoniam immisit. Perspicuum igitur hinc est uberem operandi segetem fabris lignariis in Hibernia suppetiisse, qui Ecclesiis, domibus, curribus, navibus et reliquis generis ejusdem rebus operas impendebant.

Nec etiam infrequens in Hibernia latomorum usus fuisse videtur. Nam Temoria vox est ex Tea, et muro conflata, perinde ac si dixeris: murus Teæ. Murus autem ex lapidibus semper conficitur, et ad eum struendum latomus adhibetur. Per prima igitur illa Hibernorum tempora in Hibernia latomi operabantur. Sub ipsam certè Christianismi auroram, S. Patricius Ecclesiæ Ardmachanæ "fundamenta jecisse, et muros Ecclesiæ ad longitudinem centum quadraginta pedum,"[46] protraxisse dicitur. Cum autem operis lignei fundamenta non jaciantur, ad fundamentum et murum ponendum latomi operam adhibitam esse oportuit. Sacerdos quidam Tirconnellensis, inquit Ketingus, sancto Columba superstite, templum è lapidibus pretiosis extruxit, arâque vitreâ instruxit, ac solis et lunæ simulachrum in eo colendum exposuit. Non multum postea temporis effluxit, cum sacerdos iste deliquium animi passus, in aërem à dæmonibus abreptus, propè S. Columbam transiisset: conspectum autem illum S. Columba è dæmonum unguibus signo crucis efformato eduxit. Cujus beneficii gratiam ut S. Columbæ referet, templum illud ipsi S. Columbæ sacravit, et se ipsum monachis aggregavit, inter quos vitam pie duxit. Vides lapideum hoc templum non nisi latomorum artificio erigi non potuisse?

Domnallus Flanni filius rex Hiberniæ Saigram S. Kirani muro cinxit, uxore Saba flagitante,[47] quæ moleste ferebat præstantiores quasque Hiberniæ Ecclesias muro ambiri et patroni sui Ecclesiam eo sive præsidio, sive ornamento carere. Certé annales nostri loci alicujus insignioris eversionem expressuri, eum ut ita dicam demuratum,

46 S. Evinus 3, parte, c. 78, lib. 2. 47 Ketingus.

f Arṫraiġibb is the word in the Four Masters. The word literally signifies *vessels*, and here means *boats*.

g The derivation of the word Teamhair in the text, is not correct, though given by many. See Four Masters, p. 31, A.M. 3503.

h The inference is defended as highly

and the Danes of Waterford embarking in large vessels [boats],[f] sailed to Loch Ribh, but were defeated by the Connacians. In 1127, Toirdhealbhach O'Conchobhair, king of Ireland, dispatched a fleet of one hundred and ninety ships [vessels] against Munster. From all these facts combined, it is evident that carpenters must have been surely employed in Ireland in the construction of churches, houses, chariots, ships, and other works of a similar nature.

The trade of masons would also appear to have been not uncommon in Ireland. Thus Temoria (Teamhair) is compounded of Tea and Mur a wall [recte a mound]—namely, the wall of Tea. Now walls are always made of stone, and built by masons; and consequently, even in those very remote ages, there must have been masons in Ireland.[g] It is certain, that at the first dawn of Christianity, "St. Patrick laid the foundations of the church of Ardmacha, and extended the walls to the length of 140 feet." But as no person would speak of laying the foundations of a wooden house, the foundations and walls of this church must have been built by masons.[h] Keating also relates, that during the life time of St. Columba, a certain priest of Tirconaill, built a temple of precious stones, and erected within it an altar of glass, on which he exposed for adoration the images of the sun and moon. In a short time after, this priest, becoming deranged, was snatched into the air by devils, but passing near St. Columba, the saint saw him and delivered him by the sign of the cross from the talons of the evil one. In gratitude for this benefit, the priest dedicated the temple to St. Columba himself, and joined a community of monks, amongst whom he led a pious life. Now how could this stone temple have been erected without the hands of masons?

Domhnall, king of Ireland, son of Flann, built a wall around the Saighir of St. Kiaran, at the request of his queen Saba, who was dissatisfied that of all the greater churches in Ireland, her patron's St. Kiaran's alone was not enclosed and ornamented with a wall of stone.[i] Our

probable by Dr. Petrie, Round Towers, p. 153.

[i] He is styled "heir apparent," Four Masters, p. 601, A.D. 919. This account of the erection of a stone wall around Saighir is given in some copies of Keating, and also in Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh's large Genealogical work.

sive muris exutum fuisse dicunt.[48] Itaque tot murorum erectio latomis ascribi debet. Legimus " Turgesium Majonensis Ecclesiæ templum asseribus plumbeis contectum in contemptum Dei et sanctorum comburendo destruxisse." Fabrica verò è saxo non constructum tectum plumbeum ferre non potuit.

Posterioribus vero seculis editiores illæ, angustiores, et rotundæ turriculæ, in plerisque Cathedralibus Ecclesiis Hiberniæ hodie visendæ construi ê saxo, et pro companilibus haberi cæperunt, Danis huc appulsis.[49] Diu autem post hæc tempora, anno Domini 1125 Ecclesia Cathedralis Ardmachana à S. Cælso tegulis integre contecta est, postquam per annos centum, et triginta non nisi ex parte fuisset contecta.[50] Terdelachum O Conchovar regem Hiberniæ, nostri Annales tria castella condidisse referunt, nimirum Galviense, Culmailense, et Dunlodense.[51] Annales alii Athlonense castellum ab eo extructum fuisse narrant. Et prioribus Annalibus referentibus, Rothericus O Conchobhar Hiberniæ rex Tuamæ mirabile castellum ædificavit, inde fortasse mirandum, quod fornicibus illud munierit, et inusitatâ quadam formâ exornaverit, non quod illud ex saxo, cætera è robore conficerentur. Illius castelli rudera etiamnum visuntur, quod Ecclesiâ florente Tuamensis Archidiaconus pro domicilio habebat.

Monasteriorum quidem è lapide struendorum initium S. Malachias fecit, dum Benchorense monasterium è saxo primum construxit. Illum
[118] deinde | in cænobiis è lapide condendis, plures imitati sunt, ac primum Donatus O Carroll Orgalliæ princeps Mellifontanum monasterium,[52] Clarevallensi monasterio situ (ut ferunt) valde assimile, à fundamentis excitavit. Plurima deinde cænobia, quorum hic numerum texere

[48] Usherus, p. 1173. [49] Trias Tha. p. 300. [50] Contin. Tigera. an. 1124. [51] An. 1129, 1164. [52] Waræus de Antiq. p. 176.

[k] There is no authentic record of this statement. See Petrie's Round Towers, p. 160.

[l] There is no account in the Irish Annals of the erection of any Round Tower before the invasion of the Danes; but indirect evidence makes them nearly coeval with Christianity in the island. See Petrie, p. 5, 10, 11.

[m] See the authorities, apud Petrie, p. 149.

[n] Dr. O'Donovan's Four Masters, p. 1051, A.D. 1125.

[o] Whence it has been supposed in the preface to volume I. of this work, that it was the residence of Dr. Lynch during the wars of the Catholic confederates.

annals also, whenever they speak of the destruction of any distinguished place, use the words "dismantled" or deprived of its walls. Again I ask, how could those walls be erected without masons? We read that Turgesius, in contempt of God and his saints, destroyed by fire the temple of the church of Mayo, which was roofed with sheets of lead.[k] Now a stone building alone could support a roof of lead.

In later ages, those slender, high and round pillar towers, which still stand near most of the Cathedral churches of Ireland, began to be erected of stone and used as belfries, after the invasions of the Danes.[l] But long after that period, A.D. 1125, the Cathedral church of Ardmacha was completely roofed over with shingles by St. Celsus, after having been for more than 130 years but partially covered.[m] Our annals also record, that Toirdhealbhach O'Conchobhair, king of Ireland, erected three castles at Galway, Culmaile and Dunlo; and according to other authorities, the castle of Athluain also.[n] The former annals likewise record that Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair, king of Ireland, built a wonderful castle at Tuam, which was admired as a novelty, not because it was of stone and the others of wood, but probably because it was provided with arches, or adorned with some other unusual style. The walls of this castle are standing at the present day. In the peaceful days of the church, it was the dwelling of the archdeacon of Tuam. [o]

Monasteries, I allow, were not built of stone before the days of St. Maelmaedhog or Malachy, who first rebuilt the monastery of Bangor, in that style.[p] The example was generally followed in the erection of subsequent monasteries; thus Donnchadh O'Cearbhaill, prince of Oirghialla, built from the foundations, the monastery of Mellifont, which in site, they say, is the counterpart of the monastery of Clairvaux. Other monasteries, too numerous to be mentioned here, were afterwards erected by different princes in imitation of those models, and delivered up, when completed, after the most munificent outlay, to become the home of religious men. These various structures, castles, monasteries, and other edifices, are produced here for the purpose of proving, that there were

p That is, monasteries on the grand scale of the 12th and 13th centuries were unknown previously in Ireland; but some of the buildings in monastic establishments were of stone several centuries before. See Petrie's Round Towers.

supervacaneum esset, alii principes superioribus exemplis excitati, religiosis viris incolenda magnis sumptibus extruxerunt. Itaque castellorum, et monasteriorum, ac reliquorum ædificiorum structuræ huc â me ideo congeruntur, ut ostendam omnia ista, operas architectorum desiderare, quos si Hibernia non suppeditaret, frustra structiones istas quis aggrederetur. Ut pontes hic prætercam, quia saxeine an sublicii fuerint nondum comperi.

Auri fabros etiam in Hibernia fuisse non est cur quis dubitet, cum vix alios unquam quam calices aureos, et argenteos ad sacra ministeria obeunda per Hiberniam adhibita fuisse in historiis nostris legerim.[53] Et S. Patricius in suâ familiâ tres aurifabros, Essuum, Bidum, et Tassachum habuisse feratur. Et ipsa reliquiarum, librorumque aurea, argenteaque operimenta documento sunt, aurifabrorum copiam Hiberniæ semper suppetiisse. Minutioribus hisce rebus prosequendis ideo prolixius institimus, quod eas vel tanquam parvi ponderis, vel tanquam vulgo notas historici nostri prætermiserint; consuetudinem aliarum etiam nationum historicos usitatam amplexi, qui similia literis datâ operâ non tradunt, nisi occasio id exigens quandoque suboriatur.

Tulgnius O Moelchonrius vir historiarum, et legum Hibernicarum scientissimus me per literas monuit stata tribunalia ad causas opificum mechanicas artes exercentium decidendas instituta fuisse, magistro singulis artibus assignato, qui damnum ex opificum vel ignoratione, vel dolo profectum resarcire abstringeretur. Itaque vel hæc una Hibernicæ Reipub. institutio non adeo passim â cultioribus gentibus usurpata, rectum opificiorum exercitium considerate præscribens, falsi Giraldum satis superque arguit dicentem:[54] "Nulla mechanicarum artium specie vitam Hibernos producere." Præsertim cum allatis jam documentis apposite corroboretur. Præterea Hibernis exprobrat, quod "virga tantum quam manu gestant, in superiore parte camerata tam equos excitant, quam ad cursus invitant." Cum tamen Gratianum Imperatorem Ausonius plurimum laudet, quod equum segnius euntem verbere concitaverit, vel eodem verbere intemperantiam coercuerit.

[53] Oduveg. [54] Topogr. d. 3. c. 10.

[q] For abundant proof of this assertion, the reader is referred to the splendid collection of ecclesiastical antiquities in the museum of the Royal

works in Ireland which required the skill of the architect, for who would dream of building such things, if Ireland had no architects. I have not alluded to bridges, because I have not been able to ascertain whether they were of stone or planks.

Workers in gold were undoubtedly known in Ireland. Our historians state explicitly that almost all the chalices used in the celebration of the sacred mysteries in Ireland, were either gold or silver. St. Patrick himself is said to have had among his domestics three workers in gold—Essa, Bithes, and Tassach. The gold and silver covers of relics, and books, are demonstrative evidence that there must have been at all times an abundant supply of workers of gold in Ireland.[q] If I have dwelt minutely on those little circumstances, it is because they have been omitted by other historians, either as being of too trifling a nature, or as being universally known. In this, they have only followed the example of the historians of other nations, who generally do not commit such facts to writing, unless some special occasion require it.

Tuileagna O'Moelchonaire, a scholar profoundly versed in Irish histories and laws, has informed me by letter that special tribunals were established in Ireland for adjucating on all causes arising from the exercise of mechanical arts. A master was appointed for each art, who was bound to indemnify the purchaser for any damage arising from the ignorance or fraud of the mechanic.[r] This single institution of the Irish state, which is not generally established even in the most civilized modern states, and which imposed so salutary a check on the tradesman, is, especially when corroborated by the preceding facts, a triumphant refutation of the calumny of Giraldus, "that the Irish used for the wants of life no mechanical arts." He also makes it a reproach to the Irish, that "their mode both for exciting their steeds, and urging them to the race, was by a rod only with a goad at the top, which they carried in the hand." But does not Ausonius pass a glowing compliment on the Emperor Gratianus, for urging the lagging pace of his charger by the whip, or subduing his sulk by the same correction.[s]

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[r] See a fragment of the Brehon laws on this subject in Petrie's Round Towers, p. 360.

[s] This argument of our author is not to the point. Giraldus reproached the Irish for having *rods only*, not whips.

CAPUT XIII.

CUMULUS CONVITIORUM QUIBUS HIBERNI A GIRALDO PROSCINDUNTUR HIC PROPONITUR, ET PRO PARTE DISSIPATUR.

[118] Giraldi couvitia in Hibernos. [119] Hosti hostem infamanti non credendum.—Quomodo Galli leves.—Galli et Germani non tulerunt suam gentem objurgari.—Aliquæ nationes barbaræ dictæ. [120] Chlamis Hibernica; chlamidis Hibernicæ commoda.—Pennula pluribus gentibus communis.—Incommoda pennulæ inepte attributa. [121] Nuperum edictnm contra pennulæ Hibernicæ gestationem. [122] Braccæ Hibernicæ forma.—Pernicitas Hibernorum. [123] Nudi et inermes ad pugnam Hiberni non prodibant.—Infantia Hibernorum bellicosa. [124] Hibernorum arma.—An Hiberni barbari a barbis et comis—Aliæ nationes comatæ. [125] Biretum quid.—Calcei Hibernici.—Tænia muliebris.

HACTENUS convitiorum tantum spiculis Giraldus Hibernos perstrinxisse, ac tanquam ejaculatione missilium pugnam auspicaturus, acerrimo congressui futuro prolusisse videtur. Nunc velut torrens perrupto aggere obvia quæque cursu prosternit, simili prorsus maledicentiæ impetu ille in Hibernos ruit, et è maledictorum armamentario virulentiæ tela deprompta cæsim et punctim ejaculatur his verbis:[1] "Barbarus tam barbarum, quam vestium, et mentium cultus eos reddit incultos. Gens hæc barbara, et vere barbara, quia non tantum barbaro vestium ritu, verum comis, et barbis luxuriantibus, juxta modernas novitates incultissima, et omnes eorum mores barbarissimi sunt. Solam barbariem in qua nati et nutriti sunt sapiunt, et tamquam alteram naturam amplexantur. Gens hæc est gens inhospita, gens ex bestiis solum, et bestialiter vivens, gens agriculturæ labores aspernens. Gens hæc est gens spurcissima, gens vitiis involutissima, gens omnium gentium in fidei rudimentis
[119] incultissima.[2] Nondum enim matrimonia | contrahunt,[3] non incestus vitant, non Ecclesiam Dei cum debita reverentia frequentant. Gens adultera, gens incesta, gens illegitimè nota et copulata.[4]

"Nationis hujus homines, præ aliis gentibus impatientes, et præcipites ad vindictam sunt. Præ omni alia gente proditionibus insistunt, fidem datam nemini servant, fidei, et sacramenti religionem, quam sibi obser-

[1] Topogr. d. 3, c. 10. [2] Ibidem, c. 19. [3] Ibidem c. 35. [4] Ibidem, d. 2, c. 25.

CHAPTER XIII.

STATEMENT AND PARTIAL REFUTATION OF A MASS OF CALUMNIES MADE BY GIRALDUS AGAINST THE IRISH.

[118] Invectives of Giraldus against the Irish. [119] No credit to be given to an enemy defaming his enemy.—In what sense levity can be imputed to the French.—Neither they nor the Germans patiently brook insults offered to their nation —Some nations justly stigmatized as barbarous. [120] The Irish mantle; advantages of that dress.—The cloak a common dress in many countries.—The inconvenience absurdly attributed to it. [121] Recent edict against wearing the Irish mantle. [122] Form of the Irish Braccæ.—Swiftness of the Irish. [123] They did not go to battle naked and unarmed.—The Irish child trained to war from its cradle. [124] Arms of the Irish.—Whether the hair and beards of the Irish were barbarous.—Other nations wore long hair. [125] Form of the Irish cap.—Irish shoes.—The women's head dress.

GIRALDUS had hitherto applied only the arrows of invective against the Irish, the casting of his missiles, being as it were only the opening of the fight, the prelude to his most tremendous charge in the impending battle. But now like a torrent bursting its banks, and sweeping down everything in its course, he pours the full venom of his malevolence against the Irish, and drawing his virulent weapons from the quiver of slander, hurls them right and left in the following fashion:—"The barbarous fashion of their beards and dress, and their modes of mental culture make this people uncivilized. This people is barbarous, truly barbarous—barbarous not only in the fashion of their dress, but in that long and luxuriant hair and beard, all savagely at variance with modern fashions—most barbarous they are in all their habits. Above the barbarism in which they were born and reared, they never rise; they cling to it as to a second nature. This people is an inhospitable people, a people from beasts and living like beasts—a people loathing the labors of agriculture. This people is of all the most filthy—a people most deeply bemired in vice, the most ignorant people on the face of the earth in the rudiments of faith. Marriages are not yet solemnized amongst them, incest is not avoided; the church of God is not attended with due reverence. An adulterous people, an incestuous people, a people illegitimately born and married.

vari volunt,[5] aliis præstitam quotidie violant, cum cautelas omnes sacramenti, obsidum, amicitiæ, beneficiorum adhibueris, tum primo timendum tibi.[6] Proditionis pestis hic invaluit, et quasi radices posuit, ita ut h vitium patriæ tanquam innatum sit. Gens hæc est inconstans, varia, versipellis, et versuta, sola in instabilitate stabilis, sola in infidelitate fidelis.[7]

> 'Hoc firmum servans, quod nunquam firma fidelis;
> Hoc solum retinens quod nesciat esse fidelis.'

Et potius timenda eorum ars, quam Mars, pax quam fax, mel quam fel, malitia quam militia, proditio quam expeditio, amicitia quam inimicitia. Hæc est enim eorum sententia: Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat. Denique hæc gens est cunctis ferè in actibus immoderata, et in omnibus affectibus vehementissima, unde et sicut mali deterrimi sunt, ut nusquam pejores; ita bonis meliores non reperies."[8]

Quid amabo aut malignius excogitari, aut virulentius evomi potest? isto convitiorum cumulo, quem in Hibernos Giraldus eructavit? majori sua impudentiâ quam Hibernorum infamiâ. Nihil enim valentius ad fidem historico adimendam, quam si hostem maledictis laceret. Cum ratio suggerat, et concors locupletum authorum assensus astruat, turpia de hostibus scribenti non assentiendum esse.[9] Nam aliena vituperare ingenuum non decet, nec hostium malefacta maledictis incessere, et præclara facinora silentio præterire. Nec tum historiam scriberes, sed tuorum causam contra adversarios ageres; nec historici personam gereres sed oratoris, dum studeres hostem in contemptionem adducere. Ut Theopompo jure vitio datum sit, quod invidiose nimis, et acriter quosdam insectaretur, quam rem ita in studium, et exercitationem verterat, ut accusare magis, quam historiam scribere crederetur. Et Timeus cum ab historia sæpius ad reprehensiones digrederetur, obtrectator est appellatus. Giraldus rhetoricis pigmentis orationem fucare

[5] Idem. d. 3, o. 20 [6] Ibid. c. 24. [7] Ibid. c. 21, vide c. 22, de Hiber. c. 1, 2, c. 1 et 37. [8] Topogr. d. 3, c. 27. [9] Bodivus in Mech. Histor. c. 4.

[a] He describes the Welsh in nearly the same terms: "Gens etenim hæc omni vehemens est intentione, unde sicut et malis nusquam pejores, sic bonis meliores non reperies." Descriptio Walliæ. Cap. 18.

"The men of this nation are the most choleric and vindictive on the face of the earth. No nation ever came near them in treachery; they keep faithful treaty with no man; the sacred obligations of faith and of an oath, which they expect to be observed towards themselves, are violated by them every day against others. When you are strengthened with all possible securities, oaths, hostages, friendships, and favors conferred, then your danger is greatest. That pest of treachery is so powerful, has become so rooted, as it were, that it may be said to be indigenous to the soil. This people is inconstant, fickle, foxish, and crafty, constant in nothing but inconstancy, faithful in nothing but infidelity.

> 'Constant in this alone, that faithful never;
> Nor pledge, nor oath, can firmly bind them ever.'

Their crafty words are more to be dreaded than their swords, their friendships than their enmities; their honey than their hiss, their malice than their military; their faithlessness than their forays, their hostility than their hand of friendship. For their maxim is this, 'force or fraud, is equally fair against an enemy.' This people, in fine, is immoderate in almost all their acts; the most vehement in all passions, and hence, when they are bad, the world cannot produce worse—when good, they are the best."[a]

Was ever imagination more malignant, virulence ever more unbridled than this torrent of invective, which Giraldus disgorges on the Irish? more, however, to his own shame, than to their infamy, for nothing so infallibly blasts the credit of a historian, as calumnious attacks on his enemies. Reason itself, and the unanimous consent of the best authors, lay down that credit cannot be given to a man who makes shameful accusations against his enemy. For it is unbecoming a superior mind to vituperate what is another's, to answer the evil deeds of your enemy by reviling words, and to suppress his noble actions. Such would not be a historian but one pleading his own cause against an adversary: it would not be a history but a harangue, levelled at the character of an enemy. Timeus was called a "scold," because he often descended from the dignity of narrative to invective. Theopompus has been most justly censured for his envious and envenomed attacks on some persons,

tentavit, et eam notationibus creberrimis ac anaphoris operosè aspersit, ut insulso dictionis tumore fucum lectori faceret, et deterrimos quos Hibernis potius affinxit, quam affixit mores accuratius inculcaret, et in lectorum animis altiùs defigeret. Aucupem enim syllabarum se præbet, qui minuta "verborum aucupia, literarumque tendiculas" in invidiam torquet captiosissimo genere fraudis in vocis varietate digladiari. Equitat in punctulis, triumphat in apicibus, pro ludo habet à perspecta veritate desciscere, dum syllabas ut prisce dicam conscribillat. Quare historicorum subselliis amotus, et oratoris titulo quem aucupatur amisso, in obtrectatorum turbâ tandem cum Tymæo subsistit.

Joannes Bodinus à Tacito, Cæsare, Trebellio, et aliis Gallos levitate notatos fuisse graviter molesteque tulit.[10] Utque benigna interpretatione calumniam à suis averteret, summam animi alacritatem, singularemque Gallorum celeritatem levitatis vocabulo ab illis authoribus indicari voluit. Et in Bodinum Germani commotius insurgunt, quod illos crapulæ largius indulgere dixerit.[11] Qui si unâ alterâve labeculâ nationi suæ aspersâ excanduerunt; non alienum est à ratione aut usitato nationum aliarum more, si Hiberni acriter pungantur, gentem suam non paucis maculis, sed cœno probrorum totam oblini. Bodinus ut cives suos parte opprobrii levaret, Syros, Asiaticos, Græcos, et maximè Scythas, in levitatis communionem adscribit. Possem ego pariter, ad popularium meorum barbariem extenuandam, asserere barbari nuncupationem aliis nationibus à scriptoribus indi. Normannos Bodinus barbaros, Antonius Cleopatræ amoribus Asiæque deliciis irretitus, seipsum ac Romanos barbaros appellavit. Quos etiam Michaël Imperator pro barbaris habuit.
[120] | Gallos præter religionem cætera barbaros fuisse scripsit Agathias. Verum cæteræ nationes tantum barbariæ nota leviter perstringuntur; Giraldus in Hibernos crabronum instar importunissimo barbariæ fremitu obstrepit, et venenato aculeo sævit, barbariem toties ingeminans, et per partes minutatim inculcans, ut barbaries Hibernorum oculis legentium

[10] Methodo, cap. 5. [11] Ibidem.

[b] Our author must have felt personally, during his residence on the continent, the effects of the slanders circulated by English writers against his country, as he alludes so frequently to them.

a practice for which he had such a propensity and aptitude, that he was looked upon as a virulent maligner, rather than as a historian. Giraldus labored to daub his oratory with the rouge of rhetoric, doling out copiously his anaphoras and etymological racks to impose upon his readers by the nonsense of his bloated diction, and delineate more vividly and imprint more deeply on their minds, that most loathsome moral portrait which he has rather invented than imposed on the Irish. He is a mere syllable hunter, straining epithets, torturing words and letters, and by a most captious fraud, edging his satire by verbal antithesis; he rides on points, and tramples in accents; the most transparent truths are sported with and sacrificed, when they mar the measure of our syllable-counting scribbler. Degraded from the bench of historians, and deprived of that title to oratory, which he coveted, he sinks at last with Timeus to the herd of libellers.

John Bodinus was much incensed against Tacitus, Cæsar, Trebellius and others, who accused the Gauls of levity. To save the character of his country, he invented a milder interpretation, namely, that those authors expressed by the word levity, the extreme vivacity and singular quickness of the French. Bodinus, himself, is violently assailed by the Germans, for saying that they indulged too much in the pleasures of the table. If those men flew into a rage for a few light stains thrown on their country, the Irish have reason and the usage of other nations to sanction their indignation;[b] when their nation is blackened not with a few stains only, but with a torrent of foul slanders. To relieve his country from all the blame of levity, Bodinus urged that the Syrians, the Asiatics. the Greeks, and the Scythians, especially had the same failing. In the same line of defence I could extenuate this barbarism of the Irish, by asserting that other nations also, were denounced as barbarous by authors. Bodinus calls the Normans barbarous; and Antonius, demoralized by his amours with Cleopatra and the luxuries of Asia, called himself and the Romans barbarians. The Emperor Michael gave the same opinion of them. Agathias said that in everything but religion the Gauls were barbarians. But the charge of barbarism is slightly urged against other nations. Against the Irish it is reiterated by Giraldus like an importunate hornet; barbarism is the burden of his drone; barbarism the wound of his envenomed sting—

apertius observaretur, eorumque momoriæ altius infigeretur, barbariem enim illis mentium, et mentorum, crinium, vestium, et morum nimis acriter exprobrat. Rectene an secus ad lectoris arbitrium refero. Modo nobis barbariæ notas Hibernis â Giraldo inustas paulo accuratius excutientibus aures referat, ac imprimis advertat in barbarie pingenda Giraldum à D. Thoma longius abscedere dicente: "barbaros esse qui à recta ratione, et hominum communi consuetudine abhorrent."[12] Giraldus ad laxiores fines barbariæ definitionem protrahit, et ad menti, capitisque pilos, vestiumque formas extendit, ut spatiosior illi pateret ad calumniandum campus; hac ratione non obscura ignari maligni que animi indicia promens Cæterum quando illos hic universim mentium morumque barbarie fœdatos esse asserit; et alibi exleges, inhospites, spurcissimos, incultissimos, impatientes, proditores, perfidos, et perjuros appellat, aliisque turpitudinibus sigillatim notat, nos thesi ejus, hypothesique diluendæ eadem operâ commodiori loco infra incumbemus. Interim si barbaries aliæ à Giraldo indicatæ Hibernis adhæserint dispiciamus. Quod si à vestium forma barbariem contraxisse Hiberni arguantur, cultissimæ quæque per Europam nationes nova quotannis barbarie contaminabuntur. Quandoquidem novis efformandi vestibus inventis indies lasciviunt: ut qui seculi superioris veste indutus in publicum hodie prodiret, ludibrio haberetur, et pro barbaro. Ego autem vestiendi rationem Hibernis olim familiarem lectori ob oculos hic subjicio, ut dispiciat quænam barbaries eam infecerit.

Porrò sagum Hibernicum satis insulse Cambrensis depingit dicens:[13] "Caputiis modicis assueti sunt, et arctis trans humeros deorsum cubito tenus protensis, variisque colorum generibus, panniculorum plerumque consutis: sub quibus phalingiis laneis quoque palliorum vice utuntur." Nam voce non latinâ caputio cucullus denotatur, quem capiti quis induat;[14] cum fimbriam dixisse debuerit non è panniculorum laciniis, aut centonibus, ut ille comminiscitur conflatam, sed filis è limbo tenuiter contexto sigillatim emergentibus, nunc productioribus, nunc contractio-

[12] Epist ad Roman. cap. 1, lect. 5, et 1, Cor. 14, lect. 2. [13] Top. d. 3, cap. 10. [14] Descript. fimbriæ.

barbarism a thousand times repeated; universal barbarism exhibited in minute detail; that the barbarism of the Irish might be more vividly forced on the eyes of the reader, and more deeply imprinted on their memory—barbarism in mind and morals, in beards, and in clothes, is the sum of his savage invective. The justice of the accusation I leave to the reader, if before he descends with me to a minute examination of that leprosy of barbarism which Giraldus charges against the Irish, he listens for a moment and bears in mind that the description of barbarism given by Giraldus is very different from the definition given by St. Thomas: "Barbarians," says St. Thomas, "are those who renounce right reason and the universal customs of man." Giraldus gives a far more comprehensive definition of barbarism, including the hair of a man's chin and head, and the fashion of his dress, in order to have a wider field for his calumnious tirade; but revealing thereby clear indications of an ignorant and malignant mind. His indiscriminate charge against the Irish of foul barbarism both in mind and morals; his special enumeration, that they were lawless, inhospitable, most impure, most uncivilized, choleric, knavish, traitorous, and perjured, and many similar loathsome moral imputations, his whole accusation—facts and inferences will be fully investigated and refuted in a more fitting place. For the present we will examine whether he can substantiate his other charges of barbarism against the Irish. If they are to be denounced as barbarians, merely for the fashion of the dress, then the most civilized nations of Europe, are annually plunged into a new barbarism, for every year fashion riots in the invention and propagation of new forms of dress, so that if a man ventured into public to-day with the dress of the last century, the finger of ridicule would be pointed at him, and he would be hooted as a barbarian. To enable my reader to judge how far Irish clothes in ancient times can be taken as proofs of barbarism, I will now give a description of the common Irish dress.

Cambrensis gives the following absurd description of the Irish mantle:—"They are supplied," he says, "with small and narrow hoods falling over the shoulders down to the elbows, and generally of different colors and pieces of cloth; they wear under them linen 'faillan,' instead of the 'pallia.'" Here he uses the word "caputium,"

ribus, pro componentis arbitrio; quæ pectine discriminata, aliquando singula, aliquando in exiguos cirros aut fasciculos contorta è scapulis defluunt. Plures namque fimbriæ ordines superne densantur, ut colli nuditas aptius muniatur, lateribus unicus assuitur.[15] E stratis derepente quis exiliens, hoc se sago expeditius obvolvit, quam cubiculari toga, ferventius enim moles illa fimbriarum cervicem obteget, quam pendulum è toga collare. Nec in sago ulla manicarum apertio est, per quam iniquiori auræ ad hominem aditus pateat. Angli saga nostra "mantles" vocant, citra dubium á latinâ voce mantelum à Plauto usurpata, aut "mantele" Plinii: quod argumento est latinos sicut voce, sic etiam re voci subjecta usos fuisse. Nec dictionaria Gallica voci "mante" aliam latinam interpretationem apponunt, quam "penulam," utpote quæ à pallii similitudine parum abest.

Spenserus author est gestatam fuisse pennulam à Judæis,[16] Chaldæis, Ægyptiis, Græcis, et Latinis, quæ gestatio cum nullam iis barbariæ notam inuserit, iniquissimus erit ille rerum æstimator habendus, qui gestationis ejusdem consortio junctos, alios barbarie maculatos, alios immunes pronuntiabit. Idem Spenserus asseverantius addit ex hujus penulæ usu plurimum detrimenti ad Rempub. promanare.[17] Penulâ enim illa inquit, "prædo, et flagitiosi omnes, qui ex hominum oculis, ne pœnas promeritas subirent, in abditos se recessus subducunt, domi-
[121] cilii, lecti, et tegminis | loco utuntur: sinistræ involuta scuti vicem præstat; tot enim implexa plicis, in eam abit densitatem, ut per illam gladius adigi non possit. Præterea si latro quid furto sustulit, penulâ

[15] In Capt. lib. 7, c. 23. [16] Pag. 36. [17] Pag. 37.

[c] From his substituting the word "fimbria" for "caputium," it is clear our author understood Cambrensis to express, by the latter word, some fringe at the neck of the mantle; but he does not decide the controversy regarding the precise meaning of the word phalingæ; he takes it for granted (what he had no right to do) that it was a mantle, like that worn in his own day.

[d] It is difficult to translate the original literally, but the meaning *as understood by our author* is clear from the following sentence. For other versions, see Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 362. See also, *Spenser's View of the State of Ireland*, Dublin Edition of 1809, pp. 87, 88.

which is not Latin, to signify the hood which is worn on the head;[c] when, he should have called it a fringe made, not as he says, of shreds and patches of cloth, but of threads hanging down from a delicately worked border in various lengths, according to the tastes of the wearer; kept disentangled by the comb, and either loose or bound up into small knots or in wreaths, flowing down from the shoulders. For many of the fringes were doubled and heavy above, to protect the naked neck; but on the sides there was generally only one. As soon as a person arose from bed, he wrapped himself in a twinkling in the mantle, and was better protected than by any morning gown, because the mass of fringe alone gave more warmth to the neck than the hanging collar of a cloak. Neither had our mantle sleeve holes, to admit the hurtful air to the person. The English call this dress a "mantle" no doubt, from the Latin word, "mantelum," which occurs in Plautus, or from the "mantele" of Plinius, which proves that the Romans also must have used the dress, or they would not have had the name that expresses it. The French Dictionaries give no other explanation of their word "mante" than the Latin "penula," which in shape nearly resembles the pallium.

According to Spenser, the mantle was worn by the Jews, Chaldæans, Egyptians, Greeks, and Latins. Now, if these civilized nations are not, therefore, accused of barbarism, how can the wearing of that same dress be pronounced by any impartial judge, any but the most prejudiced calumniator, to be a proof of barbarism? Was the mantle barbarous on the Irishman and not barbarous on the others?[d] Yet Spenser pronounces and reiterates, that the use of this mantle[e] was one of the most deplorable calamities of the state. "That mantle," he says, "is a protection to the thief and to all wicked characters, who withdraw to waste places, from the eye-sight of men, far from the danger of law; it serves as a house, and bed, and covering; wrapped around the left arm, it protects like a target, for when rolled in many folds, it becomes so thick, that it is hard to cut through with a sword. Moreover, when the

[e] *This mantle.* This is not correct because the *Phalingæ* or small *Cochall* to cover the head and shoulders, described by Giraldus, is not at all the same as the large long mantle borrowed from the English, and which is described by Spenser. The fallaing of the Irish is the Saxon *falding*.

id nullo negotio tegit. Eâ etiam capiti obductâ, pagos quandoque ignotus obambulat. Meretrix quoque distentum alvum, et genitum spurium sago abdit, et fovet."

Hæc Spenserus obtentui habuit, ad abolendum Hibernici sagi usum; penitus oblitus præstantissima quæque in hominum arbitrio posita semper abusui obnoxia esse. Etenim nil prodest, quod non lædere possit idem quemadmodum paulo ante contra Goodum pro nutriciis agens uberius inculcavi. Huc accedit quod prælatorum in Gallia, et alibi; et sacerdotum ubique pallium ad talos demissum, non longa dissimilitudine ab Hibernica chlamyde diducatur; illud multo laxius, hæc arctior. Ut ad prava illa ministeria obeunda, illud hâc sit longè accommodatius. Spatiosius enim illud tectum est, laxior vestis, latior lectus, magis amplum integumentum, aptius furti operimentum, illo caput latro commodius obvolvet, pellex ventris tumorem opportunius celabit, et spuriam sobolem implicabit. Itaque quando pallium et chlamis criminum societate copulata sunt, ut eandem utrumque abolitionis sententiam (si rectè, et cohærenter iste judicabit) subeant necesse est.

Honesti agricolæ, tenuiores opifices, pauperes, mulierculæ, ac infimum omne vulgus non ad ea maleficia chlamydes suas adhibebant, sed liberorum gregibus noctu substernebant, et insternebant; interdiu vel nuditatem suam, vel laceras vestes, et nonnunquam etiam satis cultas operiebant: Nam à gravitate alienum esse censebant extimo aliquo talari amictu non indui. Villosas autem fimbrias chlamydum oris assutas, et ex iis exstantes capitibus, ad pluviam ut plurimum arcendam inducebant. Nec sagorum pannus semper levidensa fuit, aut crassioris fili. Pro ordinis gradu, sagis è præstantiori, vel viliori panno quisque se amiciebat, quæ aliquando murice tinctæ gestabantur, fimbriis è serico, vel saltem tenuiissimo filo laneo marginem obeuntibus: sagi vero lateribus simplex, et angustus limbus annectabatur, sic contextus ut ex eo fila pendula fuerint instar fimbriarum, quæ è lectorum sipariis de more

[f] The translation is not a transcript of the former passage in Spenser, the most striking instance, perhaps, of narrow-minded prejudice and absurdity to be met with in the writings of Englishmen on Ireland.

[g] *Under her mantle.* Spenser's words are: "And when she hath filled her vessell, under it [i.e. the mantle] she can hide both her burden and her blame; yea, and when her bastard is borne, it serves instead of swadling clouts.

thief steals anything, he has no trouble in concealing it with his cloak; for, being closely hooded over his head, he can pass through the villages unknown. The abandoned female also can conceal her pregnancy, and protect 'her bastard' under the mantle."[f] [g]

Such were the pretexts urged by Spenser for the prohibition of the Irish mantle; but he has totally forgotten that the best things, subservient to the wants of man, are liable to be abused. There is nothing good, which may not become injurious, as I have abundantly proved against Good in my vindication of fosterage. Do not the prelates in Gaul and elsewhere, and the priests everywhere, wear cloaks descending down to the heels, and differing in this only from the Irish mantle, that the latter is not so wide. All these evil purposes, mentioned by Spenser, could, therefore, be more effectually obtained by this ecclesiastical cloak. It would be a more spacious roof, a looser dress, a wider bed, a more ample coverlet, a more safe disguise for stolen goods, a more commodious covering for the robber's head, a better concealment of the signs of the abandoned woman's pregnancy, and a more snug wrapper for its illegitimate offspring. Associated in all the aptitudes of crime, can the mantle and the cloak be separated in punishment? if we judge rightly, is the one to be abolished, the other admired?

The honest peasants, the humble tradesman, the poverty-stricken women, and all the lower orders of the people, did not employ their mantles for these wicked purposes, but they placed them under and wrapped them over their large families at night; by day they used them either to cover their naked limbs, or to conceal their ragged clothes, or even their best clothes; for to appear in public without some kind of long upper garment, they regarded as unbecoming. The hairy fringes attached to the hem of the mantle, and projecting particularly from the hoods, were generally useful as a protection against the rain. The material of the mantle was not always of coarse or flimsy stuff. It varied according to the higher or lower rank of the wearer, sometimes fine, sometimes coarse, often died with purple, and adorned with fringes

And as for all other good women, which love to doe but little worke, how handsome it is to lye in and sleep or to louse themselves in the sunshine, they that have beene but a little while in Ireland can well witness." *Dublin Edition*, p. 89.

pendere videmus. Ejusmodi autem limborum non unus sed multiplex ordo in superiori sagi orâ congerebatur, ut densitate sua et majori esset ornamento, et colli nuda accommodatius foveret. Ut qui chlamides Hibernicas è pingui tantum lacerna confici, et pendentes ex earum oris fimbrias equinæ jubæ similitudinem referre statuunt, non veritatem sed suum calumniandi studium prodant.

Usus hujus chlamidis lege nonnunquam vetitus est, sed postea sic recruduit, ut ejus gestatio vix unquam ante frequentior fuerit. Nuper autem quidam Hurdeus è fabro lignario ut accepi militum protribunus absente Petro Stuburs tribuno negotiani olim institore Galviæ dominabatur. Is aliquo genio malo correptus, ut sagum à nemine gereretur edicto indixit. Nimirum satis non erat Hibernos avitâ religione, et possessione excuti, nisi etiam hoc antiquo gestamine exuerentur. Mox cernere erat plerasque fœminas virorum pallia contra decus gestare; graves aliquas matronas opibus rapacitate militum exhaustis attritas vestes se pannosas omnibus aspiciendas exhibere coactas, vel è mensis tapetes, vel è parietibus peristromatis laciniam, vel pendulas è thoris cortinas abreptas in humeris gestare: Alias mulieres aut lectorum lodicibus ac tegetibus, vel mensarum mappis, et quibuscunque aliis veteramentis armos tantum texisse. Ut jurasses Galviam tum scenam quandam fuisse histrionibus, ac mimis celebrem, qui tanta ludicrarum vestium varietate spectatoribus risum moverent.[18] Ergo "phalingarum," (ut Giraldus é voce Hibernica efformat) abrogatio non ad ornatiorem in
[122] vestitu cultum ut præ se Hurdus ferebat inferendum instituta est sed de industria, ut civibus ludibrio habitis | gubernator cum sociis ora cachinnis distorquerent, ut milites non solum abripiendis penulis quæs-

[18] Topogr. lib. 3, c. 10.

[h] *Carpenter's shop.* The Irish held the Cromwellian settlers in great contempt, because it was generally believed that many of the officers in Cromwell's army had been mechanics. A very curious reference to this fact is found in the letter of the Catholic Bishops to Col. Feagh O'Toole, dated May, 1650: "The pressing calamitie of this kingdome, wherewith the holy Catholique Apostolique and Roman religion, his sacred Majestie's right, and the just liberties of us, his loyall subjects, are like to be trode under foote by a company of prophane and Mechanical Rebells."

of silk, or at least with a delicate thread of woollen, around the borders; to the sides of the mantle was attached a plain, narrow selvage, so woven that the threads should flow down from its borders, like the fringes which are usually seen hanging from the curtains of a bed. But, on the uppermost border of the mantle, several folds of those selvages were arranged, which, by their swelling proportions, were at once more ornamental, and concentrated more warmth on the naked neck. The man who describes the Irish mantle, as a greasy kersey, and compares the fringes flowing from its borders to a horse's mane, may prove his malignant wit, but not a love for truth.

The use of this cloak was once prohibited by law, but it was afterwards revived, and became more general than at any previous period. Not long ago, a fellow named Hurd, who was promoted, I hear, from his carpenter's shop[h] to a lieutenancy in the army, was governor of Galway in the absence of Peter Stuburs, the superintendent of commerce, who had once been a pedlar. Hurd, under the prompting of some evil spirit, issued a proclamation that no person should dare to appear in the mantle. To persecute the Irish for the religion of their ancestors, to rob them of their father's property was not enough, if the ancient dress itself were not doomed to the same proscription. But lo! next day the unseemly exhibition in the streets of Galway—most of the women appearing in men's coats—high-born ladies, who had been plundered of all their property by the rapacious soldiers, sinking with shame before the gaze of the public, with their ragged or patched clothes, and sometimes with embroidered table covers, or a stripe of tapestry torn down from the walls, or some lappets cut from the bed curtains, thrown over their head and shoulders. Other women covered their shoulders only, with blankets or sheets, or table cloths, or any other sort of wrapper they could lay their hands on. You would have taken your oath, that all Galway was a masquerade, the unrivalled home of scenic buffoons, so irresistibly ludicrous were the varied dresses of the poor women. No, the abolition of the "phalingæ" (as Giraldus coins the word from the Irish) was not intended for the introduction of a more becoming fashion of dress as Hurd pretended. It was planned for the sport of himself and his associates; that they might distort their visages and shake their sides at the ridiculous plight of the people, and

tum facerent, sed civibus præter bona lachrimas etiam elicerent.[19] Nimirum:

> "Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum,
> Nec bellua tetrior ulla est
> Quam servi rabies in libera colla furentis."

Sed injuriarum Hibernis illatarum reputatio me longius justo abduxit nunc ad Cambrensem redeo; qui Hibernos "braccis caligatis, ceu caligis braccatis uti scribit."[20] Apud Hibernos bracca indumentum est continuum non intercisum, soccos, tibialia, et fœminalia complectens, quo uno ductu qui pedibus suris et femoribus induat. Nec enim "fluitans" erat (ut ait Tacitus) "sed strictum, et singulos artus exprimens."[21] Ut in eam illud Sydonii quadret;[22]

> "Strictius assutæ vestes procera coercent
> Membra virum, patet iis arctato tegmine poples."

Inguinem tegunt quidem braccæ, ita tamen ut plane sudare videantur nisi longiora tunicarum peniculamenta eidem obtenderentur. Honestius meo quidem judicio quam Helvetii, et Suevi, qui suam indècoram vestium formam etiamnum pertinacissime retinent, quâ illas corporis partes quas honestas jubet esse reconditas, obscenis Priaporum simulachris veluti femoralium præsidibus gloriosule exprimunt et oculorum pudicitiam tentant. Quibus potiori jure barbariæ macula inhæreat quam Hibernis, qui turpitudinem suam propalam non ostentant. Huc accedit quod Gallia tota braccata à braccis gestatis dicta fuerit. Ut ejusdem indutus communio si barbarie Hibernos non penitus liberet saltem levet: hoc autem gestamen ideo tam mordicus ab Hibernis retentum esse sentio, quod iis innata pernicitas in alia veste non adeo expedita foret.[23] Cursum enim equi quamvis incitatissimo gressu properantis pernicitate plerumque adæquant, ut in fugientium

19 Claudia. Eutrop. 20 Topogr. d. 3, c. 10. 21 De morib. German. 22 Paneger.

that the soldiers might not only make money by the confiscated cloaks, but wring with his property bitter tears from the citizen. Truly,

> "None are more fierce, than upstarts raised to power,
> Nor any breast more fell
> Than slaves, beneath whose rod their masters cower."

But I have been hurried away from my subject by this reflection on the wrongs of Ireland. I now return to Cambrensis, who says that "the Irish wear breeches ending in shoes or shoes ending in breeches."[d] The breeches used by the Irish was a long garment, not cut at the knees, but combining in itself the sandals, the stocking, and the drawers, and drawn by one pull over the feet and thighs. It was not flowing (to use a word of Tacitus), but tight, and revealing the shape of the limbs; not unlike what Sidonius describes,

> "A closely fitting dress their limbs compresses,
> No trailing robe their legs conceals."

The breeches cover the groin, but not sufficiently, if the long skirts of the tunic were not wrapped over them.[e] This precaution is, in my opinion, more decorous than the custom of the Swiss and Swabians, who retain, even at the present day, a very unbecoming and immodest dress, and are consequently more open to the imputation of barbarism than the Irish, who do not offend modesty in their national costume. Moreover, all Gaul was once called Braccata, from the breeches worn by her sons, a custom which ought to extenuate if not overthrow the charge of barbarism against the Irish. The chief motive, in my opinion, of the obstinate adherence to this dress, is the facilities it affords for the full exercise of their natural fleetness. They can generally keep pace with the courser galloping at his greatest speed; sometimes they will bound up behind the retreating trooper, and, seizing him tightly by the middle, either dash him to the ground or carry him off prisoner.[f] The more

[f] Petty states, A.D. "that the footmanship, for which the Irish forty years ago were very famous, is now quite lost among them." Political Anatomy, c. vi.

equos assultu quandoque ferantur, et sessores arcte medios complexi vel in humum proturbant, vel in captivitatem obducant. Cæteri nostratium ordines braccas ante me natum posuerunt; plebeios ad eas penitus exuendas minæ judicum, aut mulctæ adducere non potuerunt. Tandem ante funestum hoc bellum anno Domini 1641 inchoatum, plebei partim ultro, partim sacerdotum hortationibus, femoralibus eas mutarunt. In Ultonia tantum rarior usus tum visebatur. Præcones enim sacri sicut hominum animis virtute sic moribus cultura expoliendis sedulo incumbebant.[24] "Quoties aliquis" inquit Redanus, "nobili præsertim, aut honesto loco natus extremum halitum efflat, confluunt quamplures mulieres, de more potius, quam de dolore, quæ fœmineo clamore et perquam flebili voce omnium aures obtundunt.[25] Sæpe capita nudant, crines lacerant, frontem, genas, pectora tundunt, manus identidem in cælos attollunt, juxta morem ab Horatio expressum, qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt, et faciunt propè plura dolentibus, hoc cum primum ad funeream domum accedunt. Intermissa deinde sæpe restaurant: maximè cum mortuus effertur, et ad templum in quo sepulchrum est, funeris pompa pervenit. Tunc ejulatum ingeminant, cadaver (si potestas est) amplexantur, oscula infigunt, et humari ægre permittunt. Contra hanc consuetudinem ex suggestu declamant fidei præcones, verbisque eam et minis abolere conantur. Et merito, quia vivis incommoda est, nec defunctis commoda."[26] Quam apposite igitur scripsit Analectes "non aliam excogitari posse, vel efficaciorem viam Hibernos in officio perseveranter continendi, quam ut condocefiant per tales institutores, quorum et benevolentia ipsis non suspecta, fides erga Deum comperta; et erga regem explorata sit fidelitas: Hac regendi arte, et solertia, magis illi movebuntur ad imperata facienda, quam per armatam militiam, vel per ferreas leges municipales, vel per cruenta comitiorum statuta. Hoc ipsi agrestiores libere pronuntiant, plus se terreri à furto, latrocinio, rapinâ, incendio, ultione, homicidio, per sacerdotum censuras, quam per sententiam judicum capitalium.

[24] In Macha. pag. 264. [25] De arte. [26] Pag. 160.

[g] The original implies apparently, that the author had written this chapter before the conclusion of the war.

[h] The editor has made many fruit-

respectable ranks of society had laid aside the braccæ before I was born, but neither the threats of judges, nor pecuniary fine, could compel the humbler orders to abandon them altogether. At length, however, before this fatal war broke out in 1641,[g] they were prevailed upon, partly by the exhortations of the clergy or of their own accord, to lay them aside. Ulster alone had still preserved them in a few places. The priests in their sermons not only instructed their flocks in the principles of virtue, but also in the refinements of civilized manners. Redan relates, "that on the death of any respectable person, especially a noble, a great number of women assembled, more through habit than from grief, and stunned the ears of the assistants with loud and most piteous wailings of sorrow. They strip their heads, tear their hair, strike their foreheads, cheeks and breasts, throw up their hands occasionally to heaven, in the fashion of those hired mourners described by Horatius as weeping at funerals, 'who said and did more than they who really wept.' They generally arrive as soon as possible at the house, interrupt and renew their wailings, especially when the corpse is borne out, and when the funeral procession arrives at the church where the grave is prepared. Here they redouble their loud shrieks, embrace the corpse (if they are allowed), cover it with kisses, and hardly allow it to be lowered to the grave. The priests from their pulpits constantly denounce this custom, endeavouring by prayers and threats to abolish it, and assuredly very justly, for it is offensive to the living and of no use to the dead."[h] There is profound truth in the words of the author of the Analecta, "that no more efficacious way could possibly be devised, of restraining the Irish constantly within the bounds of duty than the ministry of those instructors, whose benevolence is not suspected by them, whose faith in God is known, and whose loyalty to the king is tried. By these means and agencies of government they can be more effectually moved to discharge their duties than by hosts of military, or iron municipal laws, or the bloody enactments of Parliament. The meanest peasants themselves declare plainly, that the dread of the censures of the church is more powerful than that of capital punishment

less inquiries to find a copy of this work of Redan's; an unpublished portion of it is in the library of the Irish College at Salamanca.

Plusque formidare interdictum Ecclesiasticum quam ab igne et aqua [123] interdictionem regiam, plus abstentionem à divinis et suspensionem, | quam corporalem in carcere detentionem, vel suspendium. Aliæ illæ minæ aures eorum feriunt, corda vix penetrant, ista vero quæ presbyterorum ministerio, fiunt præcordia vulnerant, et intima eorum viscera contrucidant, etc. :" quam rem adversarius ipse Rivius annuere videtur cum Analectæ narrationes infirmare aggressus, locum hunc nec minimum vellicavit.

Quid quod ab ipsis Romanis Braccæ tanto despicatui habitæ non fuerint, ut non aliquando latum clavum iis mutaverint.[27] Germanici enim legatus, et copiarum Vitellii dux decantatus Alienus Cæcina, " versicolore sago, braccas tegmen barbarum indutus, togatos alloquebatur."[28] Alexander Magnus Persarum veste et disciplina delectatus, patrios mores exosus est. Ut de illo dici potuerit; quod eum " pro patrio cultu, barbara bracca tegit." Miror cur Cambrensis sibi persuaserit Hibernos à braccis ferendis barbariem retulisse: cum Britannis suis eas gerere solemne fuerit, authore Martiali his verbis.[29] " Veteres braccæ Britonis pauperis." Sane bracca plurium nationum vestis erat, Persarum ut Ovidius jam tradidit.[30] Scytharum, Sarmatarum, Vangonum, Batavorum, et Hebræorum, dispari tamen forma. Diodorus dicit eam vestem fuisse fluxam, intonsamque, ac varii coloris, qua utebantur frigidioris plagæ homines. De Scythis Ovidius ;[31]

" Pellibus et satis arcent mala frigora braccis :
Oraque de toto corpore sola patent."

De Sarmatibus Mela. " Totum braccati corpus, et nisi qua vident, etiam ora vestiti." De Vangonis, aliisque Lucanus :[32]

" Et qui te laxis imitantur Sarmata braccis
Vangones, Batavique truces."

27 Tacitus hist. lib. z. 28 Curtius lib. 6, c. 8. 29 Lib. 11, Epist. 22. 30 Lib. 6. 31 Tristium lib. 3. El. 10. 32 Lib. 3, cap. 1.

itself, in deterring them from theft, robbery, rapine, burnings, revenge, and manslaughter: and that they fear more an ecclesiastical interdict than a royal interdiction of fire and water—and a suspension or abstaining from Divine worship, than of corporal detention in a prison or even of hanging. These other threats thunder on their ear, and scarcely go to the heart; but those which issue from the priesthood wound their consciences and harrow up the very depths of their souls, etc."—Reeves himself appears to have acknowledged these facts; for while he endeavours to refute the narrative of the Analectist on other points, he does not make the least allusion to this.

The Romans even were not averse to this Irish garment, as they sometimes substituted it for the latus clavus. Alienus Cæcina, the proclaimed leader of the forces of Vitellius and ambassador of Germanicus, clothed in his many colored cloak, and the barbarian braccæ, addressed the Romans. Alexander the Great, admiring the Persian costume and discipline, adopted them in stead of those of his own country, realizing in himself the remark, "that the barbarous braccæ supplanted with him the costume of his country." Is it not astonishing how Cambrensis could attribute the barbarism of the Irish to the braccæ, it being, above all doubt, that it was part of the national costume of the British, as Martialis observes, the "old braccæ of a poor Briton." More nations than the Britons used the braccæ. It was worn by the Persians, as we have seen from Ovidius, and, though in different forms, by the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Vangones, the Batavians, and the Hebrews. According to Diodorus, the dress, as worn by the natives of cold climates, was loose, and covered with hair, and of various colors. Of the Scythians, Ovidius writes—

"In skins and braccæ wrapt, no cold he fears;
Of his whole frame, his face alone appears."

The Sarmatians are described by Mela as having their whole body, even their face, except their eyes, enveloped in braccæ. Of the Vangones and others, Lucanus says—

"With thine Sarmatia's flowing braccæ vie,
And Vangones and Batavians fierce."

Daniel propheta pueros "cum braccis et tiaris missos fuisse in caminum ignis ardentis narrat."[33] Quem locum S. Hieronimus adducens: "Feminalia inquit, et braccæ usque ad genua perstringentes." S. Isidorus docet femoralia dici quoque braccas.[34] S. Alcuinus declarans quid sint feminalia veteris sacerdotis ait: "Hujusmodi habitus ita notus est in nostris regionibus ut ex eo Gallia braccata denominata sit." Nec novum est unam vocem ad plures res significandas adhiberi, quarum illam denotabit, quam volet usus, quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi. Itaque braccarum usus à tam sacris viris, et tam variis gentibus frequentatus, vel omnem braccis barbariem penitus detraxit, vel saltem plurimum remisit.

Verum Cambrensis veritus ut barbariæ telum ob improperatam vestem, Hibernis non infigeret, nuditatem iis exprobrat dicens: illos "nudos et inermes ad bella procedere, arma pro onere, inermes dimicare pro honore habere."[35] Mandragoram à Cambrensi haustam fuisse oportuit, cui è memoria effluxerunt vestium genera ab Hibernis usurpata, quæ ipse pauló ante numeravit, scilicet caputia, braccas caligatas, ceu caligas braccatas, et phalingam, quæ summa vestis erat, et Hibernorum læna. Quis crederet Hibernos intra privatos parietes his usos, et iisdem abjectis nudos ad bellum profectos fuisse? Et non solum veste, sed etiam armis orbos in pugnæ arenam cum hoste descendisse. Summæ fuit stultitiæ in publicum sine veste prodire, extremæ dementiæ nuda latera hosti cædenda, et se ultrò jugulandos præbere. Imo contra è Solino constat Hibernos à teneris unguiculis armorum studio imbutos fuisse.[36] Etenim "puerpera inquit quando marem edidit, primos cibos gladio imponit mariti, inque os parvuli summo mucrone auspicium

[33] Cap. 3. [34] Epist. 128, lib. 1, Offic. c. 18, lib. 19, c. 2, et 22. [35] Topogr. d. 3, c. 10. [36] Cap. 24.

[i] Lesley is of opinion that the braccæ worn by the ancient Scots was the same garment as the chlamys or the mantle. De origine, &c. Scotorum," p. 58.

[k] Of the Welsh Giraldus also says, that they fought "nudi, inermes" against mail-clad warriors. Descriptio

The Prophet Daniel describes the Hebrew boys who were cast into the blazing furnace, as dressed in braccæ, and tiaras, a passage, thus interpreted by St. Hieronymus, "in drawers and braccæ, tight to the knees." The femoralia were, according to St. Isidorus, also called braccæ. St. Alcuin, also, describing the drawers of an old priest, says, "that a dress of that kind was so common in our country, that Gaul was thence called 'braccata.'" Nor is it by any means astonishing that the same word should have different significations, use, the rule and standard of language, deciding in which it should be taken.[i] The use of the braccæ, by so holy men, and in so many different nations, must either redeem it altogether from the ignominy of barbarism, or at least excuse it.

Fearing, however, that their costume would not fix the charge of barbarism, he reproaches the Irish with being naked. "They advanced," he says, "to battle, naked and unarmed; arms they regarded as an incumbrance, and to fight without arms, an honor." He must have drunk deeply of mandrake, and completely forgotten the different sorts of dress worn by the Irish, which he had described a few moments before, namely, the hood, the braccæ sandals, or the sandal braccæ, and the phalinga, which was the upper garment or cloak of the Irish. Can any man believe that the Irish wore this dress in the houses, and cast it off, and marched naked to battle?—nay, descended into the field not only without clothes, but without arms? It would have been excessive folly to appear in public, without clothes, and excessive madness to expose their naked sides to the enemy's sword, and deliberately hold their throats quiet for the blow.[k] On the contrary, it is clear from Solinus that the Irish were trained to arms from their earliest infancy. "For when the mother was delivered of a male child, she placed its

Walliæ, cap. 8. By "inermes," it is manifest he means that they had not the defensive armour used by the Normans. The ancient Gauls fought "naked" in the strict sense of the word. "Longtemps le guerrier transalpin, de même que le cisalpin et le Galate avait repoussé l'emploi des armes défensives comme indigne du vrai courage; longtems un point d'honneur absurde l'avait porté à se dépouiller même de ses vétements et a combattre nu contre des ennemis couverts de fer." Thierry, Histoire des Gaulois, vol. ii. p. 41.

alimentorum leniter infert: Et gentilibus votis optat non aliter quam in bello, et inter arma mortem oppetat." Ceu mavis idem Molani Corcagiensis versu exprimi.

> "Belligeri infantes quibus incunabula bellum,
> Et ferro firmata manus, dum nescia ferri
> Gestit in adversos tremulis ululatibus enses,
> Cum mucrone cibos genetrix suspendit acuto."[37]

Nec armis tantum Hiberni, sed armorum etiam ornatu capiebantur. Ait enim Solinus: "Qui student cultui, dentibus mari nantium bel-
[124] luarum insigniunt | ensium capulos." Hæc quia commendationem aliquam Hibernorum sapiebant, Giraldus talpâ cæcior in Solino non vidit. Alia antehac à me prolata quæ Hiberniæ probro fuerunt, pressius inculcavit. Et qui cum hoste inermes Hibernos in dimicationem venisse mox dixit, calculum dicto citius reducens, arma quibus pugnam ineuntes instruuntur enumerat.[38] "Tribus" inquit "utuntur armorum generibus: lanceis non longis, jaculis binis, et securibus amplis, fabrili diligentia optime chalybatis.[39] Lapides quoque cum alia defecerint hostibus in conflictu damnosissimos, præ alia gente promptius, et expeditius ad manum habent." Hæc autem arma, quam expeditissimè in velitationibus, et pugnis Hiberni vibrabant, ac torquebant.[40] Giraldo enim teste "una manu, et non ambabus in securi percutiunt, pollice desuper manubrium in longum extenso ictumque regente, à quo non galea caput in collum erecta, nec reliquum corpus ferrea loricæ tricatura tuetur. Unde et in nostris contigit temporibus, totam militis coxam ferro utrinque fideliter vestitam, uno ictu præcisam fuisse. Ex una parte equi coxa cum tibia, ex altera verò corpore cadente moribundo."[41] Additque postea "semper in manu quasi pro baculo securim bajulant, quæ non ut gladius evaginatur, non ut arcus tenditur, non ut lancea

[37] Idæa togatæ constantiæ. pag. 221. [38] Topogr. d. 3. c. 10. [39] Ibidem. [40] Ibidem. [41] Ibidem, c. 21.

first food on her husband's sword, and gently introduced this first support of nature into the mouth of the infant, on the weapon's point—praying at the same time the national vow that the child might never die except in war or in arms." The poetical version by Moylan, of Cork, may be more pleasing :—

> " The soldier babes war's image early know,
> Their tiny hands soon nerved to strike the blow,
> Stretch from the cradle with tremulous cries to seize
> The food their mother from the sword's point gives."

But the Irish were not only fond of the arms themselves, but also of ornamenting their arms as Solinus relates, "that those who aspired to elegance, decorated the hilts of their swords with the teeth of the monsters of the deep." But Giraldus, who was toad blind to every thing creditable to the Irish, did not see that passage; though he aggravated with all his rhetoric the charges already produced. But even himself, after asserting how the Irish marched naked into battle, retracts his own words immediately, in a description of the arms with which they equipped themselves. "They use three kinds of arms: short lances, two javelins, and ponderous battle-axes, of steel, tempered with the finest art. When all other weapons fail, they hurl stones with most deadly precision against the enemy, in quicker succession and velocity than any other people." These arms were brandished, and hurled by the Irish with astonishing vigor, both in the skirmish and in the battle. Giraldus describes them "as wielding the axe, not with two but with one arm, the thumb extending along the upper side of the haft, and directing the blow, from which neither helmet springing from the neck, nor the iron plates of mail, could protect either head or body. Whence, in my own day, it has happened, that a soldier's thigh, wrapped on both sides in mail, was lopped off at one stroke—the thigh and leg falling down at one side of the horse, the mutilated and expiring trunk on the other." "His axe," he adds, "was always in his hand like a walking staff, not sheathed like a sword, not bent like the bow, not propelled like the javelin, but after a slight poising—down it

protenditur; citra omnem præparatum parum elevata lætale vulnus infligit. A securibus itaque nulla securitas.[42] Si securum te reputes, securim sentias. Si securim admittis securitatem amittis."

Constat ex Frossardo Hiberniæ reges filios suos septennes tantum ephebos equestri dignitate insignivisse,[43] qui hastiludii simulachro ad suam augurationem honestandam edito, tenuiores hastulas teneræ ipsorum ætatulæ accommodatas in parmâ perfregerunt affixâ palo in late patentis campi areâ collocato. Sic Moeltulius Kierriæ Juncosæ regulus S. Carthagum adhuc puerum inter equites relaturus, ense, clipeoque equitum symbolis eum armare aggressus est. Tantum igitur abest ut Hiberni pugnam non armati civerint, ut potius rudes suorum annos armorum rudimentis informaverint.

Porrò Giraldi sedulitatem nihil effugit, qui cum in barbariæ nota Hibernis à vestitu, et nuditate inurenda mirificè se torqueret, à pilis etiam ad eos barbariem accersit. Sed ejus causa hinc ne pilo quidem melior est.[44] Hibernos dicit esse "gentem barbaram tam barbaram quam vestium cultu, et non tantum barbaro vestium ritu, verum etiam comis, et barbis luxuriantibus." Perindè ac si Longobardos, asceticos eremicolas, venerandos Capucinos, intonsos quoscunque, ac pilorum silvis obsitos in barbarorum album referendos esse senserit. Ut debeamus (illo judice) tonsorum novaculis urbanitatem acceptam referre,[45] et æstimare Romanos non ante barbariem excussisse, quam anno ab urbe conditâ 454. P. Tinius Mena primus è Sicilia tonsorem induxerit; adeo ut nemini sit ultra tonstrinam peregrinandum sui urbanitate imbuendi gratiâ, tonsoribus et lippis magistris.[46] Quamquam omnibus Hibernis barba non luxuriaverit, quandoquidem milites mentis abrasis, et superiori labri mystace non sursum prominente, sed deorsum pendente ad bellum progrederentur, ut ea à cultissimo Warræo exhibita liquido exprimit,[47] opinante forsitan cum Tacito cultum et ingenia Hibernorum, non multum à Britannis differre, et cum Cæsar hos barbam in superiore tantum labro alere tradat, Hibernos alendi mystacis consuetudinem à Britannis mutuatos fuisse. Nam aliundè morem hunc familiarem Hibernis fuisse, expiscari non potui. Nec perplexam

[42] Hiber. expug. lib. z. c. 35, 37. [43] Volum. 4, c. 63. [44] Top. d. 3, cap. 10. [45] Plinius. [46] Antiq. p. 59. [47] De bello Gallorum.

comes suddenly, a mortal wound. Against the axe there is no antidote. If you think yourself safe, you may feel the stroke. Admit the battle-axe, and you banish security."

From Froissart's account it appears, that the kings of Ireland decorated their young sons, at the age of seven years, with an order of knighthood. On the day of inauguration a tournament was held on some wide extended plain. The royal youths were provided with light javelins, accommodated to their tender age, which they hurled at a shield, affixed to a pole. Thus, Moeltul, chieftain of Corco Luachra in Kerry, when enrolling St. Carthag, as yet a boy, in the order of knighthood, began by arming him with the knightly weapons, a sword and shield. The Irish, therefore, instead of going to battle unarmed, were trained to arms from their tenderest years.

Nothing, however, can escape the diligence of Giraldus. Having by an astonishing perversion of ingenuity made both the dress and the nakedness of the Irish, evidences of their barbarism, he next descends to criticize their barbarous hair. But here his failure is as conspicuous as on other points. "The Irish," he says, "are a barbarous people, barbarous both in the fashion of their dress, and not barbarous in that alone, but even in their hair and luxuriant beards." As if the Lombards and the ascetic hermits, and the venerable Capuchins, and all others who use no razors to their well-clothed heads and chins, were to be classed among barbarians.

If this be so, the razor must (in his opinion) be hailed as the great agent of civilization, and the Romans must be regarded as barbarous before the year of their city, 454, when P. Tinius Mena introduced the first barber from Sicilia. The barber's shop is thus exalted into a school of urbanity, where barbers deliver their lectures. All the Irish, however, did not wear long beards. The soldiers, when marching to battle, shaved their chins, but preserved on the upper lip a moustache, not curling upwards, but hanging down, as they are clearly represented by the most learned Ware. He probably thought with Tacitus, that the habits and character of the Irish were not very different from those of the Britons, who, according to Cæsar, preserved the beard on the upper lip alone, and that the Irish adopted the same fashion from Britain. I have not been able to discover any other authority for the prevalence

illam supra labrum superius silvam non aliter hinc et hinc prominentem, quam solent in fellibus pili longiores Hibernis in usu fuisse usquam legi.[48]

An Ægiptii pro barbaris Cambrensi habebuntur, qui peregrè profecti, sive bellandi, sive itinerandi causâ, quoad domum reverterentur, et barbam nutriebant, et comam, cujus luxuriem quod Hiberni non resecuerint protinus à Giraldo barbari conclamabuntur, et si apud Lacedemonios nutritio comarum ingenuitatis symbolum fuerit, et à promissâ comâ Galliæ comatæ vocabulum defluxerit. Imo etiam ipsi Cambren-
[125] sis | populares hunc morem avidè arripuerunt, "Et tanquam modernas novitates" (ut ille loquitur) amplexi fuerunt. Cujus studio etiamnum adeo tenentur, ut si naturæ vitium crines decurtaverit, vel adscititio capillo comæ longitudinem ementiantur. Itaque si à promissa cæsarie Hiberni à Giraldo barbari audiunt, nescio qua ratione barbariæ notam suis absterget, qui in decore ponunt cæsariati esse quam maximè. Consuetudinem igitur fovendæ comæ ab Hibernis mutuatos, vel annexam barbariem imbibere oportuit, vel saltem barbariem Hibernis eluere. Nisi malit Giraldus promissos capillos barbariæ sordibus ideo purgatos esse, quod eam sibi consuetudinem sui adsciverint, perinde ac si illi essent gallinæ albæ filii, nos viles pulli, et è vetere nostratium more novum sibi morem quo glorientur efformantes, tanquam ex aptatis sibi nostris veteramentis gloriolam aucuparentur.

Licet autem Hiberni comam per scapulas diffluere passi fuerint, non tamen aperto capite incedebant, sed bireto caput operiebant,[49] ac idem prorsus capitis indumentum quo Galli utebantur gestabant; "biretum scilicet oblongum, ac velut in conum exiens," quod Barred Hibernice dicimus, voce à latina dictione Biretum ut verisimile est deflexâ. Licet ejus origo posset etiam referri ad vocem Hibernicam Barr, quæ conum, et Eda quæ vestem significat. Ut Barred perinde sit ac comæ vestis ceu tegmen.

Calceis quoque "anteriore parte in tenuem conum protensis,"[50] more etiam Gallico, Hiberni pedes induebant, soleâ duntaxat una suffultis, quo magis ad celerem cursum habiles essent. Fœminarum capita tænia obvolvebat tenuoris telæ, vel crassioris pro mulieris ordine, aut facul-

48 Diodor. 49 Joanni Boæmi Aubani de moribus gentium 1, 3, cap. z. 3. 50 Ibidem.

of the fashion among the Irish, nor have I ever read that they wore those long wreathed curls projecting out at both sides, like the long hairs of a cat.

Will Cambrensis dare to say that the Egyptians were barbarians, who, whenever they departed from home, either on a journey or for war, after their return reared their beards and hair as luxuriantly as the Irish whom he charges with barbarism? what, if among the Lacedemonians, long hair was a mark of noble birth, and Gaul had its name "Comata" from the long hair of her sons? Even his own countrymen, the Welsh, adopted the fashion most eagerly, "embracing," as he says, "the modern novelties;" and to this day, so fond are they of it, that if nature has refused them long hair, the defect is supplied by false curls. Now, if the long hair of the Irish proves that they were barbarous, how can Giraldus exculpate his own countrymen from the same charge, since the ornament of which they are proudest is the flowing hair? The custom which they adopted from the Irish, must have either inoculated them with barbarism, or the Irish must be absolved from the imputation of barbarism, unless Giraldus mean to say that the long hair ceased to be barbarous when it grew on Welshmen, as if they were sons of the white hen, not filthy chicks, and metamorphosed that old custom of ours into a new and favorite fashion, and thought it an honor to fit themselves out in our cast-off clothes.

But though the Irish wore their hair flowing down their shoulders, the head was not uncovered. They wore a cap, precisely the same head dress as that of the Gauls, "namely, an oblong cap, of somewhat conical form," which in Irish is called, Barréd, probably from the Latin word "Biretum," though its derivation could also be Irish, from the Irish Barr, a cone, and Eda a dress, which, in combination, signify a conical covering or dress.

The Irish, like the Gauls, wore shoes, with long slender conical tops, and only one sole, for the greater celerity in running. The women wore on their heads a cap of fine or coarse texture, according to their rank or wealth, which was wreathed into many folds, opening to a moderate width, a little above the head, and projecting in back and front. The top of the head dress, where the front and back united, was not a sharp point, but a wide line, according to the genuine fashion of

tatibus multis implexa spiris, quæ paulatim elatæ in modicam latitudinem à fronte, et à tergo protendebantur: Anticam, et posticam calanticæ partem quæ supra caput eminebat coeuntes exilis summitas non acuminata, sed latior excipiebat,[51] germano mulierum Germanarum more, quibus "multiplices pepli grandia olim capita faciebant," viventibus et videntibus Munstero, et Joanne Boæmo Aubano sub annum Domini 1520.[52] Nondum enim eâ mundi muliebris paraturâ fœminæ nostrates instructæ fuerunt, quam postea natio dominatrix invexit: Nec earum erant adhuc cincinni delicate penduli, et capronæ. Sudaria nec dum gestabant reticulato limbo, minutis punctis et globulis inornata, aut pictas crepidas, aut oris blandi gelasinus. Nec faciem purpurisso polire, aut ora cerussâ depingere solebant. Nam quæ pulchræ fuerunt, malebant puram maritis conservare fidem, quam elegantiam pigmentis oculere.[53] Si deformes, animæ deformitatem non accumulabant; nondum hæresis extulit è Tartaro caput, qua fœminas in Anglia factas esse tam viliter propudia Robertus Turnerus affirmat, ut emant jam non vendant noctes.

Viri de armorum quam vestium nitore magis solliciti officiosas obsequiorum delationes, et blandiores in occursu pro mancipio se deferentium salutationes, ut mores hodierni ferunt ignorarunt. Ut rudibus potius et agrestibus moribus præditi fuisse, Romanorum instar (qui ab aratro deducti dictaturæ admovebantur) quam barbaris dicendi fuerint.[54] Itaque Hibernos merito Beda venerabilis "gentem innoxiam" appellabat: Perinde ac si cum Malmsburiensi diceret:[55] "Hibernense genus hominum innocens, genuina simplicitate nihil unquam mali moliens:" Aspernabantur vestitus ornatiores, et peregrinos, quia vestitus insignis ac mollis superbiæ vexillum est, nidusque luxuriæ, ne in Dei offensam inciderent.[56] Qui dixit: "visitabo super omnes qui induti sunt veste peregrina." Cultus enim facit mulieres meretrices, viros androginos, et effœminatos. Pretiotioris igitur indumenti ignoratio tam profuit Hibernis ad superbiam amovendam, quam vestium luxus transmarinos fastu inflavit.

51 Munsterus 1, 3, c. 27. 52 Aub. 1, 3, cap. 12. 53 Orat. de cura religionis.
54 Lib. 4, cap. 16. 55 Gest. Regum lib. 1, cap 3. Sopho. 1, v. 8.

the German women, "whose many folded kerchiefs, in the older times, gave enormous size to their heads." Such was their fashion in the lifetime of Munster, and John Boæmus Auban, A.D. 1520. Our women had not as yet adopted those fashions, which were subsequently introduced by the dominant nation; they knew nothing of those gracefully pendent curls, and bold projecting knots. Their kerchiefs were not adorned with borders of lace, or buttons, or delicate points, they neither painted their slippers, nor adorned their smiles with dimples. They did not polish their cheeks with rouge, nor borrow fair complexions from ceruse. If they were handsome, they studied more to be inviolably faithful to their husbands, than to heighten their beauty by ornament; if they were not handsome, they did not aggravate the defect by deformity of soul. As yet that heresy had not raised its infernal head in England, by which the English women have become so depraved that, according to Robert Turner, they are now rather the seducers, than the seduced.

The men, also, who were more solicitous about the polish of their armour, than the elegance of their clothes, were utterly ignorant of that crouching display of servility, and those bland salutations breathing at every meeting devoted service, so fashionable in modern times. Unpolished, rustic manners, like those of the Romans, who raised ploughmen to the dictatorship, and not barbarous manners, characterized the Irish. They well deserved the eulogy of venerable Beda, "an inoffensive people," as if he would say with Malmesbury, "the Irish people are an innocent race of men, of genuine simplicity of heart, never machinating any evil." They despised foreign and showy dress, lest they might incur the displeasure of God, for soft and costly raiment is the standard of pride, and the nest of luxury. "I will visit," saith the Lord, "on all who are clad in foreign dress." Elegance of dress corrupts the purity of woman, and makes man effeminate and contemptible. The absence of costly dress in Ireland was as efficient in suppressing pride, as luxurious dress was in gorging the insolence of foreigners.

CAPUT XIV.

QUOD HIBERNOS GENTE ESSE INHOSPITAM GIRALDUS INIQUISSIME SCRIPSERIT.

[126] Principes Anglici perfugium in Hibernia nacti.—Hiberni Scoti dicti, et Hibernia Scotia. [127] Quo adjuncto Beda Scotum Britanum denotat.—Australes Scoti in Hibernia ergo et septentrionales.—Qui scripserunt de Scotis et Scotiæ nomine Hibernis et Hiberniæ aptando. [128] Multi Angli in Hiberniam studii et pietatis gratia concesserunt.—Alfridus rex Northumbriæ studuit in Hibernia. [129] Ejus Hibernicum poema.—Agilbertus Parisiensis Episcopus educatus in Hibernia.—Nationes variæ in Hiberniam S. Cathaldum audiendi causa profectæ. [130] Quam hospitales Hiberni prisci.—Hibernorum hospitalitas.—Quot villæ hospitalitiæ in Hibernia.—Laus hospitalitatis.

ETSI gens Hibernica vestes peregrinas diù exosa fuerit, non tamen in exercenda hospitalitate hospes ac peregrina fuit. Ut Giraldum perfrictæ frontis hominem fuisse oportuerit,[1] qui veritati bellum apertè indicens, Hibernos "gentem inhospitam" appellaverit. Ita nimirum suum Solinum deperiit, ut ab ejus sententia vel manifestâ veritate impellente divelli non potuerit: ei nimirum probra Hibernis dicenti facile suffragari, proba vero de iisdem memoranti Giraldus refragrari non dubitat. Solini autem lapsus, Hibernos gentem inhospitam vocantis extenuari vel hinc potuit, quod rumusculis peregrinantium ut benigne suscipiantur, aut admirabundè suspiciantur, ficta et facta promiscuè memorantium fidem adhibuerit. Giraldi vero culpam nulla spongia potest abstergere, qui rem omnium sermone, scriptorumque authoritate testatissimam prudens et sciens impugnavit,[2] imo ab ipso alibi affirmatam dicente: "Hospitalitatem sanctos viros pro viribus, imo longè supra vires in peregrinos, et advenas infatiganter exercere solitos fuisse."[3] Audi alios. "Hibernia" (Tacitum audis) "valentissimam Imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuit:" id est, ut Camdenus interpretatur: "In Hiberniam multi proculdubiò ex Hispania, Gallia, et Britannia se receperunt, ut iniquissimo Romanorum jugo colla subdu-

1 Topogr. d. 3, c. 10. 2 Topogr. dist. 2, cap. 40. 3 Vita Agrico. pag. 728.

CHAPTER XIV.

MOST UNJUST ASSERTION OF GIRALDUS THAT THE IRISH WERE A INHOSPITABLE PEOPLE.

[126] Saxon Princes found refuge in Ireland.—Ireland called Scotia, and the Irish "Scoti." [127] Epithets by which Beda distinguishes the British Scot.—Authors who have written on the use of the words Scoti and Scotia as designating Ireland and the Irish. [128] Many English retired to Ireland from a love of learning and piety.—Alfrid, king of Northumbria, studied in Ireland. [129] His Irish poem.—Agilbert, bishop of Paris, educated in Ireland.—Various nations flocked to Ireland to the lectures of St. Cathaldus. [130] The Irish very hospitable.—Their hospitality in ancient times.—The number of establishments for public hospitality formerly in Ireland.—Praises of hospitality.

Though the Irish people had a long and inveterate repugnance to foreign dress, yet they never were unkind or inhospitable to foreigners themselves. Nothing but the brazen audacity of Giraldus could dare to impugn a most notorious fact, by stigmatizing the Irish as an inhospitable people. The opinions of Solinus had so powerful an influence over him, that, even where they were manifestly opposed to fact, they were adopted as his own; be the calumnies of Solinus what they may, Giraldus abets them; it is only when Solinus speaks favorably, that Giraldus disclaims him. The error of the former, in charging the Irish with being inhospitable, may perhaps be extenuated by the source of his information, namely, the relations of travellers who sought for a favorable reception, or extraordinary celebrity by compounding fact and fable. But there is nothing to excuse Giraldus, who knowingly and deliberately denies a fact attested by the public voice of fame and the the authority of all writers, and confirmed by his own admission in another place. "These holy men," he says, "were indefatigable in showing hospitality to foreigners and pilgrims according to their means—nay, far above their means." Listen to others: "Ireland," says Tacitus, "had[a] extensive communication with the most powerful

[a] This translation gives the meaning of the passage of Tacitus, *as cited by our author;* but the true reading of that passage is not "miscuit," but "miscuerit," i.e., indicating not what Ireland was, but what she might become were she incorporated with the Roman empire.

cerent." Natio igitur profugis ad se turmatim confluentibus perfugium, et præsidium præbens, quo pacto inhospita nuncupari possit non video? Edelfridi Northumbrorum regis filii Lanfridus,[4] Oswaldus, et Oswius Edwini, qui Edelfridum interemit furorem declinantes, cum longo asseclarum cunæo, in Hibernia corpori, animæque salutis portum nacti sunt, totos sexdecem annos in ea morati, spatio nimirum quod inter 617 et 633 effluxit. Non solum ab hostium injuriis, interim sarti tectique, sed etiam è pagnanismi tenebris ad fidei lucem educti.[5] Beda enim illos ait "Apud Scotos exulasse, et Oswaldum baptismatis sacramentum cum his qui secum erant militibus consecutum fuisse."

Scotus enim Bedæ ferè semper perindè est ac Hibernus, et Scotia semper ac Hibernia. Nam cum in Scotorum Britanniam incolentium mentionem incidit, particulam mox adjicit discrepantiæ indicem. Quod vel è titulo quem in operis sui limine capiti primo infixit liquidò constat; qui talis est. "De situ Britanniæ vel Hiberniæ, et priscis eorum incolis." In capitis vero contextu, incolas Hiberniæ non Hibernos sed Scotos vocat dicens: "Hiberniam esse patriam propriam Scotorum." Ut Scotorum nuncupationem Hiberniæ indigenis, quam Hibernorum potius impertiendum indicasse videatur, cum aliud nomen iis in hoc capite non indiderit, nec Hiberniæ incolas in toto opere nisi semel Hibernos appellaverit. Quod si extra Hiberniam Scoti aliqui diversati fuerint, eos è patria peregrinos fuisse oportuit, et Scotorum denominatione non propriè affici: Ut Beda tot adjunctis in aditu libri appositis, in operis recessu Scotorum nomine solos Hibernos à se denotari præmonuerit. Nec enim inaniter Hiberniæ incolas Scotos tantum, nec Hiberniam "Scotorum" non solum "patriam," sed etiam "propriè

[4] Contract. an. 617. [5] Lib. 3, c. 3.

[b] Camden does not adopt that interpretation as his own, but cites it as a probable interpretation given by others.

[c] It may well be admitted that refugees from Spain, France and Britain, did seek an asylum in Ireland from the Roman arms, but that they came as outcast exiles to beg hospitality from the natives, and not as invaders to conquer them, appears more than doubtful.

[d] Beda says, "among the Scots *or Picts*," not deciding which. See Lanigan, vol ii., p. 417, for some notice of the arguments of Colgan,

part of the Empire, that is as Camden interprets it.[b] "Many fled to Ireland, no doubt, from Spain, Gaul, and Britain, to escape the most oppressive yoke of the Romans." With what shadow of justice can that nation be called inhospitable, which gave an asylum and protection to crowds of refugees ?[c] The sons of Edelfrid, king of the Northumbrians, Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswy, flying from the sword of Edwin, who had slain Edelfrid, were received in Ireland with a large body of their followers, and found there an asylum for their corporal and spiritual wants, during full sixteen years from 617 to 633. They were preserved safe and sound from temporal enemies, and brought to the light of faith from the darkness of paganism. "They were in exile among the Scots,"[d] says Beda, "and Oswald, together with his faithful band of soldiers, received the sacrament of baptism." "A Scot" is almost always an "Irishman," and "Scotia" Ireland in Beda's vocabulary. For whenever he mentions the Scots inhabiting Britain, some discriminating restriction is employed. And this is evident from the title prefixed to the first chapter, in the very commencement of his work, "Of the Situation of Britain and Ireland, and of the ancient Inhabitants." But in the course of the chapter he does not call the inhabitants of Ireland, Irish (Hibernos) but Scots, which he explains thus, "that Ireland is the proper country of the Scots." "Scots," therefore, and not Irish, was, in his opinion, the proper name of the inhabitants of Ireland, as he gives them no other name in all that chapter, and never calls them "Irish" (Hibernos) except once in the whole of his work. But if any Scots had settled in some other country, they must have been strangers to Ireland, and could not, in strict propriety, be termed Scots; for Beda himself, by various circumstances in the very commencement of his book, cautions us that the Irish alone are to be understood by the "Scots" in the whole course of his work. Is there no significancy in what he says, that the Scots only were the

Fleury, &c., &c., who maintain, with our author, that Ireland was the country in which the princes found refuge. Beda's expression appears more favorable to the opinion of Dr. Lingard, that the Scots or Picts referred to were those inhabiting the north of Britain.

patriam" dixit. Nimirum sicut à "patriâ saltem propriâ Scotorum" quamcumque aliam regionem exclusit; sic à Scotorum appellatione saltem propriâ cujusvis plagæ extra Hiberniam positæ incolas amovit. Proinde non censendus est in Historiæ progressu, alios Scotorum nomine designare quam Hibernos. Avertat enim Deus ut quis putet virum tantum, et litteris, et sanctimoniâ clarissimum, lectori velle illu-
[127] dere, et | unam vocem tam discrepanti sensu efferre, ut lector dubius hæreat, quam ex eâ significationem elicere debeat. Sanè inter præstantissimos Ecclesiasticæ historiæ scriptores venerabilis Beda jure meritissimo relatus est. In quorum numero conspirantibus doctorum suffragiis non collocaretur, si non cumulatè historici partes explesset; cujus præcipuum officium est in sensis animi exprimendis verborum perspicuitatem adhibere, ut legentis intellectus ab ejus sensu percipiendo non distraheretur. Quis enim ferat historicum narrationibus, verborum ambiguitate tenebras offundentem? constat profectò Bedam non solum nulla dictionum obscuritate historiam suam obfuscasse, sed etiam apertissima orationis claritate illustrasse

Itaque cum signatè Beda indicet solos Hiberniæ incolas Scotos à se nominari, quis alium sensum huic voci affingere audebit? eam in historiæ decursu inter legendum offendens, nisi particulâ aliquâ adjectâ, quæ vocis notionem alio transferat? Beda ægregius sui exprimendi artifex, cum de Scotis Hiberniam non incolentibus mentionem inserit, discrimen illicò cautê apponit. Nam cap I. lib. I. coloniam Scotorum in Aquilonares Britanniæ partes deductam "Dalreudinos" vocat, cap. ultimo, "Scotos qui Britanniam inhabitant." Et l. 4, c. 25. "Scotos qui erant in Britannia," et l. 5, cap. ultimo "Scotos qui Britanniam incolunt." Ut in Bedæ sensu rectè discernendo nullus dubitandi locus relictus sit, qui adeo circumspectè initio demonstravit, qui fuerint ab ipso Scoti propriè nuncupati; et deinde signanter innuit qui fuerint iis ejusdem denominationis communione affines; ut à Bedæ dictis liquidò percipiendis vix ac ne vix quidem aberrari possit.

[e] Dr. Lanigan, ii., p. 420, complained that Dr. Lingard in his Anglo-Saxon Church, misleads the modern reader by calling the missionaries who accompanied Aidan and Finan into England "*Scottish* monks;" it being certain that these missionaries either came directly from Ireland or from

inhabitants of Ireland, that Ireland was not only the country of the Scots, but the proper country of the Scots. For as by calling Ireland the proper country of the Scots he excludes every other country, so he excludes, from the proper signification of the word "Scots," the inhabitants of all other countries except Ireland. In the course of his history, therefore, by the Scots must be always understood Irish.[e] God forbid, that a man so eminent for learning and holiness, should lead his reader astray, by using the same word in so vague a sense, that it would be impossible to know what it signified. Venerable Beda has been justly ranked among the most celebrated ecclesiastical historians—a rank which he never would have acquired by the unanimous suffrage of the learned, if he had not fulfilled all the duties of a historian. Of these the most essential is, perspicuous narration, expressing the conceptions of the mind so clearly that the understanding of the reader is not turned astray from the sense: for who was ever able to peruse a historian, who shrouded his narrative with obscure phraseology? Beda is celebrated for a historical style, not merely free from all obscurity of language, but pre-eminent for luminous perspicuity.

Beda having, therefore, expressly indicated, that the "Scots" of his work are none other than the Irish, who will presume to attach any other sense to that word, unless there be found in the course of the narrative some restrictive qualification, which gives it a different application? Beda, with that felicitous perspicuity which characterized him, whenever he speaks of the Scots inhabiting Ireland, cautiously marks the difference at once. In cap. 1, Lib. 1, he calls the Scotic colony planted in North Britain, "the Dalreudini," in the last chapter, "the Scots inhabiting Britain," and lib. 4, c, 25, "the Scots who were in Britain," and lib. 5, last chapter, "the Scots who inhabit Britain." There cannot, then, be a shadow of doubt on Beda's meaning, since, in the very outset, he has so distinctly declared, who were the persons whom he calls Scots, properly, and afterwards as expressly points out who those were who had a similar name. It is almost impossible to conceive how any person could mistake language so clear.

the island of Iona, which was as much an Irish island at that time, as Inis-bo-finn or Inis Toide.

Huc accedit quod S. Aidanum ab Oswaldo rege accersitum, à Scotis septentrionalibus exiisse Beda dicat.[6] "Qui diem Paschæ Dominicam à quartadecima luna usque ad vicesimam observare solebant." Modico autem post intervallo idem adjicit: "Gentes Scotorum, quæ Australibus Hiberniæ insulæ partibus morabantur, jamdudum ad admonitionem Apostolicæ sedis Antistitis Pascha Canonico ritu observare didicerunt." Ita ut cujuscunque regionis Scoti septentrionales sint incolæ, ejusdem Australior pars in Hibernia collocetur. Imo hinc constat Bedam sibi quam optimè constare, et Scotos, et Hibernos eadem significatione ferè semper usurpare. Ut jam liqueat Oswaldum ac fratres institutionem ac asylum apud septentrionales Hibernos nactum fuisse. Ubi Oswaldi frater, ac successor "Oswius à Scotis edoctus ac baptisatus, illorum etiam lingua optimè imbutus nihil melius quam quod illi docuissent autumabat."

Sed quid in re tam tritâ verba profundo? in hac palestrâ plures literatissimi scriptores feliciter desudarunt,[7] et Scotiam ac Hiberniam; Scotos ac Hibernos idem olim sonuisse luculenter evicerunt. Quod cumulatè præstat Stanihurstus in appendice, Molanus in natalibus sanctorum Belgii. Serarius in notis ad vitam S. Kiliani. Camdenus passim in chorographia Britanniæ, Petrus Lombardus Archiepiscopus Armachanus in Commentario de Hibernia, David Rothus Episcopus Ossoriensis in Hibernia resurgente; Hugo Cavellus Archiepiscopus Armachanus in vita Scoti, Edwardus Maihero in vita S. Aidani, Thomas Messinghamus in Florilegio Sanctorum Hiberniæ, Anonymus aliquis in appendice ad vindicias Hiberniæ, Thomas Jaimus in notis ad Luitprandum, Jacobus Ushærus in primordiis Ecclesiarum Britannicarum, Joannes Colganus sparsim in Triade Thaumathurgâ, et actis sanctorum Hiberniæ. In eadem etiam arena non segniter decertarunt Joannes Waddingus sacer-

[6] Lib. 3, c. 3. [7] Beda, lib. 3, cap. 26.

f Among the following list of Irish authors, a place ought to have been given to Niall O'Glassan of Tyrconnell, Councillor of the most Christian King (of France) Professor of medicine in the University of Toulouse, &c. In the preface to his work, entitled "Secunda pars cursus medici," &c., A.D. 1647, dedicated to Pope Innocent X., he discusses very ably several points in the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland.

In confirmation of these views we must add, that according to the express testimony of Beda, S. Aidan came on the invitation of king Oswald, from the Northern Scots, "who celebrated the feast of Easter from the 14th moon to the twentieth." Beda adds a little further on, "that the nation of the Scots, who inhabited the Southern parts of the Island of Ireland, had long ago learned to celebrate the Pasch by the canonical rite, by the admonition of the Apostolical See." Hence, wherever you place that country which was inhabited by the Northern Scots, the Southern part of that same country must be placed in Ireland. And this is an additional proof of Beda's consistency in the application of his terms, using invariably the words "Irish" and "Scot" as synonymous words. It was among the Northern Irish, therefore, that Oswald and his brothers were protected and educated, "it was there that Oswy, his brother and successor," was educated and baptized by the Scots, and acquired a profound knowledge of their language, and was so pleased with what they had taught him, that he wished for nothing better.

But is it not a waste of time to dwell on this trite subject? this controversy has already elicited the arduous and successful lectures of many profound scholars,[f] who have proved to demonstration that Scotia and Scots were in ancient times other names for Ireland and the Irish. This was ably proved by Stanihurst in his appendix, by Molanus in his Festivals of the Saints of Belgium, and by Serarius in his notes to the life of St. Kilian. Camden, in his Topography of Britain, passim, Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, in his Commentary on Ireland, David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, in his "Hibernia Resurgens," Hugh Mac Caghwell, Archbishop of Armagh, in his life of Scotus, Edward Maihew, in his life of St. Aidan, Thomas Messingham, in his Florilegium of Irish Saints, an anonymous writer in his appendix to the "Vindiciæ Hiberniæ," Thomas Jaimus, in his notes to Luitprand, James Ussher, in his "Primordia Ecclesiarum Britannicarum," John Colgan, passim in the Trias Thaumaturgas, and his "Acta Sanctorum," have also proved the same fact. The same field of controversy has been also successfully occupied by John Wadding, a Wexford Priest, against Dempster, by Philip O'Sullivan against Camerarius, and more trium-

dos Wexfordiensis contra Demsterum, Philippus O'Sullevanus contra Camerarium, et omnium uberrimè Stephanus Vitus, quorum opera calamo tantum exarata, nec dum prælo commissa penes me habeo. Qui hujus argumenti uberius cognoscendi desiderio tenentur, in his fontibus sitim expleant.

Ego intra instituti sermonis oras quas hac digressione transilivi pedem
[128] referam, et plura hospitalitatis specimina exhibebo: quorum primum | Beda mihi subministrat dicens:[8] "Erant in Hibernia multi nobilium simul et mediocrium de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finnani et Colmanni Episcoporum, relicta insula patria vel divinæ lectionis, vel continentioris vitæ gratia illo secesserant. Et quidam mox se monasticæ conversationi fideliter mancipaverunt; alii magis circumeundo per cellas, magistrorum lectioni operam dare gaudebant. Quos omnes Scoti libentissimè suscipientes victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum et magisterium præbere curabant." Non igitur unum, alterum, aut pauciores aliquot Anglos, sed plures ac multos hospitio etiam gratuito Hiberni exceperunt. E quibus multis aliquorum nomina è re natâ passim Beda edit. Scilicet Edeltum et Edilhim fratres; Ecbertum, Viebertum, Willibrordum cum duodecem sociis Hewaldum nigrum, et Hewaldum album martyres, Ceddam[9] Addam[10] Betti,[11] Accam,[12] Trumherum,[13] Tudam,[14] Genigilsum,[15] Viebertum,[16] et quemdam anonymum.[17] Et præterea triginta[18] S. Colmannum in Hiberniam comitatos:[19] Ceaddam, et præterea Suitbertum, Willibaldum,

[8] Ibidem cap. 10 & 11. [9] Lib. cap. 21. [10] Lib. 14, cap. 3. [11] Lib. 3, c. 21. [12] Lib. 3, cap. 13. Lib. 5, cap. 2. [13] Lib 3, cap. 24. [14] Lib. 3, cap. 26. [51] Lib. 5, cap. 13. [16] Lib. 5, cap. 10. [17] Ibidem. [18] Lib. 4, cap. 4. [19] Bepa, lib. 4, cap. 3.

g See vol i., p. 95, note. White's works were the means of making a reputation for many authors. Hermann Crombach, S.J., in his life of St. Ursula, A.D. 1647, inserts copious extracts from a dissertation of White on the same subject. Tom. ii., cap. xi., p. 299, et seq. The other Irish Jesuits who, down to the year 1647, had exercised themselves in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, are thus mentioned by Niall O'Glassan, "suo hoc pio munere functi sunt inter Jesuitas, Barnabas Kærneus, Christophorus a Sacro Bosco, Gulielmus Malone, Henricus Fitzimon, Paulus Sherlogus, Petrus Waddingus, Richardus Convæus et Stephanus Vitus."

h Bishops of Lindisfarne or Holy Island, called in Irish, Inis Miodcoitt.

i Afterwards appointed Bishop of Sidnacester.

phantly than all others, by Stephen White,[g] whose manuscript works, which were never printed, are now in my possession. He exhausted his subject. These authorities can satisfy those who may be anxious to study this controversy in all its details.

Returning now from this digression into which I have been drawn, I will confine myself to my own design, to prove, by many other examples, the hospitality of the Irish; and of those the first will be taken from Beda. "There were," he says, "many nobles and men of respectable rank of the Anglo-Saxon nation who, in the time of Bishops Finan and Colman,[h] left their own native island and retired into Ireland, either for the sake of sacred learning or leading a more holy life. Some immediately devoted themselves faithfully to the monastic profession; but others went about from cells to cells, assisting at the lectures of the different teachers. They were all most warmly welcomed by the Irish, who supplied not only all the wants of life gratuitously, but also books to read, and masters to instruct them. It was not, therefore, one or two, or a few of the Anglo-Saxons, but great crowds and numbers to whom the Irish extended this gratuitous hospitality. Beda gives us, as his subjects require some of the names of these Saxons. For example: Edith and Edilhem[i] his brother; Ecbert,[j] Vicbert,[k] and Willibrod,[l] with his twelve associates, Hewald the black and Hewald the fair Martyrs:[m] Cedda, Adda, Betti,[n] Acca,[o] Trumhere,[p] Tuda,[q] Genigilsus,

[j] The monk by whose influence the monastery of Iona at length adopted the Catholic discipline of the Pasch. The term used by Beda for the Anglo-Saxons resident in Ireland is generally "peregrinus," i.e., "pilgrim;" not "stranger," as J. A. Giles renders it in his translation of Beda.

[k] Went from Ireland and preached ten years among the heathens of Friedland.

[l] First bishop of Utrecht.

[m] Companies of Willibrad, and martyred by the Saxons (Germans).

[n] It is not said that they were in Ireland; but they were priests sent by bishop Finan to assist Diuma, an Irishman, first bishop of the Mercians and Midland Angles.

[o] Bishop of Hexham, frequently mentioned by Beda.

[p] Third bishop of the Mercians, &c., taught and ordained by the Irish.

[q] Bishop of Lindisfarne; educated in the south of Ireland.

Winibaldum, Lebuinum, Worenfridum, Adalbertum, et Willeicum ac alios quorum nominibus historiam spargit.[20] His adde quod Eadfridum quem Eadberto anno Domini 698 in Lindisfarnensi episcopatu successisse,[21] è Dunelnensis Ecclesiæ historiâ à Turgato conscripta, et Florentii Wigorniensis annalibus Ushærus scripsit,[22] post sex annos in Hibernia studiis impensos, Aldelmus epistola salutavit,[23] quæ apud Ushærum decima tertia est.[24] Quid quod S. Giraldo ejusque tribus patribus, ac ter mille monachis eum in Hiberniam accomitatis hospitium Hiberni præbuerint,[25] Elethrense, et Mayonense monasterium illis elargiti? quorum posterius non exiguo tempore, sed pluribus sæculis Anglorum incolatu frequentabatur? etenim S. Adamnani tempore "centum Saxonum sanctorum habitaculum fuit."[26] Et Beda "grande de modico effectum, ac ab Anglis incolis" se vivente inhabitatum fuisse affirmat.[27] S. quoque Segresia S. Giraldi soror tot sanctimoniales in Hibernia sibi audientes habuit, ut centum ex iis, et ipsam una vice pestilentia sustulerit.[28]

In Hibernia etiam Alfrit Northumbriæ rex tamdiu moratus est, dum "vir in scripturis doctissimus evaderet."[29] Quem idem Beda dicit: "Non paucis temporibus in regionibus Scotorum lectioni operam dedisse, ob amorem sapientiæ, spontaneum passum exilium." Et alibi: "In insulis Scotorum exulasse." Eandem quoque rem carmine pingens.

"Scotorum qui tum versatus incola terris,
Cælestem intento spirabat corde sophiam.
Nam patriæ fines, et dulcia liquerat arva
Sedulus ut Domini mysteria disceret exul."

Eundem Alfridum Malmsburiensis narrat:[29] "factione optimatum quamvis seniorem, regno indignum existentem, in Hiberniam seu vi

[20] Colganus 1 [21] Martii Sylloge, pag. 129. [22] Colg. 13. [23] Martii Usherus de primordiis, pag. 1164. [24] Usherus, ib. p. 964, lib. 4, cap. 4. [25] Vita S. Girald. cap. 15. [26] Apud Colganum, lib. 4, cap. 26. [27] Vita S. Cutbert, cap. 24. [28] Vita Metrica S. Cutbert, cap. 21. [29] De gestis Regum lib. 5.

[r] Many of the following names are not found in the places referred to by the author. Ceadda is St. Chad, bishop of the Mercians and Lindisfarne, educated in Ireland. Beda Ecc. His., lib. iv., c. iii.

Vicbert, and one whose name is not given; and, moreover, thirty who accompanied St. Colman to Ireland; then Ceadda, and Suithbert, Willibald, Winibald, Lebuin, Wovenfrid, Adalbert, Willericus, and many others, whose names are mentioned in his history.[r] Moreover, Aldelm's letter, the 13th in Ussher, was addressed to Eadfred, who, after six years spent in Ireland, succeeded Eadbert in the year 698, in the See of Lindisfarne, according to the history of the church of Durham by Turget and the annals of Wighorn, quoted by Ussher. Did not the Irish also found the monasteries of Elethre[s] and Mayo, for St. Gerald, and his three fathers, and the three thousand monks who accompanied them into Ireland? The Mayo Monastery was inhabited during many centuries by Anglo-Saxons. Even in the time of St. Adamnan it was the dwelling of one hundred holy Saxons; and Beda says, that in his own day from poor beginnings it became great, and was inhabited by natives of England. S. Segresia, also, sister to St. Gerald, had a great number of nuns subject to her in Ireland. Herself and one hundred of the sisters were cut off at the same time by the plague.

Alfrid, king of Northumbria, resided so long in Ireland, that "he became most learned in the Scriptures." Beda says of him, "that embracing voluntary exile for the love of wisdom, he devoted his time during many years to study in the country of the Scots," and in another place "that he had been an exile among the Scots." He expresses the same fact in poetry—

"In Scotia's isle, from civil cares apart,
Wisdom divine he sought with earnest heart.
His home and country feared not to resign
To learn from strangers, mysteries divine."

William of Malmesbury, relates of the same Alfrid, "that being excluded from the throne, by a faction of the nobles, though he was the

[s] Cill an Ailither, church of the pilgrims. See Lanigan, vol. iii., pp. 80, 166, 171, and Petrie's Round Towers, p. 141.

seu indignatione secessisse; ibi et ab odio germani tutum, et magno otio literis imbutum, omni philosophiæ composuisse animum. Quocircà Imperii habenas meliorem æstimantes qui quondam expulerunt, ultrò expetiverunt. Necessitas medelam ad preces refudit.[30] Nec eos ille sua spe frustratus est. Nam per decem et novem annos, summa pace, et gaudio provinciæ præfuit." Eundem etiam Harpsfeldius memorat, "invitatum ex Hibernia à proceribus ad regnum capescendum, ubi exul sed magno suo bono delituerat, literis sacris præsertim egregiè ibidem animum excoluit; in quarum cognitione insigniter profecerat, et administrandæ Reipub. magis indè accommodus, atque idoneus redditus est." Ut hinc perspicere sit Anglos non solum literis, moribus, ac virtutibus suos imbuendi cognitionem, sed etiam Reipub. suæ melius administrandæ rationem ex Hibernia hausisse.

In Onellicæ prosapiæ tabulis apud Oduveganum proditum est hujus Alfridi matrem ex ea familia progenitam Fionam nomine, Colmanni Midiæ regis filiam fuisse, et Alfridum Flanni Fioni etiam nomen, à matris nomine deductum retulisse. Qui non sui tantum literis excolendi causa in Hiberniam venit, verum etiam ut sanctis Hiberniæ deprecantibus limace qui in aurem ejus irrepsit, et capitis humoribus
[129] attractis intumuit | educto, molestiâ, et morbo ex ea re contracto immunis efficeretur. Precationibus igitur ac jejuniis cum aliquandiu incumberet, tandem voti compos factus, Hiberniam accuratè peragavit, et Hibernorum mores accuratè advertens singularum ditionum incolas, alios uno vitio, alios alio laborasse, plures etiam probioribus institutis ac moribus imbutos fuisse videns, singulas Hiberniæ plagas incolentium laudes, et labes in carmen Hibernicum retulit, cujus initium est: Roidheat in Innis Finu Fail etc.[31] "Marcus natione Brito, educatus vero in Hibernia apud beatorum Medardi et Sebastiani anachoreticam exercet vitam, singularis nostro tempore unicæ Philosophus sanctitatis." Sulgenus Menevensis anno Domini 1070 Episcopus.

[30] Seculo 7, cap. 27. [31] Ericus Antisiodorensis, lib. 1, c. ult. vitæ S. Germani

[t] A poem with this title, attributed to Alfrid is still extant. A translation of it was published some years ago by the late I. C. Mangan.

eldest son he retired, either by compulsion or from indignation into Ireland, where he was protected from the wrath of his brethren, and delivered himself up in such perfect tranquillity to study, that he became well versed in all philosophy. Hence, the very men who had expelled him before, believing that he was best qualified to reign, proffered their unsought allegiance. Nor were their hopes frustrated, as he governed his province in profound peace and happiness during nineteen years." Harpsfeld also relates of the same king, "that he was invited from Ireland by the nobles to ascend the throne; and though he had been an exile, he had stored his mind richly, especially with sacred learning, his signal proficiency in those literary pursuits had prepared him for the more prudent and successful government of his kingdom." The Anglo-Saxons, therefore, acquired in Ireland not only the means of instructing their countrymen in letters, morality, and virtue, but also the art of a more perfect form of civil government.

In the genealogical tables of the family of O'Neill, given by O'Dubhagain, it is recorded that Fiona, the mother of this Alfrid, was of that family, namely, daughter of Colmann, king of Meath, and that the name Alfred Flann Fionn was derived from his mother's name. His object, according to O'Dubhagain, in visiting Ireland was not literary solely, but he hoped by the prayers of the Saints of Ireland, to be delivered from a tumor in the head, and its accompanying illness, which had been brought on by a snail which had crept into his ear, and attracted the humors thither. Having prayed and fasted for a considerable time, he at length obtained his wish, and making a diligent survey of the Island, he studied closely the character of the inhabitants of all the provinces, some of whom he found infected with one vice, others with another, but seeing the general prevalence of good morals and good institutions, he composed a poem in Irish metre "Roidheat in Inis Finn Fail," descriptive of the virtues and defects of the inhabitants of the different provinces of the Island.[t] Moreover, "Marc, a Briton by birth," says Eirc of Auxerre, "but educated in Ireland, leads an anachoretical life at SS. Medard and Sebastian's, an eminent philosopher, of remarkable sanctity in our day." To the same effect Sulgen, bishop of St. David's, 1070,

"Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi
Ivit ad Hibernos sophia mirabile claros,
Famosam gentem scripturis atque magistris
Ac mox scripturas multo meditamine sacras
Legis divinæ scrutatur sæpe retractans.[32]
Ast ubi per denos tricens jam placidus annos
Congregat immensam pretioso pondere massam
Protinus arguta thesaurum mente recondens."

"Quia in Hibernia S. Wollibrordus scholasticam eruditionem viguisse audivit,[33] in Hiberniam veloci cursu contendit, quatenus ceu prudentissima apis mellifluos pietatis carperet flores, et in sui pectoris alveario dulcissimos virtutum favos construeret, ibique duodecem annos, inter eximios simul piæ religionis,[34] et sacræ lectionis magistros, futurus multorum populorum prædicator erudiebatur."[35] S. Sampson in Hibernia commoratus, et patruus ejus Umbrafel S. Maglorii pater Abbas factus est, et in eadem aliquandiu diversati sunt rex Deirorum Osriacus,[36] Berniciorum Lanfridus, Cornubiæ Constantinus, S. Petrocus, Gildas, Gildas Albanicus, et Badonicus S. Cadrocus, "SS. Genorius et Betheus cum aliis quibusdam religiosis Britonibus, qui S. Finniano propter vitæ sanctitatem adhæserunt," cum eo in Hiberniam "completo peregrinationis suæ anno trigesimo" redeunte venerunt.[37] Quinquaginta quoque monachi Britanni socii fuerunt in Hibernia S. Mariani: Ut infinitos Britones non memorem, qui S. Patricium in Hibernia è paganismo educendis adjuvarunt.[38]

Sed quid in singulis Anglis enarrandis qui citra sumptum in Hibernia et alti et literis egregiè informati sunt diutius immoror?[39] Præter

[32] Alcuinus lib. 1, vitæ S. Williberti. [33] Ushærus de prim. p. 525, et 532. [34] Beda lib. 3, c. 1. [35] Colgan. 11 Martii. [36] Ushær. de prim. pag. 563 et 564. [37] Colgan. 29 Ianu. [38] Beda lib. 3, cap 7. [39] Colganus 24, Ianua. in notis, num. 1.

[u] Lanigan, vol. iii., p. 160. It would be tedious, and in some cases impossible, to establish, by authentic history, that *all* the foreigners mentioned by our author were educated in Ireland: but of the general fact there can be no doubt, that Ireland during some centuries attracted to her schools foreigners from almost every country in Europe. For popular proofs of this

"With love of learning fired, he seeks that shore
Where, as of old, the lamp of science beams,
Welcome to all. Scotia's sweet soil he treads
The scholar's home: in meditation deep
Imbibes the lectures on the law divine,
The oracles of God. Full thirteen years
Of intellectual toil his mind enrich
With priceless treasures, hived with pious care."

"St. Willibrod," also, "hearing that the learning of the schools flourished in Ireland, flew rapidly thither, to feast on the mellifluous flowers of piety, like the most industrious bee, and to hive within his breast the rich dropping combs of virtue. There during twelve years, was the future Apostle of many nations educated by the most eminent masters of religious piety, and sacred learning." S. Sampson also sojourned in Ireland, and his uncle Umbrafel, father of St. Magloire, was made abbot: there also resided, for some time, Dagobert king of the Franks,[u] Osri, king of the Deiri, Lanfrid of the Bernici, and Constantin of Cornwall, together with St. Petroc, Gildas the Albanian, and Gildas Badonicus and St. Cadroc. SS. Genorius and Betheus, with other holy Britons who were disciples of St. Finnian for holiness of life, returned with him to Ireland, after the completion of his thirty years pilgrimage. St. Marian had also fifty British monks his associates in Ireland, not to mention the immense number of Britons, who aided St. Patrick in emancipating Ireland from Paganism.

But it would be an endless detail to count up all the English who were gratuitously supported and educated in Ireland. Far, even from the other nations of Europe, scholars crowded thither. Thus Agilbert,

fact, the reader may consult Moore, McGeoghegan, Dr. Lanigan, &c., &c. One of the most interesting evidences on the subject is a litany by Ængus, the Culdee, A.D. 799 (extant in MSS. of the 12th century,) in which he invokes the prayers of Roman, French, Egyptian saints buried in Ireland. Extracts from this litany were published by Colgan; and inserted by Dr. Petrie, in his Round Towers, p. 134, with some judicious remarks.

Agilbertum Gallum Parisiensem Episcopum, "Qui legendarum gratiâ scripturarum in Hibernia non parvo tempore demoratus est." Plures etiam è cæteris Europæ nationibus eo confluxisse testis est S. Cathaldi vita carmine conscripta his verbis :—

> "Undique conveniunt proceres, quos dulce trahebat[40]
> Discendi studium, major num cognita virtus,
> An laudata foret? celeres vastissima Rheni
> Jam vada Teutonici, jam desernere Sicambri:
> Mittit ab extremo gelidos Aquilone Boæmos,
> Albis, et Arverni coeunt, Batavique frequentes,
> Et quicunque colunt alta sub rupe Gebenna.[41]
> Non omnes prospectat Arar, Rhodanique fluenta
> Helvetios: multos desiderat ultima Thule.
> Certatim hi properant diverso tramite ad urbem
> Lismoriam, juvenis primos ubi transigit annos."

"Quinquaginta Monachi patria Romani, quos vel actioris vitæ, vel scripturarum peritiæ tunc in ea multum florentis desiderium in Hiberniam traxerat,[42] navi deferebantur, ut ibi vivant sub magisterio quorundam sanctorum patrum, quos vitæ sanctitate, et monasticæ disciplinæ rigore intellexerant esse conspicuos; quorum decem ad S. Tinnanum, totidem ad S. Sensanum, totidem ad S. Brendanum, totidem ad S. Barreum, et totidem ad S. Kieranum trahebat vocatio." Duodecem peregrini fuerunt socii S. Sinchelli in Hibernia; ad quam in centum et quinquaginta cymbis, seu scaphis peregrini Romani in comitatu SS. Eliæ, Natalis, Nemani, et Corcuntatui advecti sunt. Centum et
[130] quinquaginta Romani, et Itali S. Abbanum in | Hiberniam comitati sunt, et decem viri, decemque virgines ex partibus transmarinis venerunt in Hiberniam cum S. Boæthio.[43] Ut jam exploratum sit ab hospitalitate Hibernos nequaquam alienos fuisse, apud quos tot hospites à symboli

[40] Idem in notis ad vitam S. Germani num. 11. [41] Bonaventura Moronius, Cathaldi ad lib. 1. [42] Colgan. S. Martii cap. 20, pag. 533. [43] Ibidem pag. 539. Ibidem. Ibidem.

[v] Agilbert, after studying in Ireland, had been appointed bishop of the West Saxons. Beda Ecc. His. iii., c. 7.

[w] See the authorities referred to in note u. supra. p. 238.

a Gaul, bishop of Paris, and those mentioned in the metrical life of Cathaldus:

> "Pilgrims for science, sons of every clime
> Flock there, to know if his true excellence
> Surpass or not the glory of his fame.
> O'er the broad Rhine Teutones and Sicambri pour
> Boemi from the frozen banks of Elbe;
> Batavians and Averni, throng in haste
> And those who dwell beneath Cevennes' wild rocks
> Helvetii leave the banks of Aar and Rhone,
> And polar Iceland mourns her exiled sons.
> Lismore by various routes they seek, Lismore,
> Graced by the rising glories of his youth."

Fifty monks, Romans by birth, sailing in one ship to Ireland, whither they were drawn by the desire either of a more austere life, or of a study of the Scriptures, which then flourished there, placed themselves under the care of those saintly brothers, who they had heard were eminent for holiness of life, and the austerity of their monastic rule: of the fifty, ten went to St. Finnian, ten to St. Senan, ten to St, Brendan, ten to St. Finbar, and as many to St. Kieran." St. Sinchell, also, had in Ireland twelve associates, foreigners; and St. Elias, Natalis, Neman and Coreuntat, were accompanied to Ireland in 150 vessels by Roman pilgrims: one hundred and fifty Romans and Italians followed St. Abban also to Ireland,[w] and ten men and ten virgins accompanied St. Boethius thither. The hospitality of the Irish is evidently proved by this great number of foreigners.

According to Stanihurst, the Irish are the most hospitable of men, and the highest compliment you could pay them, is to visit their houses without any invitation, or to accept one where it is offered." Even Barnabas Rich himself, the most shameless calumniator of the Irish, citing Stanihurst's character of the Irish in the English description of Ireland, tortures with malignant ingenuity all the favorable passages into a bad sense, and never hesitates to add accusations to those which Stanihurst had made against Ireland. But these words of Stanihurst, "Irish

diversabantur. Imo Stanihurstus ait: "homines esse hospitalissimos, quibus nulla in re magis gratificari possis,[44] quam vel sponte ac voluntate eorum domos frequentare, vel illis invitatum condicere." Sed et Barnabas Richius obtrectator ille profligatissimus Stanihursti verba in Anglica Hiberniæ descriptione Hibernorum dotes enarrantis in eum sensum criticus importunus torquet, ut de laudibus quibus ille Hibernos ornat, hic detrahere; et si quæ vituperia gentis in medium ille profert, hic nova cumulare non dubitet. Cum autem ille dixit: "Hibernos in hospitalitate eminere:' '" hæc verba ita hic amplificat:" piget me inquit, Hibernos suo jure expoliare;[45] ut enim illis quod æquum est tribuam, æquè sunt sui cibi, ac .potus liberales, ac quæcunque alia Europæ natio." Proinde Speedus nationem "hospitibus perbenignam" appellat. Et Lombardus rem proprius attingens, "ab Hibernis hospitalitatem usque adeo coli ait,[46] ut præter cultiorem urbium magnificentiam, in hospitibus tractandis quot occurrunt rurè domus nobilum seu potentiorum, tot se offerunt quasi hospitia publica ad transeuntes quosque gratis excipiendos." Nec illustrium solum virorum, sed et plebeiorum domus hospitibus advenis, incognitis etiam patent, ut de gente universâ illud Claudiani non dubitem pronuntiare:

"Nil negat, et sese vel non poscentibus offert."

Sanè hanc posteriorum temporum consuetudinem, per præterita etiam sæcula, ab Hibernis usurpatam fuisse nemo inficias ibit, qui secum animo vel modice reputabit quasi tradita per manus à majoribus instituta Hibernos ægerrimè unquam ponere, imo etiam hospitalitatem per continuam superiorum temporum seriem, à majoribus nostris frequentatam fuisse. "Ketingus passim in Historia demonstrat, et in præfationis limine abundè testatur dicens: optimates Hibernos è Milesio et Anglia oriundos publica convivia indicere, et quasi præconis voce promulgare solitos, se ad quosvis hospitio et epulis excipiendos non modo paratos, sed etiam præstitutos esse. Quæ consuetudo nulli præterea totius Europæ nationi nota nedum frequentata fuit. Convivas autem singulos non nisi donis cumulatos dimittebant."

Per anteriora tempora hospitatoris dignitas alibi non usitata, iis tan-

[44] Pag. 33. [45] Decript. Hibern. c. 2, p. 9. [46] Pag. 111.

hospitality is preeminent," he amplifies in the following style. "I would be ashamed," he says, "to rob the Irish of their due; to do them full justice, they are as liberal of their meat and drink as any nation in Europe." Speed also describes them "as most kind to foreigners," and Lombard, striking off their character more in detail, says, "hospitality was so cultivated by the Irish, that besides the elegant munificence of the cities in the entertainment of foreigners, every nobleman's or gentleman's house in the country, might be considered as so many hotels, where all travellers were welcome and gratuitously supported." This is true not only of the respectable families, but also of the people, who never closed their door against the unknown stranger, realizing throughout the whole land the verse of Claudianus.

"Nought deny, and offer themselves unasked."

Reflect for a moment on the deathless tenacity of the Irish for the ancient institutions of their fathers, and who can doubt that this hospitality of modern times, prevailed in former ages; there are historical proofs of the uninterrupted exercise of this virtue by our ancestors. Keating establishes the fact in several parts of his history, and gives a decisive testimony in the very commencement of his preface, "the Irish Lords, both of Milesian and Anglican race, appointed days for public entertainments, and proclaimed as if by herald's voice, that they were not only prepared, but fixed a day, to lodge and feast all comers."[x] This custom was not merely unusual, but unknown in other countries of Europe. The guests, even, were never allowed to depart without costly presents.

In former ages, the Hospitaller,[y] an officer[z] in Ireland, was selected

[x] The reader will find a characteristic account of one of those revels in Hardiman's notes to the statutes of Kilkenny, published by the Irish Archæological Society. "Tracts relating to Ireland," vol. ii., p. 85.

[y] This was the biaḋtaċ whose duty it was to supply the king's household with provisions, &c. &c,, and to provide entertainment for travellers. It is generally said that he was a royal or public officer, but it may well be questioned whether a charitable institution such as that over which he presided could exist except under the immediate superintendence of the church.

tum in Hibernia conferebatur qui è nobili genere oriundi erant. Cujus dignitatis canditatum oportuit septem pagis, et septem armentis instructum esse; armenta vero singula è centum et viginti bobus conflata fuerunt. Debuit habere præterea septem arationes, et ædes ita collocatas, ut è quatuor viis accessus ad eas patuerit. In ædibus vero ejus una sus, ovis, et bos cacabo impositæ semper igni assandæ admovebantur, ut cibi semper inpromptu essent, qui quocunque temporis puncto advenientibus apponerentur. Par quoque pecorum numerus mactatus in procinctu erat, qui lebeti assandus ingereretur. Eadem pecorum quantitas præsto erat quæ mactaretur. Stata quoque cibatio cuilibet ordini assignata fuit, in qua si vel minimum desideraretur, hospitatori mulcta protinus irrogabatur. Et quantum ille de justa cujusvis cibatione detraxit; tantundem illius immunitatibus subductum est. Varia potus genera in diversis cyathis administrabantur, è vitreo cypho vinum, ex æreo aqua, ex argenteo serum lactis, è ligneo cervisia, et ficulneo lac bibebatur. Ketingus author est nongintas hujusmodi villas (ut ita dicam hospitalitias sive municipia hospitatoribusd estinatas in Connatia: In Ultonia totidem, in Lagenia triginta supra nongintas, in Momonia triginta supra mille fuisse. Hiberni nimirum audientes se præbebant

The princes, it is true, had their mensal lands, by which they supported their own household and the duties of regal hospitality, but neither the inquisitions nor any other sources of information justify the belief that these mensal lands were the chief support of that vast system of hospitality mentioned in the text.

z But neither of Pagan institution, nor entirely unknown on the continent. Digby in his Mores Catholici, Book 7, c. ix., proves evidently that "no ancient Legislator (Pagan) ever proposed a hospital for the poor and infirm, or a hospice for the stranger and destitute," and none but those who wish to go astray can imagine that pagan Ireland could have founded institutions, the very names of which were unknown to the languages of Greece and Rome. Institutions very like those of Irish bιαδταċ at home, were founded by the Irish in France and Germany before the 9th century, principally for pilgrims, and on the route to Rome. They were called "Xenodochia," or "hospitalia," or "diversoria." See Bollandists, Feb. 9, p. 361–362. They were endowed by the Irish "Scotorum nonnulli ad eos excipiendos per eam viam quæ ad Urbem ducit constituerunt domos hospitales cum redditibus suis." Baronius Annales, A.D. 845. Antwerp, 1618, vol. 10, p. 32. Some of these establishments were at Fulda, Erford, Cologne; but they were chiefly in France

exclusively from the nobility. The candidate for the office should be possessed of seven villages and seven herds, each herd consisting of one hundred and twenty oxen. He should also have seven ploughed lands, and his house so situate that there might be access to it from four high roads. The spit before his fire was never unprovided with a sheep, an ox, and a pig, ready at all hours to be served up for every person that came. The same number of animals were slaughtered and dressed, fit at a moment's warning to be cooked in the pots. The same number was also kept at hand, ready for the butcher. The entertainment was fixed by law, for every order of the people, and if there was the slightest deficiency the hospitaller was punished, instantly, by fine; the curtailment of his privileges being always in proportion to the amount of injury inflicted on his guest. Different kinds of drink were served up in different vessels; wine in glass; water in copper; whey in silver; mead in wood, and milk in wood of fig-tree.[a] There were, according to Keating, ninety of those establishments of hospitality, or as I may call them, municipal hotels, assigned to the hospitaller in Connacht; the same number in Ulster; ninety-three in Leinster; and 1030 in Munster. For, the Irish knew and obeyed the admonition of the Apostles, and the precept of St. Peter, that Christians should use hospitality one

as being the direct road to Rome. "Erant autem ad levamen itineris piorum istorum utriusque sexus peregrinorum in Germania multæ erectæ et amplissimæ domus hospitales plures tamen et opulentiores in Gallia; eas patres concilii Meldensis appellant Scotorum hospitalia." Baronius, ubi supra, and Crombach, S.J. de SS. Ursula et Sociis. Tom. I. cap. 32, p. 226. When Charles the Bald attempted to plunder those hospitals, the same Council of Meaux protested against the sacrilegious destruction of houses established with so much expense by a foreign nation. "Quæ Scotorum natio sumptibus immensis curarit olim construenda." Facts of this kind may prepare the reader for receiving without scepticism the accounts of domestic Irish hospital establishments.

[a] In the details of the Xenodochia, some allowance must be made for the colorings of bardic fancy and the exaggerations of popular tradition. The baile biaḋtach, Ballybetach or Betagh land, assigned to each house is believed to have contained the thirtieth part of a barony, or four ploughlands, each consisting of four quarters, i.e. 480 acres of the large Irish measure. Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny, p. 4, 5. O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 1225, p. 218.

Apostolorum monitis, Petri jubentis ut Christiani sint "Hospitales invicem sine murmuratione:"[47] Pauli dicentis: "Hospitalitatis nolite oblivisci, per hanc enim placuerunt quidam angelis hospitio receptis;" Abraham scilicet, et Loth præter alios.[48] Imitati quoque sunt Hiberni
[131] Romanos, apud quos et hospitalitatis exercitatio assidua, et | commendatio celebrata fuit ab Oratorum principe, qui dicit:[49] "sibi quidem videri valde decorum esse, patere domus hominum illustrium illustribus hospitibus. Idque etiam Reip. esse ornamento, homines externos hoc liberalitatis genere in urbe nostra non egere."[50] Rectè mihi Lombardus censuisse videtur "gentem Hibernicam inhospitam ideo dictam, quod non habuerit passim hospitia, in quibus ut sit alibi pretium persolvendum est." Atqui cultissima Hispaniarum natio hac ratione inhospita erit, raritas enim summa diversoriorum est à cibo et potu adeo malè instructorum, ut itinerantibus edulia deferre aliundè necesse sit, aut fame in hospitiis torqueri.

[47] 1 Petri, 4. [48] Hebr. 13. [49] 2 Offici. [50] Cap. 12.

[b] In the Inquisitions, see Ultonia, vol. II. p. xxx. it is said, "We do fynde within this country (Monaghan) certain other lands called Termon or Sanctuary lands possessed by laymen, and appointed first (as it should seem) for maintenance of hospitality, which have been free from the impositions of the Mac Mahons (chiefs of the territory) bearing certain rents and charges to the archbishop of Armagh and the bishop of the diocese for visitation," &c. The *rents* paid to the archbishop or bishop were almost nominal. Ordnance Memoir, p. 50. Also in the same inquisitions, Fermanagh, p. xxxii. the lands belonging to certain churches are called "hospitall" lands. Of the thirty churches endowed with such lands in Fermanagh two-

towards another without murmuring," and also of St. Paul, "Hospitality do not forget; for by this, some being not aware of it, have entertained angels,"[b] namely, Abraham and Lot among others. The Irish had also the example of the Romans, who were remarkable for their hospitality,[c] and were commended for it in the following strain by the prince of orators, "that to him it appeared very becoming, that the palaces of illustrious men, should be always open to illustrious guests." The custom was an honor to the Republic, that foreigners enjoyed this kind of liberality, in our city. Lombard's conjecture, in my opinion, is correct, "that the Irish people were said to be inhospitable, because they had not, as in other countries, hotels in which the guests were obliged to pay." But in this case, Spain itself, a most civilized nation, must be denounced as inhospitable, where hotels are so rare and so badly provided with meat and drink, that the traveller must either carry his provisions along with him, or be tortured with hunger.

thirds had not near a ballybetogh each; the others had each a ballybetogh or more; and if all the counties in Ulster had a proportional number of churches endowed similarly, there would be in that province about ninety "hospital lands," the number marked in the text from Keating. These lands granted in trust to the church for hospitable and other pious uses, would, when faithfully administered, realize all that poets and tradition tell of ancient Irish public hospitality. If the Biatach were a royal officer, why is he not mentioned in the very numerous array of such officials in the Tribes and Customs of Ui-Maine? p. 87, 93.

c Not public—the rich gave the daily "sportula" to their poor clients, &c.

CAPUT XV.

QUOD GENTEM HIBERNICAM EX BESTIIS SOLUM, ET BESTIALITER VIVERE ET AGRICULTURAM ASPERNARI NON MAGIS INVIDIOSE QUAM FALSO GIRALDUS AFFIRMAVERIT.

[131] Quid pecus, quid bestia.—Pascere quam honestum: pecora Romanis in pretio fuerunt. [132] Cacozelia Giraldi. Hibernos belluinæ turpitudinis falso arguit. Vera Erni Lacus origo. [133] Quando campanilia lapidea incepta—Ernis fluxit ante S. Columbam.—Et ante S. Patricium.—Ptolemeus Ernium habet in tabulis. Loch Neach et Banna fuerunt tempore Ptolomei. [124] S. Grillanus, de semiviroque, bove, semiboveque viro quid censendum. [135] Quam suspecta veritas istius monstri.—Giraldi tergiversatio, ab unius flagitio mali ignominiam genti conflat. [136] Giraldus non historicus sed accusator.—Variæ monstrorum species.—Coitus mulieris cum capra videtur esse falsus. [137] Mulier barbara.—Agriculturam Hiberni non aspernabantur. [138] Viri sancti arabant.—Asperiora loca arando tissa.—Giraldus sibi contrarius.

Sicut hospitalitatis laudem Hibernis Giraldus ademit, sic non pecorum, sed bestiarum vivendi rationem affingit.[1] Ait enim: "Hibernica gens ex bestiis solum, et bestialiter vivens." Debebat dicere (si non injuriosius, quam intelligentius loqui mallet) pecoribus eos vivere, ac pecuarios esse. Bestiæ enim nomine non cicures pecudes, sed ferociores quæque, et immaniores belluæ indicantur: utpote maluit ille à vocabuli proprietate procul abire, quam conviciandi ansam, quam ubique aucupatur non arripere: non sentiens eruditos quosque lectores ejus verba sic percepturos, ut ex ursis et leonibus, et si quæ sunt sæviores feræ, Hibernos vivere innuere videatur, ejusque loquendi rationem mox sibilis excepturos, quod ex Africa in Hiberniam immaniora illa animantia putidus loquendi artifex imprudens transferat. Romæ potiùs in cavea bestias quam in Hibernia collocare debuit. Quod si Hibernos bestias appellet, meminisse illum oportuit, se ac suos bestiarios esse,

[1] Topogr. d. 3, c. 10.

[a] A very faithful and expressive image of the state of Ireland during many centuries since the English connexion.

CHAPTER XV.

FALSE AND MALIGNANT ASSERTION OF GIRALDUS THAT THE IRISH PEOPLE LIVED BY BEASTS ALONE, AND LIKE BEASTS, AND THAT THEY NEGLECTED AGRICULTURE.

[131] What are cattle, what wild beasts?—The tending of cattle a respectable mode of life; held in high esteem by the Romans. [132] Perverse affectation of Giraldus: accuses the Irish falsely of beastly turpitude.—True origin of Lough Erne. [133] Stone belfries, when first used?—The Erne was flowing before the days of St. Columba; and before St. Patrick's; it is marked on Ptolemy's maps. [134] St. Grellan: story of the half ox, half man—or half man half ox. [135] The existence of such a monster very doubtful.—Inconsistency of Giraldus: he charges upon a whole nation the infamous crime of an individual. [136] He is rather a calumniator than a historian; different kinds of monsters. [137] The hairy woman.—Agriculture not neglected by the Irish. [138] Saints tilled the earth.—Even wild tracts tilled by the plough in Ireland. Giraldus ever inconsistent.

NOT content with robbing the Irish of their character for hospitality, Giraldus asserts that their mode of life was like not cattle, but beasts. "This Irish people," he says, "live by beasts only and bestially." Had his object been to speak clearly and not malignantly, he ought to have said that they lived by cattle, and like cattle, the word "beasts" signifying properly not tame animals, but all wild and ferocious brutes. But the opportunity was too tempting; propriety of expression was sacrificed to his malignant love of calumny, which he sought every occasion to indulge; it was no concern to him that every scholar would understand him to mean that the Irish lived on bears and lions, and other ferocious animals. He cared not if they ridiculed this form of expression by which a clumsy constructor of words foolishly transports those savage animals from Africa to the shores of Ireland. It was in the dens in Rome, and not in Ireland, he ought to have placed those creatures. But if he needs must call the Irish, beasts, let him remember that he and his countrymen are gladiators exhibiting at funeral solemnities[a] and public spectacles, and fighting with those beasts, to which they were condemned.

ac bustiarios gladiatores, qui quasi ad bestias damnati cum iis pugna congrediuntur.

Sed ut his me tricis expediam, probro ille Hibernis serio dat, quod gregibus et armentis abundaverint; et eorum se proventu plerumque paverint. Nec alia tamen ratione innocui illi terrarum aureo seculo incolæ vitam tolerabant. Et Isaac, Jacob, et Jobus pecorum copiâ circumfluebant, Moyses, Saulus, et David pascendæ pecudi sedulo incumbebant, nec tamen "ex bestiis" illos, aut bestialiter vixisse quispiam unquam dixit. Ipsum pastorale negotium abjectius et humilius, nihilominus honestum et insons, imo voluptatis non expers semper habitum est. Pastores tamen "ex bestiis," aut "bestialiter" vivere nunquam dicti sunt.[2] Fortasse probro Romanis dabit quod bubulcos ad Imperatoris dignitatem avexerint, et pecus in pretio habuerint, ut qui bene de Repub. meritos boum honorario numerabantur, hisce Livii verbis id liquido testantibus. "Consul" inquit, "advocata concione P. Decii non cæptas solum ante, sed cumulatas nova virtute laudes peragit:[3] et præter militaria alia dona, aurea corona eum, et centum bobus, eximioque uno albo optimo auratis cornibus donat." Et postea in historia Cornini; "Consul concione advocatâ laudatum Tribunum decem bobus, aureaque corona donat."[4] Denique post expugnatam Carthaginem, "ante omnes Scipio Lælium præfectum classis, et omni genere laudis sibimet ipse æquavit, et corona aurea, ac triginta bobus donavit."[5] Scribit etiam Varro illustrissimum quemque antiquitus pastorem fuisse, et à plurimo pecore plerosque apud vetustissimos laudatos fuisse. An igitur quia Romani pecora magni æstimabunt à Giraldo "ex bestiis," et "bestialiter" vixisse dicentur? volupe nimirum illi fuit extra latini sermonis terminos ferri, ut in vocum captiunculis convitiorum spicula venaretur, quibus Hibernorum famam
[132] foderet. |

Præterea artis oratoriæ simiam se Giraldus præbuit, cacozeliâ quadam, seu imitatione valde insulsâ, et loco topico, qui à conjugatis dicitur, argumentum depromere aggressus, instar hoc exemplum à Rhetoribus adduci solitum, sapientiam habet in animo defixam, ac proinde sapiens

[2] Malerian. Maz. lib. 2. [3] Lib. 7. [4] Lib. 26. [5] Lib. 2, de re rustica

But passing over those trifles, the Irish are gravely charged with having a great abundance of flocks and herds, and with generally supporting themselves on their produce. But was not this the mode of life of the innocent inhabitants of this earth during the golden age? Isaac, Jacob, and Job, had abundance of cattle. Moses, Saul, and David carefully tended their herds, and yet no person has ever reproached them with living by beasts and bestially. The pastoral life itself, though humble and low, has been always regarded not only as honest and innocent, but as by no means devoid of happiness. Yet shepherds have never been said to live by beasts and bestially. No doubt he would condemn the Romans who raised herdsmen to the dignity of Imperator, and set such value on cattle, that they were deemed a meet portion of the reward given by the Republic to deserving citizens. Livius gives clear testimony to the fact. "The consul having summoned an assembly, passed a glowing eulogium on P. Decius, not only for his former deeds, but his fresh accession of renown; and besides other military honors, he presented to him a golden crown, and one hundred oxen, among which there was one superb animal, of the purest white, and with gilt horns." And again, in the history of Cornini, "The consul having called an assembly, complimented the tribune, and presented him with a golden crown and ten oxen." Finally, after the conquest of Carthage, "Scipio extolled above all others Lælius, the commander of the fleet, and shared with him equally all the honor of the war, and presented him with a gold crown and thirty oxen." Varro also asserts, that all the illustrious men of ancient times were shepherds, and that many of the most remote ages were celebrated for the abundance of their flocks. Will Giraldus then presume to say that the Romans "lived by beasts and bestially," because they set great value on cattle? But he could not resist the pleasure of transgressing against the propriety of the Latin tongue, if he could hunt out even among his quibbles of words, some arrows of slander, to wound the character of the Irish.

Besides, Giraldus was aping the orator, and by an affected and absurd imitation endeavoured to point his argument, by that figure of rhetoric which rhetoricians call "conjugata," as in the following example: "He hath wisdom implanted in his mind, and therefore is

est, quare sapienter se geret. Eodem prorsus modo ille argutatur: "Hiberni ex bestiis vivunt," ergo bestialiter vivunt, voce "bestiis" ideo potius quam "pecoribus" adhibitá ut majorem atrocitatem eo vocabulo denotatam inessegenti innureret, ac lectorem non sentientem ad deterrimam sententiam de Hibernis imbibendam, hoc admoto cuniculo alliceret. Nihil pensi habens à vocis proprietate, et narrationis veritate effrænius aberrare, modo in Hibernicæ gentis infamiam id redundet. Penitus autem ejus sensum indaganti patebit illum hujusmodi argumentum efformare voluisse: Hiberni pecuarii sunt, ferarum igitur ritu degunt: Id enim ejus loquendi ratio non obscurè præ se fert. Nam quod ex bestiis vivant, hinc modica vocum inflectione, bestialiter vivere intulit. E vocabulorum allusione, seu potius illusione, fucum lectori, calumniam Hibernis faciens. Sed quis mentis compos planè non perspicit, funes illum ex arena prius nexurum, quam duas illas sententias apta consecutione connexurum?

Prima fronte sensum hunc ex ejus verbis elicui, ut perinde fuerit illi dicere, quod Hiberni bestialiter vixerint, ac nefando cum belluis coitu se contaminaverint: eò enim orationem ejus tacite irrepsisse mihi persuadeo. Primum quod istam interpretationem illa verba vulgo ferant; deinde quod rationes iste omnes excogitaverit ad quamvis pessimam notam Hibernis inurendam: denique quod disertis verbis scribat,[6] "gentem Hibernicam eo vitio præcipuè laborare." Et suum semibovemque virum, semivirumque bovem ad nauseam usque legentibus creberrime obtrudat; et lacum Ernium amænis agris, ad pœnas de simili flagitio exigendas, superfusum fuisse contendat.

Ut vero à posteriore conviciorum fabricâ, quam molitur evertendâ initium ducam:[7] "Est," inquit, "lacus in Ultonia" (Ernus Camdeno) "cui mirabilis, ut aiunt, casus initium dedit. Fuit in terra illa, quam nunc lacus obtinet, gens ab antiquissimis temporibus vitiosissima,[8] et præcipuè vitio coeundo cum bestiis, præ omni alio Hiberniæ populo incorrigibiliter involuta; fuerat autem in ore populi verbum celebre, quod quam cito fons terræ illius (qui ex reverentia de barbara super-

[6] Topogr. d. 2, c. 21. [7] Pag. 732. [8] Topogr. d. 2, c. 9.

wise, in what maketh him act wisely." That was the model of his trifling quibble. "The Irish live by beasts," therefore they live bestially, the word "beasts" being substituted for cattle, as conveying a more atrocious calumny against the Irish people, and craftily misleading the incautious reader to form the blackest opinion of the country.[b] The infamy of Ireland was the grand object to which Giraldus outrageously sacrificed the propriety of language and the truth of his history. It is evident on a diligent study of the passage, that the sense intended was the following argument: "The Irish lead a pastoral life, therefore they live like wild beasts." Such appears clearly enough to be the meaning of his words. From the fact of their living by beasts, he infers, by a slight change in the expression, that they lived bestially; deceiving his reader, and calumniating Ireland by the allusion, or rather illusion. But every man in his senses must know that Giraldus could as easily make a cable of a spider's web as establish a logical connexion between his two propositions.

When I first saw these words, they struck me, as being equivalent to the horrid imputation that the Irish were guilty of unnatural crimes; such, I am convinced, is the foul accusation suggested to the reader, by the words, "the Irish live bestially;" first, because that is the ordinary sense of the expression; next, because he concocts all possible grounds of the most heinous charges against the Irish; and finally, because in express terms he asserts, that "the Irish are specially prone to that crime." He obtrudes on his readers with loathsome pertinacity the fabled thing, that was, half man half ox, or half ox half man, and asserts that a delightful plain was engulphed under the waves of Loch Neagh, in punishment of similar crimes.

I shall commence with a refutation of the last grounds of his calumny. "There is a lake," he says, "in Ulster (Erne, according to Camden) which had its origin, they say, in a most singular event. On the land which is now the bed of the lake, there had been, from the most ancient times, a tribe of most wicked people, incorrigibly addicted, beyond any other tribe in Ireland, to an unnatural crime; there had

[b] Giraldus, as our author himself admits a few sentences later, does not merely insinuate, but state in the plainest language his abominable calumny.

stitione sibi exhibita, operculum habebat, et signaculum) discoopertus relinqueretur; tanta statim inundatione exuberaret, ut totam provinciam, et gentem simul dilueret, et deleret. Muliere autem aquam inde hauriente, et fontem non signante, tanta scaturigine fons exuberavit, ut ipsam statim cum puero, totamque gentem illam, et pecora tanquam diluvio quodam particulari, seu provinciali in hora submergeret." Credo equidem, nec vana fides, virum istum, ut leviter dicam, captandis quibusvis rumusculis extenuandæ Hibernorum famæ inservientibus inhiasse, quem tam futili fabella librum suum inquinasse non puduit, quæ à veritate tam remota est, quam quod remotissimum.

Non enim è puteo lacum Ernium, sed post victoriam ab Hiberniæ rege Fiachro Labhrinno de Ernis gente Firbolgis terras illas tum incolentibus reportatam, ex humo repente exsiliisse, et per amplissimum illud agri spatium sese diffudisse nostri historici tradunt. Fiacho autem illo in ea dignitate, circa mundi annum 2930 collocato, longe ante Christum natum, non par est credere Deum in veræ fidei expertes tam gravibus pœnis animadversurum fuisse. Imo supplicio isto plexos Christianæ fidei luce perfusos fuisse Cambrensis ipse planè profitetur dicens: "Quod piscatores aquæ illius turres Ecclesiasticas, quæ more patriæ arctæ sunt, nec non et rotundæ, sub undis manifeste sereno tempore conspiciunt." Quod documento est, ante scita Catholicæ fidei ab istius plagæ cultoribus hausta fuisse, quam ipsos Erni lacus suo gurgite hauserit. Nihilominus ista ipsa exordia Ernio lacui à memoratis supra historicis assignata tribuit Amerginus Amalgadii filius, Moelruoni nepos, in libro quem de præstantiorum in Hibernia locorum Etymologiâ
[133] scripsit, | et coram Dermitio Kerualli filio Hiberniæ rege (cui erat à

[c] See O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.M. 3751, p. 47. The arguments of our author are directed here partly against Giraldus, but in so confused a manner that there is no slight difficulty in understanding him. It is apparently supposed in this place that Giraldus, as well as Camden told the story of Loch Erne, and not of Loch Neagh, though it is evident, that Giraldus speaks of Loch Neagh. His account of the origin of that lake agrees with bardic traditions, except in one material point; for no bard or tradition has ever mentioned unnatural crimes as the cause or occasion of the eruption.

[d] This is an "argumentum ad homi-

been a sort of oracular tradition among the people, that whenever a certain well in the district (which from this barbarous superstition was kept religiously covered and sealed) should be left uncovered, it would overflow immediately, inundate the province, and drown all the people. A certain woman happening to come to the well for water, forgot to close it, and instantly the flood burst forth, sweeping away herself and her son, and in one short hour overwhelming in a partial or provincial deluge, all the people and their flocks and herds." Nothing, I am firmly persuaded, but the avidity of this man to catch up every flying rumor, disgraceful to Irish character, could have induced him to defile his pages with as groundless a fabrication as ever found its way into print.

Loch Erne did not spring fiom a well, but started suddenly from the earth, and according to the narrative of our annalists, overflowed a vast tract of country, after a victory gained by Fiach Labhrinn, king of Ireland,[c] over the Ernians, a tribe of Firbolgs who then inhabited that country. Now as Fiach was king long before the birth of Christ, about the year of the world 2930, it is not probable that God would inflict so tremendous a punishment on Pagans. Even Cambrensis himself plainly intimates that the victims of that scourge must have been Christians. "The fisherman," he says, "in clear weather plainly sees beneath the waves those church towers, which, according to the style of the country, are slender and round;" which proves that the inhabitants of that district must have been instructed in the Christian faith, before they were engulphed in Loch Erne.[d] Nevertheless, the origin of Loch Erne assigned by the historians already cited is also adopted by Amergin, son of Amalgaidh, grandson of Moelruan, in his work on the etymology of the principal places in Ireland, which he recited in presence of Diarmuid, son of Kermheoil, king of Ireland (to whom he was bard), and the other nobles of Ireland, in the convention of Teamhair,

nem" against Giraldus, who had assigned the eruption of the lake to a "very ancient period." Our author proves that it could not be at a "very ancient period," supposing the account of Giraldus to be true, but at a period long after the establishment of Christianity in Ireland.

poæsi) cæterisque Hiberniæ proceribus Temoriam in cœtum coeuntibus, sub annum Domini 500 recitavit, adjiciens non nullos opinari locum illum nomen ab Ernâ quadam in eo mersâ mutuatum fuisse, quæ Meabhæ decantatæ illius Connaciæ reginæ famula, et cum aliis domesticis ejus ministeriis obeundis, tum præsertim dominæ suæ comendæ ac pectendæ addicta fuit. Meabha vero illa filia fuit Eochodi Fedhadchi regis Hiberniæ, qui sub annum 3952 ab orbe condito, regnandi, et vivendi finem fecit. Ut tempus illud antiquissimum, quo initium fluendi Ernum fecisse Giraldus statuit, ad antiquiora, et longè anteriora tempora à locupletioribus eo testibus produci videamus.

Imo antiquitas, quam Erno Giraldus comminiscitur cis annum Christi octingentesimum sistet. Nam tempore hunc annum antegresso, vel paulo circiter,[9] "non de lapide" (ut ait Beda) "sed de robore secto" Ecclesias Hiberni construebant, quæ in mediocrem tandem altitudinem educi, et intergirini etiam parietes ex asseribus fieri solebant. "Oratoria," enim ait Cogitosus, "Ecclesiæ Kildariensis divisa erant parietibus tabulatis."[10] Qui licet "Ecclesiam" illam dicat "multum minaci proceritate porrectam fuisse," exiguas tamen illas orbiculares arctasque turres Dani Hiberniam Giraldo authore anno Dom. 838 primum ingressi, primi erexisse dicuntur; non ut pro campanili, sed pro speculo haberentur, unde prospectus ad longinqua late protenderetur. Postea tamen usus invaluit ut campanis in earum culmine appensis, Campanilium vices gererent: Tametsi non è mediâ Ecclesiæ fabricâ extantes fornicibus innixæ in altum tendant, ut modo sit, sed è cœmiterii solo in idoneam altitudinem extollantur. Vel nominis enim etymon illas indicat illi usui accomodatas fuisse; Cloctheach enim perinde est ac domus campanæ, voce "Cloc" campanam, et "teach" domum significante. Cujusmodi nullam in Hibernia vix modo cernimus, nisi in Ecclesiarum Cathedralium, aut præstantiorum Abbatiarum cœmiteriis. Ut in tractu illo terræ, quem Ernius operit, Cathedralem Ecclesiam,

[9] Lib. 3, c. 25. [10] Vita sanctæ Brigidæ c. 35.

[e] Not by any Irish authority, nor does our author give his own opinion absolutely in favor of the Danish origin of the Towers. See Petrie's Round Towers, pp. 5, 10, 11.

about the year A.D. 500. "Others," he says, "are of opinion that the name of the place was derived from a person named Erna, who was drowned in it. She was handmaid to Meabha, the famous queen of Connacht, and besides her other household duties was specially employed in combing the queen and adorning her head-dress." Now Meabha, being daughter to Eochadh Fiadladch, king of Ireland, who closed his reign A.M. 3952, cir. "that very ancient origin," assigned by Giraldus to Loch Erne, must, on the authority of the most respectable historians, be referred to a period much more remote than that fixed by him.

"The ancient date," assigned by Cambrensis for the flowing of the lake, must be brought so low even as the year of our Lord 800. For down to, or at least near that epoch, the Irish "built their churches (according to Beda) not of stone, but of planed wood," and raised them only to a slight height, dividing them with walls of upright wood. Thus, according to Cogitosus, "the oratories of the church of Kildare were divided by wooden partitions;" and though he says that the church itself was raised to an enormous height, the Danes, who made the first descent on Ireland, according to Giraldus, about the year 838, are said[e] to have first erected those small, slender, cylindrical towers, not for belfries, but watch towers,[f] whence they might command an extensive prospect of the surrounding country. In course of time, the custom was introduced of hanging bells in the top of them, and using them as belfries, not towering, as at present, over the centre of the church, and resting on arches, but raised to a suitable height from the ground plane of the cemetery. It is evident, from the etymology of their name, that they must have been used as belfries, the Irish word, "Cloicteach," signifying literally "bell house," from "Cloc," a bell, and "teach," a house. None of them are ever found in Ireland, except in cemeteries of cathedral churches, or of the more celebrated abbeys,[g] and therefore we must suppose a cathedral, or at least an

[f] The most absurd hypothesis ever invented on a theme most fruitful in absurd speculations. The sites of many towers in deep valleys &c, confute it sufficiently.

[g] A conclusive proof that towers and churches were built by the same hands. It is to be observed that our

vel saltem Abbatialem collocare prius necesse sit, quam ejus formæ turrim in eo fuisse ostendatur: Itaque turres istæ lapsum Giraldi produnt. Nam ut furibus aliquid forte ad indicium, sic mendacibus solet excidere ad agnitionem. Non dubito quin Giraldo id usu venerit, quod de Hectore Boëthio Buccananus narrat dicens: "Eum in Scotiæ descriptione quædam parum vere prodidisse,[11] et alios in errorem induxisse, dum ipse quibus ea inquirendi dedit negotium nimis credulus eorum sententiam temere vulgavit."

Sed ad hanc Giraldi narrationem labefactandam exploratiora proferuntur.[12] Sanctus enim Columba sic Ernio benedictionem impertiit, ut et piscibus lacum fœcundaverit, et effecerit ut Cataracta vel subsiderit, vel se coarctaverit, quo faciliori saltu supra eam salmo ferretur. Atque hinc extra controversiam positum est, Ernium alveo suo, S. Columba superstite decurrisse.[13] Imo Ernium eundem tenuisse cursum, in vita S. Patricii, S. Evinus indicat, qui latus Ernii septentrionale diris devovens, piscibus illud orbavit, ut pœnam de Domino plagæ lacui à Septentrione adjacentis hac ratione sumeret. Nec in patrocinium accerso quòd in Ptolemæi, qui sub annum Domini 153 floruit, tabulis Ernius eadem formâ, et loco, ac à nuperis choiographis statuatur. Et in "Erdinis" pro Ernii accolis à Ptolemæo habitis, vocis Ernii vestigia non obscure visantur. Cæterum è quibus Hibernicorum annalibus Camdenus eruerit culpam delicti, quod tantæ inundationi causam præbuit, in Hæbrides collatam fuisse, me plane latet. Penes ipsum aut potius fabulatorem ista ei nuntiantem fides esto. Somnia fuerunt ista proculdubio ineptientis cerebri, non ex annalibus, sed ex deliratione quadam hausta. E quibus etiam Giraldi verbis Camdenus elicuerit Ernium, lacum illum esse, qui agris tam late se instraverit, penitus ignoro. Cum Cambrensis ipse, licet nomen lacus non proferat, ex eo tamen "Banniæ flumen erumpere" dicens, Lochneachum sat

[11] Lib. 1, p. 13. [12] Odonel. in vita S. Columb., lib. 1, c 82. [13] Part. 2, c. 110.

author appears to deny here, what he had maintained in Chap. xii., that before the invasion of the Danes, and even in the earliest ages of Christianity, some Irish churches were built of stone.

abbey on that old tract, now covered by Loch Erne, before we admit that one of those towers was seen there. Thus even the towers themselves rise in evidence against Giraldus. For the liar, like the thief, is often detected by something that escapes from him. Giraldus, I am convinced, realized what Buchanan says of Hector Boethius, "by too credulously adopting the accounts of those whom he had employed to make inquiries, and rashly publishing their statements in his description of Scotland, he has destroyed, in some points, the veracity of his history, and led others into error."

Clearer evidence still can be produced to refute this narrative of Giraldus. St. Columba blessed Loch Erne, and made it abound with fish, and either lowered or shortened the cataract to facilitate the passage of salmon, that leap over it. The Erne, therefore, must have been flowing down in its channel during the time of St. Columba; and from St. Evin's life it would appear that it held the same course in the time of St. Patrick, who cursed its northern bank, and banished all the fish from that side, to punish the chieftain of the district. I need not cite Ptolemæus's maps, compiled about the year 150, which mark the Erne in the form and place assigned by modern geographers; and in Erdini, the name of the people which he places there we may not obscurely recognise some resemblance to the word Erne itself. Camden on the authority of some Irish annals, which I have not been able to discover, relates that the crime which caused the inundation was committed in the Hebrides; but on him, or the scribe who gave him the information, the credit of the story rests. It was, no doubt, the fiction of some bewildered brain, not a fact recorded by our annalists. I am equally at a loss to know, from what words of Cambrensis, Camden infers that this lake, which overflowed so large a tract, was Loch Erne, since Cambrensis, though he does not give the name, indicates clearly enough that it must have been Loch Neagh,[h] by saying that "the river Bann flows from it," the river which to this hour is the outlet of Loch Neagh. Now that the Bann was flowing, if I may so speak, in

[h] Why, then, it may be asked, has our author supposed through all his argument, that Giraldus did speak of the origin of Loch Neagh? Tighearnach assigns the eruption of Loch Neagh to the year A.D. 65–73. See Irish Nennius, p. 195.

[134] signate indicat, | utpote è quo Banna emanat. Porro Christianismo apud nos vix ex ephebis, ut ita dicam egresso, Bannam amnem extitisse, hæc carmina è vita metrica S. Brigidæ deprompta docent.

> "Hinc iterum rectis properando gressibus ibant
> Fluminis ad ripam cujusdam nomine Bannæ."[14]

Et in Ptolemæi tabulis, lacus et flumen eodem situ collocantur, quem tabulæ quoque recentiores exhibent. Ac proinde ante Hiberniam Christianâ luce perfusam, utrumque é fonte suo prorupisse oportuit. Ita ut tota hæc narrationum strues ad tenebras Hibernorum famæ offundendas excogitata in commentum, imo in fumum abeat.

Nec equidem inficias eo plures populos graviori supplicio delicta luisse. S. Grillani vita insigne documentum perfidiæ pœnâ quam acerbissimâ multatæ suppeditat. Kianus quidam è Firbolgis oriundus, in Muighsachnolia, quæ nunc Maneacha Connaciæ regio est, regem agebat. Hic contra Manium Magnum in illius fines irrumpentem ter mille homines ensibus, scutis, et cassidibus armatos in aciem eduxit. Sed S. Grillani operâ utriusque acerbitatem sopiente, manus non contulerunt. Imo pacem et pacta à S. Grillano indicta utrique amplexi digrediuntur. Kiano viginti septem obsides à Manio referente, ut ad promissa præstanda Manius obstringeretur: et Grillano in se recipiente Kianum à pactis observandis ne latum quidem unguem recessurum. Verum Kianus unius ex obsidibus facinore sic exasperatus est, ut obsides, et Manium, comitesque è medio tollere statuerit. Quare Manio et comitibus ad epulas invitatis insidias struxit, è quibus in inermes, et securos ac epularum tantum voluptatem animo volutantes, insidiatores ex improviso insilirent, eoque impetu omnes jugularent. At S. Grillanus Kiani consilium divinitus resciens, vultu ac manibus in cœlum sublatis, precatione quam accuratissimâ adhibita, à Deo impetravit ut Kiano perfidiæ pœnas dante, periculum ab insontibus averteretur. Nec mora; terra se diduxit, et omnes ad immanem illam stragem accinctos absorpsit, ac postea coiens in uliginem, et palustria concessit, hodieque invia est, incedentium gressibus ita cædens, ut in eâ nec homines, nec

[14] Trias Thaum.

the youthful prime of Irish Christianity, is evident from the following lines in the metrical life of St. Brighid :—

> " Once more with hasty steps beside the Bann
> Their course straight way they take."

The lake and river hold the same position in Ptolemæus's maps, as in those of modern geographers; and consequently both must have been flowing from their fountains before the light of Christianity beamed on Ireland. This whole story, concocted with the evident design of clouding the glory of Ireland, thus disappears, and vanishes like smoke.

Other, and numerous examples, of punishments still more severe, I do not intend to deny. The life of St. Grillan gives us a signal instance of the most awful chastisement of treachery. There was a certain king, named Kian, of Firbolg race, in Magh Seachnol,[i] which is now Maineach, in Connacht. Maine Mor, having invaded that territory, the king rose up against him at the head of three thousand men, armed with swords, shields, and helmets; but St. Grillan stood between the armies, and, calming down their fury, prevented an engagement. Maine,[k] as security for the fulfilment of his promises, gave twenty-seven hostages to Kian, while Grillan took upon himself to be security for Kian's fidelity. But Kian, incensed by some crime committed by one of the hostages, plotted the ruin of them and of Maine and of all his followers. Inviting them to a solemn banquet, he organized a treacherous plan for suddenly introducing a band of armed men, and assassinating at one blow all his unarmed guests, while they were indulging, without thought of danger, their festive cheer. But St. Grillan, being warned by heaven of the black design, raised up his eyes and hands to God, and by most fervent prayer obtained that Kian should suffer the punishment of his crimes, and his innocent victims be secured from

[i] That is "territory of the old tribe," Firbolgs (so called) who possessed Maineach or Ui Maine before the Milesians.

[k] Ancestor of the O'Keallaighs of Connacht. For a full account of his life, property and descendants, see Tribes and Customs of Ui Maine—passim.

pecudes vestigia figere possint. S. vero Grillanus patronus est Meanachiæ, et singulari veneratione colitur, in Ecclesia parochiali de Kilcuaniæ in Diœcesi Clonfortensi 17 Septembris. Peculiari cultu eum O'Kelliorum familia Manii illius propago prosequebatur, et ejus Pedi simulachrum in labaro depictum gestabant. Nostrâ memoriâ pedum S. Grillani summo in honore habitum est: sed hæc forsan extra curriculum: ad institutum me recipio.

Apologum istum de semiboveque viro, semiviroque bove â Cambrensi sublestâ fide narrari parum abest quin mihi persuadeam:[15] ejus enim veritas, etiam Giraldo spirante in dubium revocata fuit. Nam illius iniquitatem in os sibi exprobratam fuisse conqueritur, nec tamen ulla purgatione falsi maculam eluit, sed ad diverticula confugit. Putabam eum in hæc, aut similia verba prorupturum: licet narrationis illius promulgandæ me authorem non invitus fatear, cudendæ tamen artificem fuisse me pernego. Dixi enim "parum ante adventum Anglorum, ex coitu viri cum vacca, in montanis de Glindelochan, vitulum virilem bos edidit, qui à juncturis quibus et manus a brachiis, et pedes a tibiis porriguntur, ungulas bovis expressas præ se ferebat:[16] pro naso, præter duo foramina narium, nullam eminentiam habens. Verba ei nulla, mugitum tantum pro sermone reddebat. Et ferè per annum inter alios vitulos matrem lactando sequeretur: tandem quia plus hominis habebat, quam pecoris, ad humanos convictus transferebatur. Præterea fuit animal erectum, et bipes." Ejus itaque imaginem verbis ad vivum expressi, ne cui in suspicionem falsi venirem. Benè est, abunde est, Giraldus munus suum (si diis placet) ad amussim explicuit. Sed cur eadem defensione non usus, cum talis ei culpa improperaretur? Cur potius

[15] l. Præfat. expugna. [16] Topogr. d. 1, c. 25.

[l] See this story nearly in the same terms in Tribes and Customs of Ui Maine, p. 12.

[m] A townland of that name was granted by O'Keallaigh to the Monastery of Cluainmicnois, ibid. p. 98.

[n] See a full account of his tributes from the race of Maine, in the Tribes and Customs of Ui Maine, p.13, 14, 81. That little tract contains more valuable information on ancient Irish ecclesiastical customs than any other work pnblished by our learned societies.

[o] "St. Grellan presides over their battles. i,e. the crozier of St. Grellan or some such is in the standard of the

danger. Instantly the earth opened beneath the feet of the soldiers who were lying in ambuscade, and swallowed them up; after which the spot became a marsh or bog, and is to this day impassable, affording secure footing to neither man nor beast.[l] S. Grillan is the patron of Ui Maine, and is honored with special devotion in the parish church of Killuain,[m] in the diocese of Clonfert, on the 17th of September. He has been at all times especially honored by the family of O'Keallaigh,[n] descendants of Maine, who bore on their standard, an image of his pastoral staff.[o] Within my own time the pastoral staff itself was held in special veneration.[p] But I wander from my subject. Return we to Giraldus.

The story he tells of the creature that was half man half ox, half ox half man, I am strongly inclined to believe, is a fiction; for it was called into question even during his life time. Thus he complains that he was charged to his face with the shameful calumny; but instead of refuting the imputation, he had recourse to evasions. I expected that he would use the following or a similar apology: "Although I honestly confess that I have extensively circulated the story, I firmly deny that I invented it. I stated that a short time before the arrival of the English, a cow brought forth a monster, half calf, half man, in the mountains of Glendalough. It had cows hoofs, where the hands and feet should grow from the legs and arms. It had no nose, no projecting bone, nothing but the two nostrils. It had not the faculty of speech; nothing but a bellow. For nearly a whole year it was allowed to follow its dam, like the other calves of the herd, but at last it was brought into human society, because it was more like a man than a beast. Besides, it walked erect and on two legs." I have described the thing most accurately lest any person might suspect my veracity. Good! conclusive, Giraldus had for once (bless the mark) done to perfection what

king of Hy Many," ibid. p. 81. Relics of this kind frequently used as standards by the Irish princes were called cathach, i.e. præliator, ibid. note.

[p] "In the year 1836 it was in possession of a poor man named John Cronelly, senior representative of the Comharbas (successors) of the saint, ibid. editor's note.

effugia quam alienissima consectatus est? sitam accuratam feræ de-
[135] scriptionem ab illo | exhibitam pressius adhuc, et pluribus locupletioribusque testibus adductis, exaggeraret, obtrectantium fauces in primo congressu, extra dubium obturasset, et locum nobis suspicandi non reliquisset falsa illum deprehendisse quæ delatores narrarunt, ac propterea pudore adductum à mendaciis ad æmulorum accusationes retundendas admovendis abstinuisse, palinodiam autem ideo non cecinisse, ne temeritatis ignominiam in eadem re primum asserendâ, et mox inficiendâ contraheret.

Nec hujus facti veritatem per se, vel è suorum Anglorum aliquo cognoscere potuit, ut quod ante Anglos Hiberniam ingressos, ipso fatente gestum erat. Dixit enim paulo supra rem hanc "parum ante adventum Anglorum" contigisse. Unde via mihi ad augurandum aperitur hanc et superiorem de bellua duos aureos dentes habente narrationem ex eodem filo pendere. Et ut illam belluam "non multo vel biennio ante adventum Anglorum," sic etiam feram hanc "parum ante adventum Anglorum" apparuisse scribit:[17] diversas res verbis paulo mutatis, sed eodem sensu pronuntians. Cum autem belluam illam chrusodentam historici nostri anno Domini 743, ut antehac dixi, Giraldus "non multo ante adventum Anglorum," anno Domini 1172 Hiberniam aggressorum extitisse referat: istud "non multo ante" vel "parum ante" Giraldi, centenos aliquot annos denotare citra injuriam interpretabimur. Itaque vivos monstri sui testes laudare non potuit. Ut miram fuisse hominis sedulitatem oportuerit, qui rei tantum auditæ speciem, minutias ejus quasque verbis prosecutus spectatoribus videndam quasi eam ipse oculis attente obiisset exhibuit. Mirificê nimirum delectatus erat, suam qualem qualem eloquentiam in ignominia Hibernis conflandâ collocare. In qua re quam studium ejus intentum et immane, tam fuit opera inanis. Nam scriptores nostri belluam illam aureis dentibus ornatam celebri commemoratione, semibovemque [virum] semivirumque Giraldi bovem alto silentio prosecuti sunt. Ut in belluæ tantum tempore simplex Giraldi lapsus, in fera humana duplex error

[17] Topogr. d. 2, c. 10.

he was bound to do. But why did he not make some defence of this kind, when his veracity was called into question? why had he recourse to the most inconsistent subterfuges? if to this delineation of the monster, he had added the still more vivid corroboration of many witnesses who had seen it, he would have at once imposed silence on his accusers, and would have left no room for us to suspect that he found he had been imposed upon by his informants, and was, therefore, ashamed to urge more lies to rebut the accusation of his opponents: a retractation he would not make; it would degrade him as a man who was capable of asserting and denying the same thing in the same breath.

The truth of this fact could not be ascertained personally by himself or by any of the English, because, according to his own account, it occurred before the English came to Ireland. His words are as quoted above, "the fact occurred shortly before the arrival of the English," whence I would hazard a conjecture, that this story is of the same web as his history of the sea monster with the two golden teeth; that is, that when he says "the monster appeared not long or about two years before the coming of the English;" and again, that the other monster "was seen shortly before the same period," he merely uses different forms of words to express the same thing. Now, as the monster with the golden teeth appeared, according to our annalists, not a few years before the arrival of the English in 1172, but in the year 743, as we have already seen, it is not unfair to conclude, that the "not much before," or "a short time before" of Giraldus may include some hundreds of years. He could not, then, have any living witnesses of the fact. What amazing industry the man exhibits in thus giving a most detailed description of a thing known only by report, painting it for his readers, as if he had himself most carefully examined it. But such was his most delicious amusement, to employ all his eloquence, such as it was, to heap ignominy on Ireland. But his failure in execution was as signal as the design was fell and ruthless. For, while our annalists expressly record the famous animal with the two golden teeth, they observe a profound silence on the half man, half ox, or half ox, half man of Giraldus. In the former, he fell merely into an error of date; in the latter he committed a double mistake, in the date and

fuerit, quod alienum illi tempus assignaverit, et quòd eam omnino extitisse scripserit.

Præterea solent criminum rei judicibus pro tribunali sciscitantibus aliena ferre responsa, ne suis responsionibus legum laqueis irretiti, capitis sibi periculum creent. Pari prorsus ratione Giraldus rectam respondendi viam declinans ambages adhibet. Illum enim quæstioni subjicientes, an in rerum natura memoratus ille alter Minotaurus unquam extiterit? responsum flexionibus eludit, et de facto percunctantes ad Dei potentiam avocat, in Dei potestate situm esse dicens, ut ejusdem biforme animal in terris progigneretur. Quam rem persuadere operiosius nititur, longos logos de re supervacaneâ instituens; perinde ac si divinam potentiam exhaustam esse velit, à quo nihil posse fieri, quod jam non factum sit contendere videtur. Potuit Cambrensis quidpiam furto tollere, potuit quempiam sica obtruncare, potuit alienæ conjugi stuprum inferre, continuove latronem illum, homicidam, et adulterum appellabo? me sic ratiocinantem merito diceret mente captum, et sannis si non conviciis, et flagris etiam ad satietatem merito exciperet.

Ut autem de homine isto ferino ita se res habeat, quemadmodum à Giraldo memoratur, quid tum postea? ista falsanè sint an vera susque deque fero. Id autem indigne fero quempiam sui compotem hinc adduci ut credat "gentem Hibernicam hoc vitio præcipuè laborare."[18] Quia subulcus aliquis vel bubulcus, aut opilio in præruptorum montium recessu teterrimæ suæ libidini habenas flagitiose laxaverit, an dedecoris è flagitio contracti contagio ad omnes Hibernos emanabit? quis integræ mentis homo uni cuipiam scelerum se volutabro immergenti populares ignominiæ societate conjunget? nemo in dialecticæ rudimentis tyrocinium unquam posuit, quem fugit ab individuo ad speciem non rectè consequentiam duci. Debuit meminisse Giraldus quod una hirundo
[136] non faciat ver, nec unus homo | civitatem. Quod si quis judicem uno tantum teste instructus adeat, causâ proculdubio cadet; in judiciis enim, eadem unius ac nullius testis ratio ducitur: Nam "in ore duorum aut trium testium stat omne verbum."[19] Asserentis veritas non roboratur, nisi plura adhibeantur firmamenta. Quis nisi è dolis conflatus illo

[18] Topogr. d. 2, c. 21 [19] Math. 18.

the existence itself of the human brute. Criminals, when brought before the judgment seat, generally avoid direct answers to the questions put to them, lest their own words might involve them in the trammels of the law, and expose their heads to the block. Such precisely is the course adopted by Giraldus. He does not answer directly. He evades. For when directly interrogated whether this second minotaur really ever existed on this earth; he turns the question, and answers a question of fact by an appeal to the omnipotence of God. "God," says he, "is able to produce such a bi-formed monster," a point which he proves at great length: but to what purpose? does he mean to say that the omnipotence of God is exhausted, if it has not produced all that it could produce? Cambrensis could steal; he could plunge his steel into a man's heart; he could ravish the wife of another; but can I, therefore, say, he was a thief, an assassin, an adulterer? If I reasoned in this fashion, I would justly pass for a madman; and would be ridiculed, if not punished and flogged to my heart's content.

But whether Giraldus be right or wrong in his account of this monster, what then? be it true or false, it is a matter of indifference to me. But I cannot repress my indignation, that any man in his senses should thence infer, "that the Irish people were remarkably prone to that crime." If a cow-boy in the mountains, or a swine herd, or shepherd indulges his abominable lusts, are the whole people of Ireland to be involved in his infamy? Can any man of sound sense charge upon a whole community the disgraceful crimes of one of its members? the merest tyro in dialectics knows that it is illogical to reason from the individual to the species; a general conclusion, regarding a species, cannot be drawn from particular premises regarding an individual only. Giraldus ought to have remembered that one swallow does not make summer, nor one man a city. If the pleader can present only one witness to the judge, he loses his cause; one witness, in judicial decisions, is regarded as none; "for in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand." The truth of an allegation is not established without more than one corroboration. Who but a treacherous knave would use that argument of the wily Sinon? from a single crime "learn what they all are." Not content with asserting that the Irish were very much given to this nameless abomination, he adds, "that they were remarkably so,"

fraudulenti Sinonis argumento utetur? crimine ab uno disce omnes. Non satis habuit Giraldus asserere Hibernos non nominandæ turpitudini addictissimos esse, nisi etiam adjiceret eos illa Venere "præcipue" capi perinde ac si diceret illud flagitium inter scelera Hibernis familiaria familiam ducere; aut ab omnibus illud ita frequentari, ut ubique sit late diffusum, aut denique Hibernos præ cæteris gentibus ea peste infectos esse. Ut jam in Hibernorum causâ non exploratæ fidei testem, sed acerrimum accusatorem se præbeat, qui elephantum ex musca faciens, unius delictum ita verbis amplificat, ut ejus infamiam ad omnes extendat. Non igitur candidi narratoris, sed acerbissimi adversarii partes obit, qui Hibernos non leviter eo vitio tinctos fuisse, sed illud medullitus imbibisse contendat, nullà tam temerariæ accusationis probatione in medium prolatâ, præter unius homuncionis turpissimum factum. Ut operam ludat Giraldus, qui omnium Hibernorum famam unicâ obtusiore sagittâ confodere, ac conficere nitatur.

Nulla gens est è qua non nemo simili se scelere contaminavit. Cui tamen in mentem unquam venit de infamia facti gentem universam arguere? Plurima ejus rei documenta Delrio exhibet dicens: "Monstra in Saxoniæ silvis, semihumana facie capta sunt an. 1240,[20] forte ex nefario hominum ac ferarum coitu nata. Sic peperit olim bello Masico Alcippe elephantum: Sic anno 1378 apud Helvetios alia leonem: Sic anno postea 1471 quædam Papiæ Cattum, Brixiæ canem alia. Denique varia hujusmodi leguntur apud Cardanum de varietate, et Lemnium lib 10." Et paulo post: "Saxo Grammaticus, cum duobus Magnis Upsalensibus Episcopis narrant Gothicos reges ex urso, et virgine nobili originem ducere. Et Joannes de Barros Pægusianos, et Siamitas Indiæ gentes à cane, qui cum muliere corpus miscuerat. Petrus Chieza tradit illos Andinos solitos ingentibus simiis se commiscere, et natos inde fœtus caput humanum et pudenda habere; cætera simiis similes, esse, et mulierem Indam in provincia Anlaga ex cane tria monstra peperisse."[21] Hujusmodi exemplorum copiâ historiæ prodigiosæ abundant. E quibus hæc paucis accipe. Anno Domini 854, fœmina quædam gemellos enixa est, puerulum scilicet et canem ad dorsi spinam inter se connexos. Anno Dom. 1110. Leodii sus porcellum edidit,

[20] Disqui Magica, lib. 2, qu. 1, 4. [21] Liber gallicus impressus Antwerpia 1574, lib. 2, c. 4.

thereby intimating that it was an ordinary crime amongst them, or so common, that it should be strictly termed a national crime, or in fine, that the Irish were more addicted to it than any other nation. Thus, wherever the Irish are concerned, he is not an honest witness, but a virulent calumniator, who magnifies a fly into an elephant, and so exaggerates the crime of an individual as to involve a whole nation in his infamy. No, he is not a candid historian, but a most malignant calumniator, who, without any proof of his rash accusation, save the isolated case of one abandoned wretch, defames the whole Irish nation as being not merely slightly infected, but deeply plunged in the abomination. Vain attempt! Giraldus, with one blunt arrow to wound and murder the fair fame of Ireland. In every nation some persons have been guilty of this crime; yet no person ever dreamed of throwing the infamy of the deed on the whole people. Delrio gives us many examples of the fact. "In 1240," he says, "monsters with a half human face were caught in the forests of Saxony, the issue, perhaps, of an unnatural intercourse with animals. Thus, in ancient times, during the Marsian war, Alcippe was delivered of an elephant. In 1378 a Swiss woman was delivered of a lion; in 1471 a woman of Pavia of a cat, and another at Brescia, of a dog. Many similar things are recorded by Cardanus 'de Varietate,' and by Lemnius, Lib. 10." Again, he adds, "Saxo Grammaticus and the two Magnuses, bishops of Upsal, relate, that the kings of Gothland sprung from a noble woman and a bear. According to John de Barros the Peguans and Siamese of India were the issue of a woman and a dog. Petrus Chieza relates that there was unnatural intercourse between the Andini and a large species of ape, and that the issue, except human heads and pudenda, were like apes. An Indian woman, of the province of Anlaga, brought forth three monsters from intercourse with a dog." History is full of prodigious monsters of this kind. Take the few following instances: In the year 854 a woman was delivered of twins, a boy and a dog connected together by the spine. In 1110, a sow brought forth at Liege a monster with a human head and face, the other parts of the body being like its dam. In 1290 a woman, in the town of Constance, was delivered of a lion with a human head. In 1433 there was born of a woman a monster, of human form down to the waist, the lower parts perfectly resembling

caput, et faciem humanam, reliquos corporis artus ad porcelli formam gerente. Anno Dom 1290 fœmina Constantiæ leonem partu fudit capite humano. Anno Domini 1493 mulier biformem edidit prolem, superiore parte umbilico tenus hominem, inferiore canem ita referentem, ut villos, caudam, et caninos pedes habuerit. An. Dom. 1254, propè Veronam pullus à jumento editus est, facie ad hominis, reliquis artubus ad equi similitudinem efformatis.[22] Sub annum Dom. 914 quidam fuit humano corpore, sed canino capite. Quid multis moror? similium narrationum seriem quam longissimam texere possem. Nullus tamen unquam, ab nefariorum hominum spurcitiis, ullam dedecoris maculam eorum nationi affixit. Ut ille jure meritissimo exsibilandus sit, qui ob unius Hiberni delictum, omnes Hibernos non quacunque, sed immodicâ propensione ad turpissimam cum belluis consuetudinem ferri asseveraverit.

Verum ille alio etiam documento, licet non omnino simili, effatum suum firmare aggreditur mulierem dicens,[23] fædos capræ amplexus ultro passam fuisse. In qua re narranda, tamquam in campo aliquo amæno spatiari facit orationem suam. Et ut voluptate se velut suem in volutabro talia narrantem perfundi non obscure indicaret, versus invita Minerva, sed exangues et exossos cudit. Imitatorem hac in re scarabeorum se præbens, quibus summa felicitas est in cœno volutari. Sed ego fidem ejus dictis præstandam nego, si productis tabulis ea non
[137] fulciat: tanta enim | consuetudo mihi cum ejus fallaciis contracta est, ut sicut tantum dumtaxat quis habet fidei, quantum pecuniæ in arca repositæ; sic ille nihil fidei, nisi pro testimonii quod profert præstantia per me relaturus sit. Dominum illius capræ Rothericum regem Connatiæ facit, qui cum etiam Hiberniæ rex esset, ac proinde hostium Giraldi coryphæus; par est credere falsas de illo delationes vulgo sparsas ad hostium aures pervenisse: et sicut auditis aliquid semper novus adjicit author; sic famam hanc, quo per plurium ora vagabatur, eo majori incremento auctam, à Giraldo exceptam, et scriptis mandatam fuisse, qui ad caprarum etiam amores nimis demisse descendit, ut ex iis quidpiam expiscari valeret, quod ad affundendam Hibernorum

[22] Lib. 5, c. 4. [23] Topogr. d. 2, c. 22.

a dog in hair, tail, feet and shape. In 1254, near Verona, a mare brought forth a foal with a human head, and in 914 there lived a thing with a human body and a dog's head. It is useless to cite more examples. There is abundance of them at hand. Yet no nation has ever been charged with those infamous crimes of some of its sons.[q] What contemptuous ridicule can meet the demerits of a man who urges the crime of one Irishman as proof that all the Irish were not simply prone but immoderately prone to all those unnatural enormities?

To establish his position he produces another instance, though not of entirely the same kind, namely, that a woman had voluntarily a similar crime with a goat. The narrative of this affair opens a delightful field for all the copiousness of his rhetoric. We must suspect that it was by no means an unpleasing task, since, like the sow in the mud, he dwelt so long on his subject, as to compose some verses on it—but without poetic inspiration, bloodless, boneless. In this he imitates the chaffers to which the mire is as a luxurious bed of down. But credit or honor he shall not have from me if he does not produce his authorities; for I have now become so familiarized with his mendacity, that henceforward, like the man whose credit is measured by the quantity of money lying in his desk, his authority shall weigh with me according to the value of his witnesses. Ruaidhri O'Conchabhair, king of Connacht, he assures us, was the owner of this goat, but, as king of Ireland, the great leader of the enemies of Giraldus would naturally be made the victim of calumnious reports among his enemies. A report is generally embellished by additions as it passes from mouth to mouth, each contributing some little circumstance, and thus this story of the goat came in its magnified shape to the ears of Giraldus, who committed it to writing, and descended to many disgusting details on the lasciviousness of goats, to discover, if possible, some materials for aspersing the character of the Irish. Beyond a doubt, if there had been any issue from the abominable inter-

[q] It may be reasonably doubted whether in relating this fable of the semihuman monster Giraldus was indulging his hatred of Ireland, for he tells of such things as existing in Wales and other countries, see his Itinerarium. Anglia Sacra, 20, 40, 825, 826, 860, 874.

famæ maculam faceret. Quod si ex hoc brutali congressu fœtus aliquis prodiret, mox in propatulo facinus collocaretur, ad Hibernos pudore, et probro afficiendos.

Et si autem ejus rei veritas esset quam exploratissima, ex ea tamen nec vel minimam labeculam Hiberni contraherent. Imo Giraldus aliquorum objurgatione vivens vapulavit, ob hanc, et sequentem narrationem suæ Topographiæ insertam.[24] E mulieris cujusdam mento (Cambrensi narrante) barba, è pectore umbilico tenus coma, et è dorsi spina lanugo extabat, non absimilis jubæ pulli equini primum ætatis annum agentis.

Cur autem Cambrensis mulierem barbatam pro monstro habuerit me prorsus fugit. Cum hac saltem tempestate, mulieres, frequentissime visantur barbam gestantes, quam vel volsellis vellunt, vel forcipe tondunt, vel novaculâ radunt, ut crescentis barbæ luxuriem coercerent. Quis scit an matris animo cum prolem è viro susciperet, forma pulli equini obversaretur ? usu enim venit fœminis, ut ejus rei quam cum viris coeuntes cogitatione volvunt, similitudinem aliquam soboles referat. Joannes Damascenus author gravis memorat, Carolo quarto Imperatore puellam exhibitam fuisse, totam pilis instar ursæ opertam, sic natam quod mater in viri amplexu versata obtutum in hirsutam S. Joannis Baptistæ imaginem lecto affixam intentius defixerit. Fœminam nobilissimam puerulum nigrum Æthiopi simillimum è candido viro susceptum ab adulterii suspicione Hipocrates liberavit, quod proles picti Æthiopis ad thalamum appensi similitudinem retulerit.[25] Ita ut Giraldi conatus hanc è brutali coitu progeneratam fuisse tacite insinuantis prorsus inanis fuerit.

Sed tempus est ut orationem his spurcitiis et quisquiliis expeditam referam ad discutiendum, verenè an secus Hibernos agriculturæ operam navasse Giraldus neget his verbis: "Gens hæc agriculturæ labores aspernatur."[26] Credibile non est homines hospitalitati mortalium

[24] Topogr. d. 2, c. 20. [25] Hier. super Geo. [26] Topogr. d. 3, c. 10.

[r] Our author in these arguments adopts the general opinions of his day, that those monsters were so common, and were the fruits of unnatural crime.

course, Giraldus would have emblazoned the fact to overwhelm the Irish with infamy.

. But were the fact indubitable, the Irish character was still unsullied by the slightest taint. Even during his own life time, Giraldus was severely censured for this and the following narrative: "there was a woman," he says, "who had beard on her chin and thin hair on her breast, and a sort of down along the spine of her back, not unlike the mane of a yearling colt."[r]

But on what grounds Giraldus regards a strange woman of that kind as a monster I am at a loss to discover. Women, even at the present day, are very often seen with beards, which they either pluck up with a tweezers, or clip with a scissors, or shave with a razor, to prevent it from growing. Who can say that when the woman conceived, the image of a foal was not present to her imagination? for it usually happens, that the child bears some resemblance to the object of the woman's thoughts, at the time of conception. John Damascen, a grave author, relates, that a young girl, covered all over with hair, like a bear, was presented to the emperor Charles the Fourth. She was so from her birth, because at the time of her conception her mother was looking intently at a grissly image of St. John the Baptist, which was in the chamber. A certain noble lady being delivered of a black child, like an Ethiopian, though her husband was white, was absolved by Hippocrates from the slightest suspicion of adultery, on the grounds that the child resembled the portrait of an Ethiopian which was suspended in the nuptial chamber. The insinuation of Giraldus, therefore, that this woman was the issue of unnatural intercourse, is utterly groundless.

But it is a relief to turn from this loathsome and disgusting subject to the discussion of another subject of Giraldus, that the Irish neglected agriculture. "This people," he says, "despises agricultural labor." Who can believe that a people, the most hospitable that ever lived, had so wretched a supply of corn, that they had nothing to present to their guests but victuals without bread; the family table itself without bread, is most insipid; the hospitable board is stingy and disgraceful.

[r] See in Boate's Natural History, p. 179, an account of Anne Jackson, "the horny girl," born in the city of Waterford of English parents.

addictissimos tanta frumenti laborasse inopiâ, ut obsonia tantum convivis, nullo pane adhibito apposuerint, cum domestica etiam prandia pane vacua sint quam insulsissima, et advenis apposita penitus sordeant. Sane sicut advenarum famem pane, sic sitim zyto extinguebant. Esculentis itaque poculentisque è farre conflatis, magnam illis frumenti vim alicunde subministratam fuisse oportuit. Fuisse autem Hiberniam summa fertilitate insignitam optimi authores non scripsissent,[27] nec Surius "Insulam omnium terrarum gleba fœcundiorem." Nec Bartholomæus "Anglicus frumentariis copiis uberrimam;" nec Joannes Major "Britanuia non minus fertilem;" nec Joannes Boæmus Aubanus "terram insigni fertilitate præditam;"[28] nec Joannes Davisius "terram frumenti, et hordei" ex Deuteronomio appellaret, nisi experimento deprehendissent omni frugum abundantiâ Hiberniam circumfluxisse, et uberrimum segetum proventum quotannis effudisse. Cum utriusque sexus in Hibernia decimus quisque Deo sacratius colendo addiceretur. Cum "nullus pene terræ angulus fuerit, qui perfectis Monachis, et Monialibus non repleretur," et decima terrarum pars illis alendis assignaretur.[29] Quomodo victum ex attributá sibi terræ portione tum eliciebant, si non in eâ colendâ desudabant? Nec arandi cognitio eos latuit, quibus arationis instrumenta suppetierunt. Nec iis instrumentis
[138] profani | homines, et familiæ, ac prolis alendæ solicitudine impliciti

[27] 1 Julii S. Runnad de prop. lib. 13. [28] Historia Scot. lib. 1, c. 9, de moribus gentium, lib. 3, c. 26. Pag. 285. [29] Jocel. c. 174.

[8] Many notices of the erection of mills are found in very ancient Irish documents. According to Camden, the Irish of the 15th century, "feed willingly upon herbs, and watercresses especially, upon mushrooms, shamroots and roots, so that Strabo, not without good cause, said they were 'eaters of herbs,' ποηφάγοι, for which in some copies is falsely read πολυφάγοι 'great eaters.' They delight also in butter tempered with oatemeale, in milk, whey, beef broth, and flesh oftentimes without any bread at all. As for the corn they have, they lay it up for their horses provender, for which verily, they are especially careful." The ancient Scots of Albany, Lesley states, were very abstemious, "non prima statim luce, neque meridie, sed sub vesperam mensam sibi tantum apponi volebant, eamque valde parcam." De Moribus Scotorum, p. 56. "Pane alii ex frumento, ex leguminibus alii, ex avena non pauci uberius utebantur," ibid. Stephen White also

No; the stranger had bread to allay his hunger, and beer to quench his thirst, and so lavish a profusion of solid and liquid farinaceous food could not be supplied without a great quantity of corn.[s] The best authorities attest the great fertility of Ireland. Surius says, "it was the most fertile land on the face of the earth." Bartholemy, an Englishman, "that it had the richest crops of corn." Johannes Major, "that it was as fertile as Britain." John Boæmus Auban, "that it was a land of most remarkable fertility," and John Davis applies to it the words of Deuteronomy, "a land of wheat and barley," which qualifications Ireland never could have received, if experience had not proved that it was rich in all the fruits of the earth, and lavishly poured forth its annual harvests. Again, as every tenth[t] child of either sex was specially consecrated to the service of God in Ireland, and as almost every corner of the land was filled with holy monks and nuns, for whose support a tenth of the land was allotted, how could they live on the fruits of their assigned portion, if they did not labor in tilling it? how could they be ignorant of ploughing, when we find them supplied with ploughs? nor can it for a moment be supposed, that laymen who had to provide for a family, and were solicitous about the cares of this life, would neglect agricultural operations practised by others who had renounced all private property. Now, it is a well known fact, that men of the most eminent sanctity worked with their own hands in tilling the earth; thus St. Etchen having lent his ploughshare, the oxen continued to draw the plough, and though there was no ploughshare, the earth

gives an extraordinary account of Irish temperance, "crebro experti sunt multi exterarum nationum quod plerique nostrates viri et fœminæ, cum ipsis libet, ut sæpissime contigit, sive pietatis causa sive alia, triduum integrum integris viribus, nihil prorsus cibi potusque gustient, ac nihilominus consulta omnia peragant, sive iter agendo, sive militando, sive aliter laborando. In quadragesima videas passim plurimos utriusque sexus robore corporis parum aut nihil fracto, extra diem dominicam bis tantum cætera hebdomada gustare modicum panis et aquæ aut seri lactis." Apud Crombach Vita SS. Ursulæ et Sociarum, Tom. 2, lib. 6, cap. xi., p. 299. Perhaps these statements circulated on the Continent may have suggested the wretched commissariat designed for the Irish soldiers in their wars for James II., Destruction of Cyprus.

t Tithes, in the strict sense of the

caruisse censendi sunt, quæ illi usurparunt, qui rei ſamiliaris solicitudini nuntium remiserunt.[30] Viros autem sanctimonia claros vel hinc perspicuum est terræ colendæ incubuisse; quod S. Etchænus aliquo vomerem ejus mutuato, bobus tamen progredientibus, et aratrum vomere vacuum pertrahentibus sulcos duxerit, et eodem unum è bobus aratro subductum, hospitibus alendis elargito, cervus è nemore accurrens jugo collum ultro inseruerit, ei se officio tanquam quodvis cicur animal accommodans.[31] S. Aidus quoque in egenum stipem ab eo poscentem bovem jugo extractum contulit, tres tamen reliqui arandi opus præstiterunt, licet impari onere, uno tantum laborem divinitus perferente, quantum alii duo ferebant. Alia vice vomerem inopi stipis loco erogavit, nihilominus solum aratro proscindebatur. Præterea imbribus large decidentibus, S. Aidi messores operi sedulo incumbentes, non secus ac si sub sudo versarentur pluvia non humectavit.

Nec scio quo pacto in regione agriculturam vel ignorante, vel negligente, victus aut vestitus tot Monachorum catervis suppeditaretur, qui diversa cœnobia incolentes per Hiberniam seculo septimo diffundebantur. Centum et quinquaginta Monachi S. Nathali; totidem S. Maidoco, S. Moncheno et S. Monennæ totidem virgines parebant: trecentis monachis S. Fehinus; octingentis septuaginta sex Carthagus, mille S. Gobanus, mille quingentis S. Lasreanus imperabat. Tria monachorum millia in disciplinam se S. Brendani tradiderunt, totidem S. Finiano audientes erant; idem plane numerus ad S. Congellum erudiendus confluebat, et par etiam multitudo S. Giraldi se societati

[30] Colgan. 4, Febr. [31] 3, Febr.

term, were not paid in Ireland before the English invasion; but the church possessed extensive grants of land and rents from the earliest ages. We read frequently of the first fruits of animals, &c. &c., thus the firstling lamb, pig, and foal in Ui Maine, belonged to St. Grellan's church. Tribes and Customs of Ui Maine, p. 13. Among his tributes, ibid. are reckoned "the first born of every family, that are all baptised by me," ibid.

[u] There were probably several saints of this name early in the 6th century; one of them was son of Ængus king of Caiseal, and his festival was kept on the 31st of July, at Kilmanagh in Kilkenny, from whom the name of Killennaul in that district.

[v] Bishop and patron of the diocese

parted into furrows behind them: on another occasion, having unyoked one of his oxen from the same plough, and given it for the support of some strangers, a stag rushed from the forest, and thrusting his neck into the yoke, toiled as calmly at his work as any domestic animal. St. Aid, also, having given one of his team of oxen to a poor man who begged relief, the other three still continued to plough, but with unequal labor, one of them, miraculously, exerting a power equal to the other two. Another time, having given his ploughshare in alms, the earth still turned into furrows beneath his plough, and during heavy rain that fell in harvest, his reapers were as dry as if there had not been a cloud in the heavens.

If agriculture were unknown or neglected in Ireland, how could the numerous and thickly peopled monasteries of Ireland in the 7th century be provided with food or clothing? Under Natalis[u] there were 150 monks; under St. Maidoc,[v] as many; 600 under St. Tehin,[w] 876 under St. Carthage,[x] 1000 under St. Goban,[y] and 1500 under St. Laisrean,[z] while 150 nuns obeyed the rule of St. Monchen[a] and St Monenna.[b] St. Brendan[c] had 3000 monks under his rule; St. Fenman[d] 3000 scholars; St. Congall[e] the same number; and in St Gerald's[f] community there were 3000 also, not to mention the almost countless number of monasteries of lesser note, but those alone that were famed for the multitude of their inmates.[g] But why dwell any

of Ferns: founded many monasteries; died 633. See Lanigan ii., p. 333.

[w] Abbot of Fore, Westmeath, A.D. 664.

[x] Of Lismore; died A.D. 637. Carthage the elder of Saiger, lived before him.

[y] Many saints of the name in the 7th century; this was probably the abbot of the old Leighlin, A.D. 630, cir.

[z] Of old Leighlin, died April 18, A.D. 639.

[a] For several saints of that name, see Lanigan.

[b] Of Fochard in Louth, A.D. 630, cir. or rather A.D. 517, see O'Donovan's Four Masters, p. 169.

[c] Two very eminent saints of that name, Brendan of Clonfert, died A.D. 577; Brendan of Birr, A.D. 571.

[d] Of Clonard, in Meath, died A.D. 552.

[e] Of Bangor; died A.D. 601.

[f] Of Mayo of the Saxons; supra. cap.

[g] It may be questioned whether the early orders of Irish monks had as great an influence in promoting agriculture as the Cistercians and others of later date.

aggregaverat, ut infinitorum penè minoris notæ cœnobiorum numerum non enumerem quæ maximâ monachorum frequentiâ celebrabantur. Sed quid in his ambagibus morari patiar orationem? majores nostros cum terra rationem naviter habuisse id documento est, quod in senticetis, et vix perviis præruptorum montium jugis, et clivis, sulcos etiamnum hodie videamus, vestigia scilicet laboris olim in agricolatione ab indigenis obiti, qui campestribus arvis vel ad satietatem subactis, vel tantisper quiescere permissis, ad asperiora illa segeti ferendæ accommodanda operas contulerunt. Sive quòd tam immensa fuerit hominum in Hibernia multitudo, ut per omnem terram ubique se diffuderit, habitationis angustiis plures ad remotiores illos recessus compellentibus, et ad eos aratro findendos industriam illorum exacuentibus,[32] adeo ut arationis negotio omnis Hiberniæ angulus ferbuerit. Ut jure merito priscos Hibernos, apud Boatum sui posteri præstantissimos agricolatores appellaverint, qui nullam agri partem cultura vaccare permiserant. Cui rei luculentum Giraldus ipse testimonium perhibens, suo se gladio jugulat his verbis. "Gleba præpingui, uberique frugum proventu felix terra est, fœcunda frugibus arva."[33] Et paulò post: "abunde satis, et campi vestiuntur, et horrea farciuntur." Num uber ille proventus sponte natus est? an è facto semente prorupit? an non solum assiduo agricolarum labore ante dissipatum fuit, quam tantam frugum copiam effuderat, quæ et campos vestivit, et horrea farcivit? Ut videamus duo contraria eodem ore proferri: ab Hibernis manum stivæ non admotam fuisse, et Hiberniam segete quam uberrimâ floruisse. Itaque videntur in homine ratio et furor per intervalla dominari: ita ut illa ad animi clavum sedente vera prompserit; hac mentis gubernaculo admota, calumnias evomuerit. Tota profecto ejus oratio sibi non convenit, imo collidentibus sententiis plerumque sic æstuat, ut Euripus quidam confligentibus inter se fluctibus agitatus esse videatur, ac proinde sine ullo

[32] Histor. naturalis Hiber. pag. 83. [33] Topogr. d. 1, c, 4.

[h] Whoever has ascended some Irish mountains must have observed the fact stated in the text; the traces of the plough or spade at some distant ages. Neither of the causes assigned gives a probable explanation of the fact: it is simply absurd to imagine that the farmer would voluntarily retire from the rich plains to the bleak sides of the mountains; and there is not

longer on these trifling facts? A most conclusive proof of the great agricultural industry of our fathers is founded on the fact, that even to the present day traces of the plough are seen in the fastnesses, and on the declivities and summits of the mountains, the remains of the native agricultural labors of ancient times, when the people, after reducing the lowland, or in order to let it rest for a while, reclaimed the more barren tracts for the production of corn. Or perhaps it was the superabundant population of the country that spread itself over every corner of the land, being compelled for want of room to occupy even the most solitary deserts, and by strenuously plying the plough to support life, thus made all Ireland one field of busy agricultural industry.[h] It was not without reason, therefore, that Boate represents the Irish of his day, as extolling highly the great agricultural skill of their fathers, who could not leave even one spot of waste land. Even Giraldus bears conclusive evidence to the fact, though it directly contradicts himself. "The land," he says, "is blessed with the richest soil, and the most plenteous harvests: the fields teem with produce." And again, "the plains are richly clothed, and the granaries well stocked." Did this rich produce spring spontaneously? or was not the seed sown? must not the soil have been thoroughly drilled by the agriculturalist, in order to yield abundance so great as to clothe the plains and cram the granaries? He evidently lays down two contradictory assertions in the same breath—the Irish never applied a hand to the spade, and yet Ireland yielded crops in the greatest plenty. Sense and rage appear to have ruled his mind alternately—when the first was master, he spoke truth; but disgorged his calumnies under the domination of the other. His whole language is a tissue of inconsistency; so utterly incoherent and disjointed with contradictory assertions, that it looks like Euripus torn with contending waves. Its own inherent weakness needs no

the slightest authority in our history for believing that at any period the population was so numerous that the plains would not be abundantly sufficient for their support. Their true cause appears to be, that during the frequent wars which desolated the country, the weak and timorous fled to the mountains and bogs, and until the storm passed away, endeavoured to support life by the scanty produce of patches of barren land.

alio vitio, sine adversario, languentibus omnibus ipsa per se corruat. Legisse nunquam videtur ista Catonis carmina.

> "Sperne repugnando tibi tu contrarius esse,
> [139] Conveniet nulli, qui secum dissidet ipse." |

Regulam etiam juris non vidit quæ præcipit,[34] "Contraria allegantem non esse audiendum."

[34] Regu. 148.

adverse argument to drag it baseless to the ground. It falls of itself. These lines of Cato must never have met his eye,

> "Labor consistent with thyself to be,
> Or never hope with others to agree."

He was equally ignorant of that legal maxim, "A witness contradicting himself must not be heard."

CAPUT XVI.

CONVITIORUM NIMBO IN HIBERNOS FRUSTRA EFFUSO, FIDEI RUDIMENTIS IMBUTOS FUISSE GIRALDUS INJURIOSISSIME NEGAT.

[139] Hiberni quomodo non spurci—vitia variarum gentium. [140] Hibernos fidei rudimentorum nescios falso dixit.—Hiberni fidem in Britannia propagarunt. [141] St. Fursæus quid in Britannia egit. [142] Cœnobia in Britannia ab Hibernis instituta.—Monasterium Mailrosense.—Ripponense.—Gethlingense. [143] Cænobia Monialium.—Monasterium Coldinghamense.

Non tamen convitiandi tædio Giraldus capitur, adjicit enim: "Gens hæc est gens spurcissima, gens vitiis involutissima, gens omnium gentium in fidei rudimentis incultissima, nondum enim decimas, vel primitias solvunt, nondum matrimonia contrahunt, non incestus vitant, non Ecclesiam Dei cum debita reverentia frequentant;[1] gens adultera, gens incesta, gens illegitimè nata, et copulata, gens exlex." En ut omnes obtrectatoris partes cumulate impleat. Cum ad Hibernos aliquo nominatim scelere perstringendos aditus ejus orationi maledicendo nunquam fatigatæ ægre patuit, eam ad generalia theseos avocamenta laxat, et ab edicendâ speciatim spurcitiâ, quæ Hibernos inficere possit tacite flectit.

Forsan Hibernos pro "spurcis" ideo habuit quod pretiosâ veste comptuli non fuerint, gemmis non fulguraverint, margaritis non micuerint, auro non coruscaverint, cincinnos calamistris non inusserint, unguentis illos non obliverint, à pavone plumas ad levitatem capitis augendam non mutuaverint, odores è veste non sparserint, quibus tecta quæ subierunt sic perfunderentur ut eo felicis Arabiæ suavolentia germina commigrasse diceres; aut è belluorum odoratis recrementis putori suo remedia non mendicaverint, ad oscula salutantium pedibus infigenda se ad humum non arcuaverint. Præterea forsitan Hibernos spurcitiæ arguit, quod supellectilem habuerint domesticis tantum ministeriis obeundis, et advenis quotidiano pene hospitio excipiendis accommo-

[1] Topogr. d. 3, c. 19.

CHAPTER XVI.

A TORRENT OF INVECTIVE VAINLY DISCHARGED AGAINST THE IRISH BY GIRALDUS; HIS MOST CALUMNIOUS ASSERTION THAT THE IRISH WERE NOT INSTRUCTED IN THE RUDIMENTS OF FAITH.

[139] The Irish not addicted to filthy habits; vices of different nations. [140] The Irish falsely charged with ignorance of the rudiments of faith: they propagated the faith in Britain. [141] St. Fursa's acts in Britain. [142] Monasteries founded in Britain by the Irish.—The monasteries of Melrose: Ripon: Gethingen. [143] Convents of nuns. Monastery of Coldingham.

GIRALDUS, never tired of invective, proceeds in the following strain; "This people is a most filthy people, a people most deeply plunged in vice, a people the most ignorant of all others in the rudiments of faith; they pay no tithes or first fruits; they celebrate not the marriage contract; they do not avoid incest, nor frequent the church of God with becoming reverence; an adulterous people, an incestuous people, a people unlawfully married and begotten, a people without any law." Thus does he carry out in all its parts his impeachment of the Irish. For having exhausted, with malignant patience, the vocabulary of invective against special crimes, he recreates himself in the sweeping generalities of his theme, and makes a tacit transition from the detail of individual enormities.

Perhaps he means the Irish were filthy because they were not dressed in costly garments; neither glittering with gems, nor sparkling with costly stones, nor radiant with gold, nor crisped with the curling tongs, nor daubed with ointments, nor making their heads more light, with the borrowed plumes of the peacock, nor breathing from all their clothes odors in such profusion, that whatever house they entered appeared impregnated with all the imported scents of Arabia Felix; neither did they beg the rank refuse of brutes to dull their own ungracious odors, nor bow down to the ground to kiss the feet of the man that saluted them. Or it may be, that the Irish are called filthy, because they had no furniture but what was suited to domestic purposes, and for the

datam, nec adhuc peregrinas lautitias hospitibus exhibuerint; nondum palatia ex Punico marmore in cœlum eduxerint, nec tessellata pavimenta calcaverint, laquearia crustis ac segminibus insititiis vermiculata non usurpaverint; necdum per gradus torno ductos sinuosis circumvolutionibus inerrantes in superiora tabulata nixi fuerint; nondum cupediis ex ultima India importatis gulam provocaverint, nondum condituras illas ad ingluviem irritandam excogitatas adhibuerint; nec exoticis obsoniis ventrem distenderint. Tum enim Hiberni simplicem et apertam illam ingenuitatem nondum exuerunt. Domus ab imbribus, ardoribus, ac tempestatibus munimentum, non pompæ ostentatio fuit; veste se tegebant, quæ frigus arcebat, non superbiam evulgabat; cibo parabili, et copioso famem non bulimiam explebant. Sed Hibernis exteræ potestati postea obnoxiis sævior armis luxus incubuit, in epulis, vestitu, et ædificiis à gente dominatrice invectus, et mores antiqui eorundem operâ antiquati fuerunt.

Pergit tamen Giraldus maledictis Hibernos incessere et quod "vitiis involutissimi sint" inculcare. Quod si propensione quadam illos in certum aliquod vitium ferri dixisset, à vero non penitus aberrasset. Hominibus enim ita comparatum est à natura, ut in malum singuli proclives sint. A qua conditione ne quidem unius diei infans immunitatem nactus est. Nam ut ait poeta, vitiis sine nemo nascitur. Optimus ille est qui minimis urgetur.[2] Quid quod ipse "justus septies in die cadat." Vere poeta dixit nemo sine crimine vivit: etenim "non est homo justus super terram, qui faciat bonum, et non peccet." Si "dixerimus quoniam peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est."[3] Cum autem è singulis hominibus gens quæque conflata sit,[4] ut universa natio hausta è singulorum vitiis contagione inficiatur necesse est. Ita ut Munsterus non injuria pronuntiasse
[140] videatur, Judæos invidia, Persas | perfidiâ, Ægyptios astutiâ, Græcos fallaciâ, Saracenos sævitiâ, Caldæos levitate, Afros varietate, Gallos

[2] Prov. 24. [3] Eccles. 7. [4] Joan. c. i.

[a] By this mode of defence our author appears to admit what he denies in many other places, namely, the superiority of the invaders in the days of

hospitable entertainment of strangers every day. As yet they had not provided foreign delicacies for their guests; no palaces of mock marble soaring to the skies, no tessellated pavements, nor ceilings inlaid with carvings and fretwork: they were not obliged to grope their way to upper stories on turner wrought stairs, winding up in mazy circumgyrations; they did not provoke their appetite by spices imported from the farthest Indies; nor whet glutton voracity by pungent condiments, nor distend a paunch with exotic delicacies. The Irish of that day had not abandoned their plain and unostentatious simplicity. Their house was a shelter against rain, heat, and storm, not a display of pomp; their dress was a protection against the weather, not a profession of pride; and good and abundant food satisfied the wants of nature, not the cravings of gluttony. But when the Irish became subject to a foreign power, the tyranny of luxury, worse than that of arms, destroyed the ancient simplicity of their habits, and established those of the invaders, in dress, food and edifices.[a]

Still pursuing his train of malignant invective against the Irish, Giraldus asserts that they are most debased by vice. Had he merely said that they were naturally prone to one particular vice, there wonld be some truth in his assertion; for men are so formed by nature, that each has his own bad propensity. Such is the general law, from which the child one day old is not exempt. "No man," saith the poet, "is born without faults; they who have the least are the best." Does not even the just man fall seven times in the day? Truly hath the poet said, "that no man lives without crime," for there is no just man upon earth, that doth good and sinneth not; and "if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." Nations being composed of individuals, the national character must be infected by the contagion of the vices of private men; and hence Munster does not appear unjust when he states that the Jews were remarkable for envy, the Persians for treachery, the Egyptians for cunning, the Greeks for lying, the Saracens for cruelty, the Chaldeans for levity, the Africans for fickle-

Giraldus over the natives, in the comforts and refinements of what is called civilization—yet it would be difficult to prove such superiority at that time, at least in dress, food, dwellings, &c. &c.

gulâ, Longobardos vanâ gloriâ, Hunnos crudelitate, Suevos immunditiâ, Francos ferocitate, Saxones stultitiâ, Pictavos duritiâ, Scotos libidine, Hispanos vinolentiâ, Britannos irâ, Normannos rapacitate laborasse. Itaque mihi admirationem non movet, si pariter populares mei uno aliquo vitio sordidi esse dicerentur. Sed aggere illo vitiorum eos non leviter tinctos, verum alte immersos esse, est à veritate tam alienum, quam exploratum est, ista probra non è veritatis sed livoris, ac invidiæ penu deprompta esse. Giraldus enim Hiberncrum nævos sic attollere verbis, et amplificare assuescit, ut qui per se minimi fuerint, dicendo in immodicam elati magnitudinem, maximorum præ se speciem ferant. Non secus ac si vitra illa quibus res eminus prospicientibus grandiores apparent,[5] oculis semper admota gestaret, ut modicæ res in immensum tumorem turgescere viderentur. Recte Cassiodorus "quicquid ex invidia dicitur veritas non putatur."

Giraldus tamen obtrectandi libidinem hic compescere detrectans, ad Hibernos majoribus convitiis ferendos gradum facit, addens Hibernicam "gentem omnium gentium in fidei rudimentis incultissimam;[6] nondum decimas, vel primitias solvere, nondum matrimonia contrahere, non incestus vitare, non Ecclesiam Dei, cum debita reverentia frequentare." Faciliori negotio Giraldus ad credendum lectores adduceret, si tantum in summâ fidei rudimentorum ignorantiâ Hibernos versare affirmaret: et non adjungeret, non unam duntaxat gentem, aut centenas; sed quotquot sunt per orbem terrarum diffusæ. Imo illas gentes, quibus adhuc fidei lumen non illuxit, minori harum rerum inscitia teneri quam Hibernos. Itaque qui non modo unum Deum, sed plures, et istos è ligno, aut lapide confectos, ex auro vel ære conflatos; aut solem et lunam ac stellas, creaturamve aliam, non creatorem divinum cultu prosequuntur, qui in furta, rapinas, et cædes impune ruunt, qui fædis mulierum amplexibus, in propatulo, sine cognationis discrimine ferarum more se pro

[5] Lib. 1, Epist. 8. [6] Ubi sup.

b These are not the Anglo-Saxons, the noblest specimen we are told, of the human animal that ever exercised man's supremacy over nature. The national characteristics in the text, however truly they may embody the

ness, the Gauls for gluttony, the Lombards for vain glory, the Huns for cruelty, the Suevi for filth, the Franks for ferocity, the Saxons for stupidity,[b] the Pictavians for harshness, the Scots for lust, the Spaniards for drinking, the Britons for anger, and the Normans for rapacity. It is, therefore, no matter of surprise to me, that my own countrymen should be accused of laboring under some particular vice; but that they ever were not slightly tainted but immersed deeply in that gulph of vices, is as false as it is certain that malice and envy, and not the love of truth, were the motive of the accuser. Giraldus is so accustomed to exaggerate and magnify the faults of the Irish, that the slightest stains are swelled into monstrous proportions in his pages, as if he always held to his eye one of those magnifying glasses which make small distant objects expand apparently into enormous bulk. For, Cassiodorus hath truly said, "that what envy says is not taken as truth."

But Giraldus, far from striving to repress his rage for calumny, goes on to urge more serious charges against the Irish. "Of all nations," he says, "the Irish is the most ignorant in the rudiments of faith: they pay neither tithes nor first fruits; they do not solemnize marriage, nor avoid incest, nor frequent the church of God, with becoming reverence."[c] He would probably gain more credit from his readers had he merely asserted that the Irish were profoundly ignorant of the rudiments of faith, without adding that they were not inferior to one, nor to one hundred other nations, but to all the nations on the face of the earth. But suppose a nation, which admits not one, but many Gods, and those made of wood or stone, or cast from gold or brass, or who adore the sun and stars, or any other creature in place of the Creator, who indulge with impunity theft, robbery, and murder, who riot in the public, promiscuous and incestuous intercourse of the sexes, like the beasts of the field, or who devour human flesh served up in their banquets, such a nation, according to Giraldus, is better versed than the Irish in the rudiments of faith. In other words, he assures us that a

prejudices of Munster's day and race, are certainly very far from being generally true at present.

[c] All these charges are fully discussed in other portions of this work.

libidine polluunt. Qui humanas carnes mensæ pro cibis appositas avide devorant, Christianæ religionis institutis melius informati Giraldo habentur quam Hiberni. Perinde ac si persuadere conaretur oculis captum visu, aut pede mutilatum incessu melius valere, quam qui pedibus, et oculis integris sunt. Aut cervos per aëra volatu ferri, vel à piscibus terram vomere scindi. Ut nemo nisi qui peponem pro corde habet, non plane sentiat dictis ejus fidem penitus abrogandam esse, qui pudore non pertunditur tam à veritate abhorrentia scriptis mandare. Nolo meæ nationi ex aliarum gentium depressione laudem surgere. Alioqui plures gentes recenserem etiam Christiana religione non tenuiter imbutas, in fidei scitis magis hospites, et peregrinas quam nostram. Hoc autem urgeo par non esse ut quis credat viros summâ eruditione ac sanctimoniâ claros ad Christi doctrinam per plerasque[7] Europæ regiones propagandam, salutis pabulo suis civibus subducto, è patria migrasse. Et affirmat Yepez, " Hiberniam habuisse tantam virorum illustrium copiam, ut sibi multis retentis, vicinis nationibus abunde providere potuerit."[8] Ejus nimirum incolæ Salomonem audierunt monentem, " Bibe aquam de cisterna tua, et fluenta putei tui :" Tum vero, " deriventur fontes tui foras, et in plateis aquas tuas divide."

Silebo in præsentia, quam uberi proventu, plurimi nostratum in plerisque continentis regionibus, fidei sementem fecerunt. Intra Britanniæ majoris limites se oratio coercebit, cujus nulla fere regio est, quam nostrates vel fidei rore irrigarunt, vel vitia silvescentia excidentes, virtutibus non excoluerunt. S. Columba Pictos è paganismi tenebris ad Christianismi lucem eduxit. S. Aidanus ab Oswaldo rege accitus, salutis portum comitibus eum è patria prosecutis opem ferentibus,[9] Deirorum, et Berniciorum regna incolentibus primus aperuit. Et non modo tenellam ætatem, fidei, ac literarum rudimentis informavit,[10]
[141] sed adultos etiam bene actæ vitæ | exemplo, et assiduis hortationibus ad virtutum studia excitavit. Ea porro regna regionibus ab Humbro flumine ad Golottæ Bodotriæque æstuaria protensis deflniebantur, in varias hodie regiunculas, et nomina distributis, quæ sunt comitatus

[7] Tomo 2, Chr. c. 5, Bene. an. Dom. 611. [8] Prov. 5, ver. 15. [9] Beda lib. 31, cap. 4. [10] Ib. cap. 3 & 5.

blind man can see, and a lame man can walk better than one who is sound both in eye and limb; that stags fly through the air, fishes cleave the earth, and the ploughshare furrows the deep. Is it not evident to every man who has a heart and not a gizard, that our accuser is utterly unworthy of belief when he is not ashamed to advance charges so extravagantly false? If I wished to raise the character of my country by depreciating others, I could name many nations which were not ignorant of the Christian faith, and yet were inferior to the Irish. Is it not, I insist, absurd to suppose that men highly eminent for sanctity and learning, would go forth to propagate the religion of Christ through most of the regions of Europe, and leave the inhabitants of their own island without the bread of salvation? Yepez asserts, "that so great was the number of illustrious men in Ireland, that while she kept many at home, she was able to provide abundantly for the wants of the neighbouring nations." Her sons obeyed the admonition of Solomon, "Drink water out of thine own cistern and the streams of thine own well;" and then, "let thy fountains be conveyed abroad, and in the streets divide thy waters."

Omitting for the present the plenteous harvest of faith sown and gathered in most countries of Europe by very many of our countrymen, I confine myself to Great Britain alone, of which there is hardly a single district where Irishmen did not either plant the faith, or reform depraved morals, and cultivate virtue. St. Columba raised the Picts[d] from the darkness of Paganism to the light of Christianity. St. Aidan, on the invitation of king Oswald, was the first that opened the haven of salvation to the inhabitants of the kingdoms of the Deiri and Bernicii, in which work he had the zealous co-operation of many of his countrymen. Not only were the children instructed in the rudiments of faith and learning, but the adults themselves were excited both by his exhortations and the living eloquence of his own pious life, to the practice of virtue. These kingdoms included the whole tract from the Humber on the South, to the Friths of Forth and Clyde on the North. At present they are divided into the following districts: York-

[d] St. Columba, A.D. 563, converted the northern Picts, that is the inhabitants of the north-eastern tract of modern Scotland, beyond the Grampian hills.

Eboracensis, Dunelmensis, Richmondiæ, Lancastriæ, Cumberlandiæ, Westmerlandiæ, Northumberlandiæ; Bervicum, Coldingania, Cuningamia, Melrossia, Edinburgum, Dunbar, Hadintonia, Meravia, Tifedal, Anandal, Niddesdal, Coilec, Gahnidia, et Cuddisdal. Nec populus regiones illas tum insidens prima solum institutione à nostratibus tinctus est, sed etiam iisdem triginta totos annos desudantibus, virtutum, ac fidei semina alte imbiberat.[11] Tanto enim temporis spatio, Aidanus, Finnanus, et Colmannus, alio in alterius vita functi locum substituto, Lindisfarnensis Episcopatus dignitate fulserunt.[12] Tudâ Anglo quidem, sed Hibernorum disciplinæ alumno, post ipsos ad ejusdem Episcopatus fastigium elato, Cuthberto etiam trium priorum populari, Tudæ successorem Eatam in ejusdem Episcopatus administratione secuto.

Agilbertus licet domo,[13] et natalibus Gallus, in Hibernia tamen, pietate, ac literis excultus Conwalcho Saxonum occidentalium regi Paganismi sordes eluit. Quo officio regi præstito, de toto illius regno bene meritus est, quod nunc distrahitur in regiunculas vulgo dictas, Sarisberia, Exoinia, Bothonia, Wells, Wincestria, et Hampshiria.

Ad orientales Anglos comitatuum hodie Suffolciæ, Norfolciæ, Cantabrigiæ, et Eliæ incolas cum Fursæus pervenisset, "à rege Sigeberto honorifice susceptus, et solitum sibi opus evangelizandi exequens, multos et exemplo virtutis, et incitamento sermonis, vel incredulos ad Christum convertit, vel etiam credentes amplius in fide, atque amore Christi confirmavit." Tam prospero eventu, ut ipse rex se monachis aggregaverit, et in Cnobersburgense monasterium, nunc Burgcastle, abdiderit, ab ipso in Suffolcia conditum, et à S. Fursæo disciplinis optimis institutum. Ut Fursæus non satis habuerit tum viventes ad bonam frugem vocare, nisi etiam nondum natorum commodis inserviret. S.

[11] Beda lib. 3, cap. 26. [12] Ibid. c. 27. [13] Idem. lib. 3, cap. 7.

[e] Bernicia and Deira when they had obtained their full growth extended from the Forth to the Humber, and from the eastern sea to the western. Candida Casa, now Whithorn in Wigtonshire, had been the See of St. Ninian, who converted the Southern Picts in the reign of Theodosius. It is probable that there were many British-Pictish Christians in those territories, as they had not been many years under the sway of the Saxons.

shire, Durham, Richmond, Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Berwick, Coldingham, Cunningham, Melrose, Edinburgh, Dunbar, Haddington, March, Teviotdale, Anandale, Nidsdale, Galloway, Kyle, and Clydsdale.[e] To Irishmen the inhabitants of all those regions owe not only the first seeds of faith, but their spiritual progress in Christian virtue during thirty years, the period in which Aidan, Finan, and Colman, succeeding each other in the see of Lindisfarne, devoted their lives to the good of their converts. Tuda, their successor, was an Englishman, but a disciple of the Irish, and Eata, successor of Tuda, was succeeded in the administration of the same bishopric by Cuthbert, a countryman[f] of Aidan, Finan, and Colman.

Agilbert, a Gaul by birth and family, after being instructed in faith and learning in Ireland, converted Conwalch, king of the West Saxons, from the darkness of Paganism. The conversion of the king was the source of great blessings to all his kingdom, which is now divided into Salisbury, Exeter, Bath, Wells, Winchester, and Hampshire.[g]

With regard to the East Angles, comprising the present districts of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Ely; as soon as St. Fursa arrived among them, "he was honorably received by king Sigebert, and then commencing his usual exercise of preaching, he converted many infidels to Christ, both by the example of his virtue and the fire of his discourse, and also confirmed the faith of many believers, and inflamed their love of Christ." So great was his success that the king himself embraced the monastic life, and retired to the monastery of Cnobersburgh (now Burg castle) built by himself in Suffolk, and governed by the best rules of St. Fursa, who was as provident for the interests of generations yet unborn as he was zealous for the reformation of living disciples.[h] Peada, son of the king of the Middle Angles, and a large train of his nobles, who

[f] The more probable opinion is, that he was at least born in Ireland. "Omnes quidem Angli qui ad nostram usque ætatem de S. Cuthberti patria mentionem fecerunt unanimi consensu Hibernensem fuisse contestantur."—O'Conor Prolegomena. Epis. Nuncup. p. ccvi.

[g] The names though not all correct, indicate with sufficient accuracy the region intended by the author.

[h] St. Fursa arrived in England, A.D. 637. circiter.

Finnanus Pendam regis Mediterraneorum Anglorum filium,[14] et multos ejus proceres illum in Northumbriam comitatos lustrali unda perfusos, à dæmonum castris ad Christi signa traduxit: et civem suum Diumam Episcopali infulâ insignitum, ad reliquos patris Pendæ imperiis audientes à dæmonum cultu, ad veri numinis venerationem adducendos misit. Diuma vero ille Merciorum,[15] Lindisfarorum, et Mediterraneorum Provinciæ primus Episcopatum capessivit, quem Episcopatum posteritas deinde dispescuit in Diœceses Lincolniæ,[16] Wigorniæ, Lichfeldiæ, Herefordiæ, Eliæ et Legecistriæ. Cellachus Dimai sui civis vita functi munere functus est: cui ea se dignitate abroganti Trumherus Anglus suffectus est, ab Hibernis,[17] et literis excultus et Episcopali ordine initiatus.[18] S. etiam Finnanus Sigibertum Orientalium Saxonum regem, et itineris ejus in Northumbriam comites cœlesti lavacro expiavit.[19] Ad regni autem ejus incolas ex Erebi faucibus abripiendos, et in securitatis libertatem asserendos Cedd profectus est.[20] "Juvenis olim in Hibernia" ad literarum et virtutum studia promotus, et tum denique ad Episcopi dignitatem à S. Finnano evectus, à quo totus pendebat, non enim nisi eo consulto, gravioris quidpiam ponderis, in suscepto munere aggredi consuevit.[22] Ceddus itaque fidei splendorem pridem eliminatam postliminio restauravit, et ditionis Orientalium Saxonum Episcopatum inivit. Regnum autem Ostro-Saxonum intra eos fines constitit, quibus hodie Essexiæ, Midelsexiæ,[23] et pars comitatus Hertfordiæ circumscribuntur.[24] In Londinensium Antistitum album à nuperis scriptoribus Ceddus relatus est. In quo Episcopatu longo ante illum temporis intervallo, Augerius quibusdam Augulus domo Hibernus præivit.

Neque vero solum Episcopis per Britanniam majorem instituendis, et Diœcesibus stabiliendis nostrates incubuerunt, sed eorum etiam, et discipulorum suorum operâ, plurium fundamenta cœnobiorum jacta
[142] sunt; ad | quæ, purioris vivendi rationis hauriendæ causâ, plurimi con-

[14] Ibid. c. 19. [15] Ibid. c. 21. [16] Ibid. c, 24. [17] Harpsf, seculo 7, cap. 22. [18] Beda lib. 3, cap. 24. [19] Ibid. c. 22. [20] Beda lib. 4, c. 3. [21] Lib. 3, c. 22. [22] Camd. p. 113. [23] Godwin. [24] Colgan. 7. Febr.

i Doubtful, see Lanigan, vol. i., d. 6.

j As almost all those details of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons by

accompanied him to Northumbria, were baptized by St. Finan and brought over from the camp of the evil one to the banner of Christ. Diuma, a countryman of St. Finan's, was consecrated bishop, and sent by him to convert the other subjects of Penda from the worship of the devil, to the adoration of the true God. Diuma was first bishop of the Province of the Mercians, of Lindisfarne, and of the Middle Angles, which in after ages was divided into the dioceses of Lincoln, Wigorn, Lichfield, Hereford, Ely, Leicester. He was succeeded by his countryman Cellach, who, resigning his dignity, was succeeded by Trumher an Anglo-Saxon, who had been educated by the Irish, and was raised by them to the episcopal rank. St. Finan also baptized Sigebert, king of the East Angles, and the train that accompanied him to Northumbria. Cedd was solicited to save the East Saxons from the jaws of hell and transfer them to the liberty of Christ. When a young man he had made a great proficiency in learning and piety in Ireland, and was soon raised to the episcopacy by St. Finan, to whom he was so closely attached, that he never undertook any important exercise of his official duties without his advice. To Cedd, therefore, is owing the restoration of the faith among the East Angles, and the origin of their bishopric. The kingdom of the South Saxons comprised the modern districts, Middlesex and Essex, and a part of Herefordshire. Modern writers assert that Cedd was bishop of London; but long before his time, the same see had been filled by Augerius, or as some write the name, Augulus, who was also an Irishman.[i]

The institution of bishops and the foundation of bishoprics were not the only services of our countrymen to Great Britain.[j] Many great monasteries were also established by them or their disciples, to which great numbers flocked to learn the principles of a more holy life.

Irish missionaries are transcribed from Beda, it must strike the learned reader that modern English histories do not give to the Irish Apostles that prominent place to which they are entitled. The chief cause of this historical injustice (besides one which need not be named) appears to be the contests between the Irish and other missionaries regarding the paschal question, which ultimately led to the retirement or expulsion of the Irish from many of the infant churches founded by their zeal.

fluxerunt, quorum deinde multi per Britanniam late diffusi,[25] alia pietatis domicilia condiderunt, è primis illis tanquam è fonte rivulos emanantia. S. Fursæus monasterii Cnobersburgensis Sigiberti regis secessu nobilis author erat, quod Anna rex, aliique postea proceres augustioribus ædificiis, ac donariis amplificarunt.[26] Cujus monasterii administrandi provinciam Fursæus in Galliam discedens, "Fratri suo Fullano, et presbyteris Gubano, et Dicullo" demandavit. Quorum postremus Boschamensi monasterio sibi ac paucis fratribus in Sussexia constructo,[27] uberem sanctimoniæ messem, aspero vivendi ritu fecit. Lindisfernense monasterium Aidano curante positum quam plurimis in illo eruditionis, et melioris vitæ disciplinam capessentibus diu floruit. Deinde quem supra memoravi Ceddus, Oswaldo Deirorum rege concedente, Lestingense monasterium "in montibus,[28] ac remotis" extruxit, "et religiosis moribus juxta ritum Lendisfernensem, ubi educatus fuerat instituit." Præterea "in civitate quæ lingua Saxonum Itanchester appellatur, sed et in illa quæ Talburg cognominatur, quorum prior locus est in ripa Pimte amnis;[29] secundus in ripa Tamesis, collectum examen famulorum Christi disciplinam vitæ regularis docuit." Atque hinc profecti sunt proculdubio "fratres,[30] qui in monasterio ejus erant in Provincia Orientalium Saxonum circiter triginta," cum præsulem suum in monasterio Lestingensi è vivis excessisse accepissent.[31] Frater autem Ceddi Ceadda dictus Abbatis munere post fratrem è medio sublatum in Lestingensi monasterio functus est, qui postea dignitatem Episcopi consecutus virtutibus Episcopo dignis impensius incubuit. "Erat enim discipulus Aidani, eisdemque actibus, ac moribus, juxta exemplum ejus, et fratris sui Ceddi, suos instituere curavit auditores," qui Episcopatui Eboracensi cedens, Lestingeam secessit, et à Wilfero

[25] Beda lib. 3, c. 19. [26] Ibidem. [27] Beda lib. 3, c. 3, 26. [28] Ibid. c. 23. [29] Ibid. c. 12. [30] Ibid. c. 23. [31] Ibid. c. 28.

[k] Or Bosanham, four miles from Chichester, still retains its name. The monastery was surrounded by sea and forests; it was very small, there being only five or six brothers, to whose preaching, according to Beda, the savage natives paid very little attention.

[l] In the archdeaconry of Cleaveland, Yorkshire, not far from Whitby. The

These disciples, dispersing themselves over the country, like streams from the fountain, founded many similar establishments in Britain. The monastery of Cnobersburgh, which was honored as the asylum of king Sigebert, was founded by St. Fursa, and was afterwards enlarged and enriched with princely munificence by Anna, the king, and many of the nobles. Fursa, when retiring to France, entrusted the government of the monastery to his brother Fullan, and the priests Gobban and Dichuil. The latter erected the monastery of Boscham, in Sussex,[k] for himself and a few brethren, and acquired a high reputation for sanctity by his extraordinary austerities. The monastery of Lindisfarne, which was founded by St. Aidan, was for many years the nursery of eminent saints and learned men. Cedd, of whom I have already spoken, founded the monastery of Lestingham,[l] with the aid of Oswald, king of the Deiri. "He built it in a mountainous and solitary district, and governed it by the religious rules of Lindisfarne, where he had been educated." Again, "in the city, which is called in the Saxon tongue, Itanchester,[m] and also in Talburgh,[n] the former on the banks of the Pant, the latter on the Thames, communities of the servants of Christ embraced the regular discipline of the cloister." From these establishments, no doubt, "the brothers came, who to the number of about thirty were in the monastery in the province of the West Saxons," when they heard of the death of their bishop in the monastery of Lestingham. Ceadda, brother to Cedd, succeeded him in the government of the monastery of Lestingham, and being afterwards raised to the episcopal dignity, was eminent for all the virtues of his high office. For he was a disciple of St. Aidan, and ever made it a study, to imitate him and his brother Cedd, in his life and conduct, and in the religious instructions of his flock. Resigning the bishopric of York he retired to Lestingham, and received from king Wilfer a

old Saxon church there is said by some to be one of the oldest churches in the kingdom, perhaps the original building of St. Chad or his brother Cedda.

[m] Now Froshwell in Essex, according to Camden, he thinks Itanchester was situate on the extreme point of the promontory of Dingy hundred.

[n] Tilbury, the seat of Cedd, while he was converting the East Saxons to Christianity.

rege monasterio Etbearnensi donatus est.[32] Ad hoc Winfridus Ceddæ Diaconus Episcopatu exclusus, "rediit, ibique in optima vitam conversatione finivit." In hoc etiam monachatum inivit, "Owinus monachus magni meriti, et pura intentione supernæ retributionis mundum derelinquens, dignusque per omnia, cui Dominus specialiter sua revelaret."[33]

"Mailrosum," inquit Harpsfeldius, "condidit Aidanus ad ripam Twedæ fluminis, in quo, Eatâ viro omnium mitissimo, ut uno de duodecem pueris Aidani,[34] quos primo Episcopatus sui tempore de natione Anglorum, erudiendos in Christo accepit," Abbatis officium obeunte, S. Cuthbertus noster severioris vitæ tyrocinium posuit. In hoc Drithelmus asperioris pœnitentiæ ineundæ causa se recepit.[35] Ex hoc Genigibs presbyter Bedæ familiaris in Hiberniam concessit, ibique "solitarius ultimam vitæ ætatem, pane cibario, et frigida aqua sustentavit"[36] In illo "surgente apud Anglos Ecclesiâ monachi erant veteris illius instituti, qui precibus vacarunt, et manuum labore victum quæsierunt."

Ripponense in Eboracensi comitatu monasterium,[37] (hodie Rippon) Hibernis Alchfridus rex elargitus est, et post illos in patriam profectos, Wilfrido illi plurima jactationis perpessione alteri Athanasio[38] qui ætate florens, monachis se Lindisfarnensibus adjunxit; à quibus maximam pietatis et literaturæ copiam hausit,[39] ut postea in Archiepiscopum Eboracensem evaserit, et sede sua deturbatus, Selsenense cœnobium, ex Edelwalchi regis dono extruxerit, ac tandem non in hoc, sed in illo sepulturæ traditus fuerit. In quo Edilwaldus presbyter miraculis clarus multorum annorum moram contraxit.[40] Cujus monachi tantam cum Deo gratiam inierunt, ut eorum precationibus, et jejuniis,[41] S. Oswaldo rogante, ad pestem eos demetentem comprimendam adductus, ægris valetudinem, sanis sospitatem impertierit. S. Aidanus in insula Ferne (hodie Cocquet) duobus passuum millibus Bamburgo, Lindisfarnia novem dissita, asceteriam instituit, à S. Cuthberto, et Edelwaldo im-

[32] Ibid. lib. 4, c. 3, 6. [33] Ibid. c. 3. [34] Ibid. lib. 7, c. 35. [35] Ibidem. [36] Camden. p. 692. [37] Beda lib. 3, c. 25, lib. 5, c. 20. [38] Camden. p. 270. [39] Ibidem. [40] Idem c. I. [41] Idem lib. 4, c. 14.

[o] Ad Barve "at the wood" now Barton upon Humber, Lincolnshire.

[p] Melrose, on the Tweed.

[q] Eight miles south from Chichester.

grant of the monastery of Ethbearn.[o] His deacon Winfrid, being driven from the bishopric, returned here also, and died after a most religious life. Owin too, a monk of great sanctity, embraced the monastic life there, and as he renounced the world from the pure aspiration after eternal happiness, the Lord thought him a fit subject to whom he might reveal his most special secrets.

"Aidan," according to Harpsfeld, "founded the monastery of Melrose on the banks of the Tweed, where our countryman St. Cuthbert was initiated in the austerities of monastic life, under the Abbot Eata, the mildest of men, and one of the twelve Saxon youths whom Aidan had first chosen to instruct in the faith of Christ in the commencement of his episcopacy. Drithelm retired to the same monastery, in order to embrace a more penitential life. From it, also, Genigils, a priest and friend of Beda's, retired to Ireland, "where he lived an anchorite, until his death, without any food but bread and cold water. Melrose, at the time that the church began to be propagated among the English, was tenanted by monks of that old order, who devoted their lives to prayer, and supported themselves by manual labor."

King Alchfrid granted to the Irish the monastery of Ripon (to-day Ripon) in Yorkshire. After their departure for their own island, it was given to Wilfrid, celebrated like another Athanasius, for his extraordinary sufferings. In the flower of his age he had entered the monastery of Lindisfarne, where he attained such a proficiency in learning and piety, that he was raised to the archiepiscopal see of York. Being expelled from his see, he erected by the munificence of king Edelwach, the monastery of Selse,[q] but after his death, he was buried in Ripon. Ripon was also, during many years, the residence of Edilwald, a holy priest, who was famed for his miracles. So great was the grace of his monks in the eyes of God, that when at the request of king Oswald they fasted and prayed, a plague, which was exterminating the inhabitants, was arrested; the sick were healed, and the sound saved from the contagion. St. Aidan also founded in the Isle of Farne (Cocquet,)·two miles from Bamborough and nine from Lindisfarne, a hermitage, which was the favorite retreat of St. Cuthbert and St. Edilwald, and was visited by Gutfrid, who, during the life of Beda, was abbot of Lindisfarne, the place of his education. Trumher, who was

pense cultam, aditam à Gutfrido Ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis in qua educatus erat, Abbate Beda superstite.[42]

Trumheris ab Hibernis literarum et virtutum lima expolitus Gethlingense monasterium (hodie Gilling in Richmundia) monachis, et [143] austerioris vitæ disciplina primus exornavit. |

Nostrates autem non modo viros suasionibus, et exemplis ad se divino cultui obstringendos; sed etiam fœminas adduxerunt tam fausto eventu, ut brevi plures earum turmæ, complura cœnobia insederint.[43] Heinam primam omnium in Northumbria Monialium institutionem amplexam, S. Aidanus sacro flammeo velavit; quæ postea Hartenense monasterium à se constructum aliquandiu incoluit, deinde ad civitatem Calcariam Anglis Colchester, hodie Tadcaster concessit.[44] Cujus Abbatissam Hilda egit, quæ S. Aidani accitu è Gallia in Britanniam profecta,[45] ad Septentrionalem plagam Wiri fluminis unum annum cum paucis monialibus substitit. Sed illinc digressa, et Abbatissæ munere in memorato monasterio perfuncta,[46] Strenechalcense monasterium (hodie Whitby,[47] vel Whitebay in comitatu Eboracensi) condidit. In quo celebris illa de Paschate disceptatio, magnâ partium contentione agitata est, et Elfleda "regis Oswii filia primo discipula vitæ regularis, deinde etiam magistra exstitit."[48] In hoc etiam quidam Cerdmon morabatur, tantam apud Deum gratiam nactus,[49] ut canendi, et carminis, vernacule pangendi peritiam divinitus obtinuerit, ut quamcunque sibi materiam inculcatam in concinum carmen suo marte redegerit.[50] Hacanense quoque cœnobium à superiori novem milliarium intervallo remotum Hilda condidit, et monialibus, ac severioris vitæ institutis prima insignivit. Summa vero pietate moniales illud incolentes insignitas fuisse vel hoc indicio est, quod Deus Hildæ manes in ipso efflatæ animæ puncto stipantibus Angelis multa luce perfusos Begu è monialibus uni videndos exhibuerit. Si hæc Begu sit Bega Hiberna,[51] quam Camdenus in Cumberlandia miraculis claruisse dicit, adhuc non comperi.

S. Ebba Coludense, sive Coldinganense monasterium excitavit, et

[42] Lib. 5, c. 24. [43] Lib. 4, c. 23. [44] Camden, p. 569. [45] Beda, lib. 4, c. 23. [46] Idem. Usherus deprimat. p. 921. [47] Camdén, p. 585. [48] Beda, lib. 3, c. 25. [49] Ibid. c. 24. [50] Lib. 4, c. 25. [51] Pag 630.

r "From Lindisfarne the prospect is beautiful; to the northward you command the town of Berwick over an arm of the sea, about seven miles.

instructed in learning and piety by the Irish, was the first that placed a colony of monks in Gethlingen (Gilling, near Richmond,) whom he instructed in all the austerities of the cloister.

The exhortations and example of our countrymen, which brought over so many men to the service of Christ, were equally powerful with the women, who, in a short time, peopled many different monasteries. Heina, who was the first nun in Northumbria, having received the veil from St. Aidan, dwelt at first in the convent of Hartlepool, her own foundation, but afterwards passed to the town of Calcariacester, called by the Saxons Colchester, the Tadcaster of the present day. There she dwelt under the Abbess Hilda, who had come from Gaul to Britain by invitation of St. Aidan, and lived for some time with a few nuns in a district north of the river Were. But departing thence, she governed the convent of Tadcaster for some time, and at length founded the convent of Strenechalche, (or Whitby or Whitebay) in Yorkshire, where the great controversy on the Paschal question was discussed, and where Elfled, the daughter of king Oswy, first embraced the religious life, and was afterwards abbess. There also dwelt Ceadmon, so eminently favored by God; that he appeared to have acquired by Divine inspiration the gifts of music and poetry, moulding at pleasure in exquisite poems in his native tongue, whatever subject was proposed to him. The convent of Hackness, also, nine miles distant from the former, was founded by Hilda, who established a community there under strict monastic rules. How signal must have been the piety of the nuns of this convent, appears from the fact, that at the very moment of St. Hilda's death, her soul, radiant with the most brilliant light, and surrounded by angels, was seen by Begu, one of the nuns. I have not been able to ascertain, whether this Begu, be the Irish Bega, who, according to Camden, was celebrated in Cumberland for her miracles.[s]

St. Ebba founded the convent of Colude or Coldingham,[t] and

At near the same distance to the south, you view Bambrough Castle on a bold promontory. On the one hand you have a river of the open sea; on the other, a narrow channel about ten miles in width." Giles' Beda.

[s] It is most probable they were the same.

[t] In Berwickshire.

sanctimoniales in illud inductas piis religiosæ vitæ legibus vincivit.[52] In dubium non voco comitem illam exilii fratribus Oswaldo, et Oswio regibus in Hibernia fuisse, ac susceptæ illic fidei sociam,[53] ubi septemdecem annorum spatio (quo penes Edwinum patris interemptorem regia dignitas fuit) versata, præstantissima quæque virtutum documenta proculdubio imbiberat, quæ postea uberrime ad disciplinæ alumnas effudit. E quibus Edeldreda virgo,[54] et Egfridi regis conjux Elgense seu Eliense cœnobium extruxit, et in eo virgines Deo sacratas in suam societatem coaptatas optimis institutis informavit.[55] Cæterum Ebbæ monasterium sicut Edelburgæ, et Hildæ duo domicilia, unum virorum, alterum fœminarum suo ambitu complectebatur.[56] Quam consuetudinem ad illas à diva Brigida defluxisse mihi persuadeo.[57] Intra cujus cœnobii fines, ædes aliæ viros, aliæ fœminas continebant,[58] parietibus tantum intergerinis segregatæ, et ita contiguæ, ut utriusque familiæ usibus idem templum inservierit; ut è Cogitoso et Colgano percipere est.

In Ebbæ autem monasterio plures è nostratibus habitandi sedem fixisse vel inde liquet,[59] quod Beda vix alios illud insidentes memoret, præter Adamnanum nostrum, et presbyterum illum Hibernum, cui conscientiæ labes Adamnanus per confessionem aperuit.[60] Cum ex Hildæ domicilio, præter alios viros clarissimos, quinque etiam Episcopos prodiisse narret. In Conedinganensis autem cœnobii præfecturâ,[61] S. Ebbam alia Ebba, sed longo temporis intervallo secuta est, quæ cum cæteris sociabus majori pudicitiæ quam vitæ servandæ ardore flagrantes,[62] oris decorem præcissis naribus deturparunt, ne forma Danos qui in illarum ædes jam irruerant, ad obscœnos amplexus alliceret.[63] Quæ res illos rabie sic transversos egit, ut eodem incendio tecta, et virgines obvolverint.

[52] Beda lib. 4, c. 25. [53] Beda lib. 2, c. 20. [54] Lib. 4, c. 19. [55] Camden. p. 361. [56] Beda lib. 4, c. 25. [57] Lib. 4, c. 7. [58] Ibid. c. 17. Vita S. Brig. c. 25. [59] Append. c. 1. [60] Beda lib. 4, c. 25. [61] Ibid. c. 23. [62] An. Dom. 370. [63] Camden. p. 682.

established a community of nuns under the pious rules of monastic life. I have no doubt that she accompanied the royal brothers, Oswald and Oswy, in their exile to Ireland, and there imbibed the principles of the true faith, during the seventeen years reign of Edwin, the murderer of her father. On her return she manifested all those exalted virtues which she had acquired, and communicated them in full measure to her disciples, one of whom, Edeldreda, virgin and wife of king Elfred, founded the monastery of Elge or Elien (Ely), and associated with herself, under the same holy discipline, virgins consecrated to God. The establishments of Ebba, as well as of Edelburga and Hilda, included two convents—one for men, the other for women, within the same inclosure—a custom derived, as I firmly believe, from St. Brighid, whose monastery at Kildare was divided into two parts, one for men, the other for women, separated by partition walls, but so near that both communities attended religious worship in the same church. Such is the account given by Colgan and Cogitosus.

That Ebba's monastery was the retreat of many of our countrymen, would appear from the single fact, that its only inmates mentioned by Beda were Adamnan, and that Irish priest to whom Adamnan confessed his sins; while speaking of St. Hilda's, he mentions, among many other illustrious men, five bishops whom the establishment had produced. After a long lapse of time, the convent of Coldingham was governed by another Ebba, who, with all her sisters, preferring death to the violation of their chastity, disfigured their faces when the Danes broke into their monastery, lest their beauty might provoke the lust of the savages. The Danes, transported with rage, when they looked on the bleeding virgins, set fire to the convent, and burned them all beneath its ruins.[u]

[u] This chapter, though containing nothing new is one of the most effective in the whole work. It epitomizes faithfully the aggression of the Irish on the paganism of the Anglo-Saxons, twelve centuries ago.

CAPUT XVII.

[144] DIGRESSIO DISSERENS QUÆ FUERIT OLIM SCOTORUM PATRIA, ET QUI FUERINT EORUM IN BRITANNIA FINES.

Qui fines Scotorum in Britannia.—Quando Scoti sedes habere in Britannia cœperunt. Pictaviæ et Dalrietæ reges. Locus patriæ Scotorum in Britannia. [145] Scoti Hiberniæ et Britanniæ pugnaverunt cum Egfrido.—Exiguarum domini ditionum reges dicti. [146] Non apud Scotos Britanniæ sed apud Scotos Hiberniæ Oswaldus et Oswinus educati sunt.

PORRO Coldingamense monasterium, Mailrosense, Candidæ Casæ, et Abricornense licet in hodiernæ Scotiæ finibus collocata visantur, tractum tamen illum totum intra ditionis Anglorum metas tum extitisse cum illa cœnobia erigerentur certo certius est.[1] Etenim " Oswaldus" (inquit Beda) " omnes nationes et provincias Britanniæ quæ in quatuor linguas, id est Britonum, Scotorum, Pictorum, Anglorum divisæ sunt, in ditione accepit."[4] Ut eum proinde " victoriossimum" appellet; qui teste S. Adamnano, " totius Britanniæ Imperator à Deo ordinatus est."

Oswius autem Oswaldi frater " Pictorum ac Scotorum gentes quæ Septentrionales Britanniæ fines tenent maxima ex parte perdomuit, ac tributarias fecit.[3] Etiam gentem Pictorum maxima ex parte regno Anglorum subjecit."[4] Præterea, " Candida Casa locus est ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinens."[5] Huc accedit, quod ad Christi nati annum 688 Thurmuinium Theodorus " Episcopum fecerit ad Provinciam Pictorum."[6] Ille enim " in eos Episcopatum acceperat,[7] sed inde posteà recessit cum iis qui erant in monasterio Ebercurni, posito quidem in regione Anglorum,[8] sed in vicinia freti quod Anglorum terras Pictorumque disterminat"[10] freti scilicet illius quod " Edinburgicum" Camdenus appellat, ipsissimum quod " antiquitus gentem Britonum à Pictis secernebat."

[1] Lib. 3, c. 4. Ibid. c. 7. [2] Vita S. Colum. lib. 1, c. 1. [3] Beda lib. 2, c. 2. [4] Lib. 3, c, 25. [5] Ibid. c. 4. [6] Lib 4, c. 12. [7] Ibid. c. 26 [8] Pag. 113. [9] Beda, lib. 1, c. 10. [10] Pag. 674.

CHAPTER XVII.

A DIGRESSION ON THE COUNTRY OF THE SCOTI, AND THE LIMITS OF THEIR TERRITORY IN BRITAIN.

[144] Territory of the Scots in Britain: when did they first acquire settlements there: the kings of Dalrieta and Pictland.—Place of the country of the Scots in Britain. [145] The Scots of Ireland and Britain fought against Ethelfrid.—The lords of small territories were called kings. [146] Oswald and Oswy were educated not among the British but the Irish Scots.

THOUGH the monasteries of Melrose, Coldingham, Candida Casa and Abercorn are included in modern Scotland, that whole tract of territory was within the limits of English dominion, when these monasteries were erected. "Oswald," as Beda informs us, "brought under his sceptre all the tribes and provinces of Britain, which spoke four different languages, the British, Scottish, Pictish, and English." Hence he was styled "the most victorious," and was, according to St. Adamnan, "ordained by God, ruler of all Britain." Oswy, the brother of Oswald, "subdued nearly all the tribes of the Scots and Picts, who held the northern parts of Britain, and made them tributary. The kingdom of the Picts itself he brought in great part under the English sceptre."[a] Again, "Candida Casa is a place in the territory of the Bernici." In the year 688, moreover, we find Theodore appointing Thrumuin "bishop of the province of the Picts." For, having accepted the episcopal charge over them, he afterwards retired thence with those who were in the monastery of Abercorn, situate in the English territory, but near the strait[b] which divides it from the Picts. According to Camden, the name of the strait was "Edinburg," the ancient boundary between the Picts and the Britons."

[a] Lingard, A.D. 971. But even so late as the reign of David; it is mentioned in royal proclamations as not being a part of Scotland proper.

[b] That is the Frith of Forth.

Atqui hinc lector edisce, nec ante, nec per ea tempora, eas ditiones Pictis nedum Scotis cessisse.[11] "Quod enim à Tæsi ad Scoticum fretum pertingit," inquit Camdenus,[12] "pars erat optima regni Berniciorum: et regnum Berniciorum à flumine Tyne ad mare Scoticum porrigebatur" ait Ranulphus Cestrensis apud Usherum, qui pluribus scriptoribus, et aliquibus etiam Scoticis adductis memorata jam confinia Scotiæ et Bernicæ astruit. Ita ut oleum, et operam perdant, qui summa dimicatione persuadere contendunt, Scotos iis tum ditionibus dominatos fuisse.[12] In quorum potestatem ii fines ante annum Dom. 960 (teste Camdeno) non devenerunt.

Imo "Picti ' ipsi non nisi post Britannos à Romanis derelictos, circa Christi nati annum 444, "In extrema parte Insulæ primum, et deinceps quieverunt,[13] et omnem Aquilonem extremamque Insulæ partem pro indigenis ad murum usque capessiverunt. Quando impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum reversi sunt post non longum tempus reversuri."[14] Ut signate tempus non indicet,[15] quo Hiberni seu Scoti sedes in Britannia fixerunt.

Non mediocri quidem temporis intervallo Scotos in Britanniam post Pictos migrasse Beda insinuat dicens:[17] "procedente tempore Britannia post Britones, et Pictos, tertiam Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit." Ut probabili conjectura ad sentiendum adducamur, illud spatium temporis saltem ad centum annos processisse: neque tum quidem satis stabiles aut firmas sibi sedes vendicasse, cum Beda dicat "illos in parte Pictorum, et inter Pictos" consedisse. Ut non peculiarem aliquam ante à Pictis segregatam ditionem comparasse, sed Pictis immisti vixisse videantur,[17] scilicet in "Glottæ seu Alcluithæ parte Septentrionali." Nimirum Argil quam aliqui Argaliam vocant: vel potiùs Dalretam, ut eam appellat qui de Albaniæ divisione circa annum

[11] De prim. de p. 1003, et sequ. [12] Pag. 689. [13] Beda. lib. 1, c. 14. [14] Ibid. c. 12. [15] Ibid. c. 14. [16] Lib. 1, c. 1. [17] Ibidem.

[a] Lothian, the most remote of the Saxon conquests, was in 971 transferred by Edgar to the crown of Scotland on condition that its inhabitants should be permitted to retain their (Saxon) language, laws, and customs.

The reader must hence clearly perceive that these territories were not at that time in possession of the Picts, much less of the Scots. "For," according to Camden, "the best part of the kingdom of the Bernicii lay between the Tees and the Scottish sea." Ranulph of Chester," quoted by Ussher, also says, "that the kingdom of the Bernicii extended from the river Tyne to the Scottish strait;" and from numerous authorities, some of which are Scottish, Ussher so clearly defines these ancient boundaries of Bernia and Scotia, that it is only a waste of time and labor to contend obstinately, as some persons do, in proving that the Scots in those days possessed these territories. Camden proves that the occupation did not take place previous to the year 960.

It was only after the abandonment of Britain by the Romans, about the year 444, that the Picts themselves "first settled quietly in the extreme part of the island,[c] and, as natives,[d] occupied the whole northern and extreme part of the island as far as the wall."[e] At this time it was "that the audacious Irish invaders returned home, but only to come back in a short time." Thus he does not precisely fix the epoch of the settlement of the Irish in Britain.

Yet he insinuates in another passage, that the Irish occupied a part of Britain not long after the Picts. "In course of time," he writes, "Britain received, besides the Britons and Picts, a third nation, the Scots, who settled in the territory of the Picts:" whence we may probably conjecture, that the interval may have extended to one hundred years.[f] The Scotic colony could not have been at first very powerful

[c] This statement of the quiescence of the Picts before the Saxon conquest does not agree well with other authorities: see in Irish Nennius, additional notes, p. xxxvii. a conjectural explanation of it.

[d] These words "pro indigenis" though not in Beda are in Gildas whom he transcribes.

[e] Built by the last Roman legion sent to Britain; it ran near the Vallum of Severus from the Tyne to Solway Frith. See a different opinion in Ussher. Antiquities, p. 316–7. Edit. 1687.

[f] But when did the Picts themselves first settle in North Britain? Our author from this and the preceding paragraph appears to think it was only after the retreat of the Romans. Lingard, A.D. 354, maintains more probably that the Picts were under

Dom. 1176 libellum edidit.[18] De Kinnadio sive Kennetho secundo Pictorum debellatore ita scribens: "Kennadius biennio antequam pervenit in Pictaviam, Dalrietæ Regnum suscepit." Ut ubi "Pictaviæ" nomine Pictorum, ita "Dalrietæ" Scotorum primas in Albania sedes designavit, Cantiram videlicet, Knapdaliam, Lornam, Argateliam, Bruin-Albain, Baruid-Albain, cum vicinis Insulis. Nec ea regio quam Alcluithæ sinus alluit, patria esse Scotorum potuit.[19] Cum Beda vivo sola Hibernia "propria Scotorum patria" fuerit. Itaque nulla alia
[145] sedes â Scotis | insessa potuit esse aliter quam "improprie patria Scotorum," ut quam apposite Beda ditionem Alcluithæ finitimam, non "patriam Scotorum" sed "locum patriæ" Scotorum appellaverit. Quare liquido constat Bedam non obscuris, sed conceptis verbis, duas Scotorum sedes constituere, quarum altera eorum "propria patria" sit, altera tantum "locus patriæ" et Hiberniam illis ab eo "patriam," ditionem Alcluithæ à septentrione adjacentem his "locum patriæ" designari, quam regiunculas supra memoratas esse, vel oculi in tabulis Geographicis perspiciunt: quæ tam exiguis arctantur limitibus, ut suo ambitu tantum incolarum numerum amplecti nequeat, in quo justus exercitus ad hostes pugnâ vel excipiendos vel petendos contrahi valeat.

Imo licet Scoti Britanniæ, et Picti eadem ab Anglis subjectione diu tenerentur, nullam tamen opem Scoti Pictis intulisse memorantur ab Egfrido Northumbriæ rege bello impetitis, sed soli Picti (nisi gregarios aliquot milites, aut sine nomine vulgus iis auxilio Scoto-Britanni fortasse submiserint) cum Egfrido pugna congressi vitam ei,[20] et

[18] Usherus de prim. p. 611. [19] Lib. 1, c. 1, in fine. [20] Beda. lib. 4, c. 2.

another name, the Meætæ and Caledones, who, during the two preceding centuries, had been the terror of the Romanized Britons. There were six tribes of these Meætæ, ibid. A.D. 146, a number which comes very near that of the Cruithni or Picts, who went from Ireland to Albania according to the *Irish Nennius*, p. 51. The Picts were according to Beda "transmarini" and had had come directly from Ireland, driven out, it is very probable, by the Eiremonians or Scotti, in the first century of the Christian era.

or consolidated, since Beda represents it "as placed in the territory of the Picts among the Picts," and not occupying a distinct territory, but living among the Picts in Pictish territory, namely, the northern part of Alcluith or of the Clyde, that is Argil, or Argyle, or rather Dalrieta, as it appears in a work written about the year 1176 on the division of Albania. Speaking of Kinnad, or Kenneth the Second, conqueror of the Picts, it says, "Kennad had ascended the throne of Dalrieta two years before he invaded Pictland;" Pictland here evidently designating the Pictish; and Dalrieta, the original territory of the Irish in Albania, which included Cantyre, Knapdal, Lorne, Argyle, Bruin Albain, or Bread Albain, and the adjacent islands. The territory washed by the gulf of Alcluith could not be the country of the Scots, because in Beda's time, Ireland alone "was the country of the Scots," and therefore any other settlement of theirs could not be otherwise than improperly "called the country of the Scots." Thus, Beda himself with significant precision, calls the territory near Alcluith, not "the country of the Scots," but "the place of the country of the Scots," obviously intending, not to insinuate, but to declare expressly that the Scots held two territories, one "their proper country," the other, the place of their country.[g] Ireland was their country; "the place of their country" was the tract north of Alcluith, including, as a glance at the map proves, the little districts already mentioned. Their extent was so inconsiderable, that they could not accommodate a population dense enough to supply a respectable army either for attack or defence.

Though the English long held the Scots of Britain as well as the Picts, in subjection, the Scots are not said to have given any assistance to the latter when attacked by Egfrid, king of Northumbria. With the exception of a few common soldiers, of the lowest orders, supplied perhaps by the British Scots, the Picts entered the field alone against

[g] It is true that Beda calls Ireland the original country of the Scots, but as the Irish colony which gave the line of kings to Scotland had been settled there since A.D. 502, more than 230 years before Beda was writing, he might, perhaps without impropriety, call their new territory a country of the Scots. See Ogygia, pp. 322, 470, and O'Conor's Prolegomena, i. 126, ii. 83.

non modicam aviti regni portionem ademerunt, suaque ac Scotorum colla è servitutis jugo eduxerunt. Ut iidem Scoti Pictis, et non armis suis acceptum referre debuerint, quod in libertatem asserti, et a tributo immunitatem nacti fuerint. Negat enim Beda, Scotos signa cum Anglis contulisse, postquam ab Ethelfrido profligati sunt, anno Dom. 603 ad 734, quo Beda scribere, et vivere desiit.[21] Ut totos triginta supra centum annos ab armis feriati fuisse videantur. Nec eam etiam pugnam, nisi Scotis ad eos ex Hibernia confluentibus committere posse videntur, Beda teste, qui in istius ultimi capitis titulo, "Scotorum gentes" ab Edelfrido contritas esse, et in primo cap. libri primi "Scotorum gentem" in Hibernia Pictos reperisse dicit. Non enim par est existimare tam fidum historicum non nisi eadem significatione voces easdem protulisse: nec vir duplici animo Beda fuit, ut duplici vocum ambiguitate fucum lectoribus faceret. Itaque regionis ejusdem incolas hos esse Scotos oportet, quos Edelfridus profligavit, et quos in Hibernia Picti offenderunt. Et copias cum Edelfrido decertantes ex Hiberniæ et Britanniæ Scotis conflatas esse Beda innuit, cum "Scotorum gentes" potius in certamen cum Edelfrido venisse, quam "gentem" scripserit. Ad quam rem accuratius inculcandam adjecisse Beda videtur, "Quemquam Regum Scotorum in Britanniam adversus gentem Anglorum usque ad hanc diem, in prælium venire ausum non fuisse."[22] Quod si Scoti illi ad pugnam istam ineundam, "in Britanniam" venerint quem fugit, eos "extra Britanniam" versatos fuisse? Scotos autem extra Britanniam positos non alibi quam in Hibernia collocari vulgo notum est. Ut extra centroversiam positum sit Scotos ad bellum hoc Edelfrido inferendum ex Hibernia profectos fuisse, duce quidem Aidano, Scotorum qui fuerunt in Britannia Rege: æquum enim erat ut emissæ à se coloniæ fines Hiberni quam latissime producere niterentur.[23]

[21] Lib. 1, cap. ult. [22] Lib. 1, cap. ult. [23] De prim. pag. 710.

[h] It may appear strange that the author should so zealously endeavour to prove that the Irish Scots were defeated by Ethelfrid; but his arguments are not conclusive. Aidan had thirteen years before in the Meeting of Dromceat, obtained an acknowledgment of the independence of the British Scots,

Egfrid, and having defeated and killed him, wrested from his sceptre a large portion of his father's kingdom, and emancipated themselves and the Scots from slavery. It was to the Picts and not to their own arms, that the Scots owed this recovery of their independence, and exemption from tribute. For, according to Beda, there was no-battle between the Scots and English, from the defeat of the former by Edelfrid in 603 to 734, the period of Beda's own death. The Scots would appear, therefore, to have had a long respite from war—during one hundred and thirty years. They could not fight even that one battle probably without help from Ireland; for Beda in the title of the last chapter, records that "the nations of the Scots" were defeated by Edelfrid, while, in the first chapter of the first book, he says that the Picts found the "Nations of the Scots" in Ireland. It is highly improbable that so accurate a historian would use the same words in a different signification; or that a most candid and truth-loving man, would perplex his readers by useless and ambiguous variety of expression. The Scots, therefore, whom Edelfrid defeated, and whom the Picts attacked in Ireland, must have been of the same country, and the plural form itself, "the nations of the Scots," used by Beda, instead of the "singular," insinuates that the army which fought against Edelfrid must have been composed both of Irish and British Scots.[h] A still more evident confirmation is taken from the words by Beda, "that down to this day no king of the Scots had ventured to come into Britain to fight against the English nation." Assuredly, if the Scots come into Britain to fight that battle, they could not have been in Britain[i] already, and it is a notorious fact, that outside Britain, the Scots were found nowhere except in Ireland. It is incontestable, therefore, that Scots went from Ireland to fight that battle against Edelfrid, under the command of Aidan king of the British Scots, in order to extend as far as possible the colonies which they had

[h]and would therefore be less likely to get aid from the mother country.

[i] Beda might as properly describe the British Scots "coming into Britain" as he has designated them "foreigners," lib. i., c. xii. "not on account of their being seated out of Britain, but because they were remote from that part of it which was possessed by the Britons."

Ushærus ait manuscriptum habere "in Britannia," non "in Britanniam," ut impressi libri exhibent. Quæ verba etiam non obscurè innuunt Regem Scotorum, qui erant in Britannia, Scotorum copiis ex Hibernia ad Anglorum fines bello adoriendos profectis præfici solitum fuisse, ut ejus auspiciis bellum gereretur, cujus finium propagandorum causâ bellum suscipiebatur.

Nec admirationem ulli moveat tam parum populosi tractus dominum Regis titulo insigniri. Eâ enim tempestate apud Hibernos, qui exiguis ditionibus quas modo Baronias vocamus potiebantur Reges vulgo salutabantur,[24] veteri aliorum gentium ritu, quæ "Regis nomen tribuebant, ei, qui uni oppidulo præesset. Sic rex Ulysses qui dominabatur Ithacæ, quam veluti nidum saxo affixum, propter exiguitatem sui, Cicero non injuria vocat. Sic Nestos Pyli rex; et in Palestina Josue triginta reges patibulo affixit.[25] Et imperante Nerone, Cottius in Italia regnabat Alpium Cottiorum Rex dictus, in quibus non nisi viculi erant, et vasta montium spatia."[26] Imo Spondanus ait: "Usitato more divinæ scripturæ cujusque oppidi dominum regem appellari." Et Cæsar ait:
[146] "In Cantii partibus quinque reges præfuisse, ac Catinulcum | regem dimidiæ partis Euburonum, Teutomarumque Natiobrigum Regem fuisse."[27]

Sanè apud hosce Scotos Britanniæ tantum inquilinos, tam angustos fines in alieno insidentes, Oswaldum et Oswium, aut eos comitantium turmas rectam in fide institutionem, aut incolumitatis asylum reperisse credibile non est. Nec enim cadebat in Oswaldum regiâ dignitate, et sanctimonia spectabilem in eos apud quos vitæ perfugium et animæ salutem nactus est armis sævire. Nec par est credere Oswium optime de se meritis tam malam gratiam repositurum fuisse, ut illis qui eum ex hostium laqueis et dæmonum, faucibus eripuerunt, vel tributi, vel subjectionis jugum imponeret. Quomodo autem in tam proximâ Regis inimici vicinia tuti esse poterant? cum in continuo timore versarentur ne qui patri vitam et regnum ademit, ad eos quoque vita spoliandos in-

[24] Bozius de signis Eccles. to 1 signo 49, lib. 11, cap. 9. [25] Josue cap. 12. [26] Epit. Bar. an. 1, nu. 5. [27] De Bell Gal. l. 5, 66, lib. 7.

[k] Or rather would suggest that Beda in the passage cited, referred to the Scots and to them alone. See Ussher, Antiquitates, p. 371. Ed. 1687.

planted. Ussher states that the reading in the manuscript was, "in Britain," not the printed version, "into Britain." That reading would suggest that the kings of the British Scots used to command the combined forces of his own kingdom and Ireland in the invasion of the English territory.[k] It was meet that he should command, since it was for the extension of his kingdom the war was undertaken.

It is by no means surprising that the lord of so small a tract should be styled king. For in that age, such was the title given in Ireland to the lords of those small territories now called Baronies. Such also was the ancient custom of other nations, which often gave the title of king to the lord of one little town. Thus king Ulysses ruled over Ithaca, which is so extremely small, that Cicero happily compared it to a bird's nest on the top of a rock. Nestor was king of Pyla. Josue hanged 20 kings in Palestine, and during the reign of Nero there was a chieftain, styled Cottius, king of the Cottian Alps, though his kingdom consisted only of a few hamlets and vast tracts of mountain. Spondanus also observes, "that Scripture usually gives the title of king to the lord even of one town;" and Cæsar also writes, "that there were five kings in Kent," and that Catinolous was king of half Euburo, and Teutomar, king of Notiobrigi.

It is incredible that it was among these Scots, mere settlers in Britain, occupying so small a tract in a strange country, that Oswald and Oswy, and the large suite of their attendants, had found a secure asylum and initiation into the Christian faith.[l] Surely it cannot be supposed that Oswald would tarnish the lustre of his crown and his high religious character by a savage war against the saviors of his life and of his soul. Nor can it be believed that Oswy would make so hideous a return to his greatest benefactors, as to impose tribute and the slave's yoke on those who had saved him from the snares of his enemies and the jaws of hell. Moreover, what security could they possibly enjoy in the immediate vicinity of so powerful a king, their sworn foe: they should have lived in perpetual apprehension of falling

[l] Our author's object in this chapter has been to point out the very narnow limits of the Scottish dominions in Britain before the close of the 8th century, and thereby to secure for the mother country the fame of all the eminent Scots who had flourished down to that period.

sidias tenderet, præsertim cum "non erat Britanniæ provincia, quæ non Edwini spectaret nutum, parata ad obsequium," qui ut ait Beda "omnes Britanniæ fines subditione accepit."[28] Qui accuratius ista perpendet non in Scotorum Britanniæ finibus eos hæsisse affirmabit,[29] ubi à vicinio, et potentissimo rege capitis quotidie discrimen iis impendebat, sed ad Scotos Hiberniæ recessisse, utpote ab hostis ditione remotiores, et extra potestatis illius limites positos. Nec adeo mentis impotes fuisse censendi sunt ut periculum præ foribus habentes, ulterius ad perfugium non perrexerint.

[28] Malmsb de gestis Regum lib. 1, c. 5. [29] Lib. 2, c. 9.

into the hands of the man who deposed and murdered their father, and who would murder themselves, especially when every province of Britain was at the beck of Edwin and ready for his commands. "He held under his sceptre," says Beda, "all the lands of Britain." An attentive examination of these points must convince every person, that it was not in Albania, in the immediate neighbourhood of a most powerful monarch, who might every day get them into his power and slay them, that they took refuge; but among the Scots of Ireland, who were more remote from the kingdom of their enemy and less exposed to his vengeance. It would be inconceivable madness on their part not to fly to a more distant asylum from a spot where danger was at their door.

CAPUT XVIII.

QUÆ IN CAPITE PROXIMUM PRÆCEDENTE SIVE DECIMO SEXTO A BEDA COMMORATA SUNT, ALIORUM TESTIMONIUM CONFIRMANTUR, ET UBERIUS ILLUSTRANTUR.

[146] Conversio majoris partis Angliæ a S. Columbæ monasteriis promanavit. [147] Abindonense monasterium et Malmsburiense ab Hibernis initium duxit.—Ibi Aldelmus educatus.—Glastoniensi monasterio initium Hiberni dederunt.—S. Tathæus docuit in Wallia. [148] S. Tathæus instituit canonicos.—Oxoniæ Hiberni instauratores.—Hiberni docti in Angliam navigant.—Petrocus in Hibernia literis imbutus —Monasterium Pollevestanum a S. Modwenna conditum, et Streneshalamense monasterium et Burtonense.—Sancti et sanctæ ex Hibernia in Wallia. [150] Ultanus Lindis farnensis.—Quæ beneficia Britannis Hiberni præstiterunt.—Mutua benevolentia Britannorum et Hibernorum.

Nunc ut quæ Beda de monasteriis inchoatis, Episcopis institutis, et religione, nostratium operâ per Britanniam majorem; ac præsertim Angliam propagatâ profert testatiora fiant; hæc ut quæ sunt Bedæ scriptis maximè conformia adjungo, è memoriali status antiqui Ecclesiæ Britannicæ opere posthumo Richardi Broghtoni Sacerdotis Angli, et antiquarii præstantissimi edito Anglice anno Domini 1650. "A. S. Columbæ monasteriis (inquit) felix conversio majoris partis Angliæ promanavit.[1] Ut S. Gregorius lytro pro captivis Anglis persoluto, fidem eos Christianam edocuit, ad Angliam spiritali emolumento afficiendam: Sic Aidanus 'multos prætio dato redemptos, suos fecit discipulos, atque ad sacerdotalem gradum erudiendo atque instruendo provexit.' Ita ut plerique primi Anglici nostri Episcopi, ex ejus disciplina, monasterio, et regula prodierint. S. Wilfridus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis ex ejus Lindesfarnensi monasterio emicuit. Ejus vero discipuli fuerunt S. Ceadda, et Ceddus fratres, Bosa, Finnanus, Tuda, Bosil, Eata, S. Cuthbertus, et alii cum Eadhero, et Tumberto ; quorum ope, ac eorum quos in discipulos adsciverunt; maxima pars Angliæ Christi fidem amplexa est.

"Difficile est numerum monasteriorum inire,[2] quæ ipso ac ejus

[1] Pag. 155, 159, et sequ. Capgravi in vita S. Aidani. [2] Pag. 161.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS FROM OTHER AUTHORITIES OF THE FACTS COLLECTED FROM BEDA IN OUR SECOND LAST OR SIXTEENTH CHAPTER.

[146] Conversion of the greater part of England effected by monks of the Columbian order. [147] Monasteries of Abingdon und Malmsbury founded by the Irish.—Aldelm educated by them.—Monastery of Glastonbnry also founded by the Irish.—St. Tathæus taught in Wales. [148] S. Tathæus instituted canons.—Oxford restored by the Irish.—Ireland called Scotia.—Johannes Erigena. [149] Three learned Irishmen sail to England.—Petroc was educated in Ireland.—Monasteries of Pollesworth.—Streneshalm and Burton founded by St. Modwenna.—Irish Saints ; men and women in Wales. [150] Ultan of Lindisfarne.—Benefits conferred by Ireland on the Britons. Mutual benevolence of the Britons and the Irish.

In confirmation of Beda's account of the foundation of the monasteries and episcopal sees, and the propagation of the christian faith, by our countrymen throughout Great Britain, and especially England, I now subjoin some extracts from the memoir on the Ancient State of the British Church, a posthumous work of Richard Broughton, an English priest and most eminent antiquary. It was published in English A.D. 1650. It follows Beda most faithfully. "It was by the monasteries of St. Columba that the happy conversion of the greater part of England was effected. For as St. Gregorius paid a ransom for English slaves and taught them the christian faith in order to confer spiritual benefits on England, so Aidan ransomed a large number and made them his disciples, and after educating and instructing them, raised them to the priesthood. Thus most of our first bishops had been brought up under his discipline, monastery and rule. From his monastery of Lindisfarne arose St. Wilfrid bishop of York: and among his disciples were the brothers St. Chadd and Cedda; Bosa, Finan, Tuda, Bosil, Eata, St. Cuthbert, and others with Eader and Tumbert; it was by the exertions of these and of their disciples that the chief part of England received the faith of Christ.

"It would be difficult to recount the number of monasteries built by

discipulis curantibus exstructa sunt. Scilicet Lindisfarnense, Mailrosense, Laistengenense, Eadbarnense, Brawense, aliaque. Monasterium Sreuechaldense S. Hildæ fuit à S. Aidano institutum.[3] Vix aliud in Britannia monasterium, pro Apostolicis et sanctis viris celebrius erat Lindisfarnensi. Ordo S. Columbæ plures in Anglia tam homines, quam provincias fide imbuit, Multo maxima pars Angliæ è paganismo ad veram religionem à sanctissimis, et doctissimis S. Columbæ discipulis adducta est." Hactenus Broughtonus.

Cæterum è pluribus Bedæ locis depromi potest, ad salutis iter nos-
[147] trates, | non solum dictis, sed etiam factis, facem Anglis prætulisse. Ut qui summam cibi abstinentiam, et opum despicientiam sibi indixerunt, necessariis tantum suo usui adhibitis, supervacanea in ægenos contulerunt: munia sua et regiones pedibus incedentes, non equis insidentes obierunt ad locum aliquem appulsi, non ad inania colloquia, sed ad monita populo exhibenda se converterunt. Ad quæ excipienda populi frequentes confluxerunt, nec ad discedendum ante adducebantur, quam fausta precatione sacerdos illos in genua procunbentes prosequeretur. Hi venerationem illis, his monita salutis illi exhibebant. Quæ contentio ad posteritatem quoque promanabat. Ut dici jure potuerit, sicut populus sic sacerdos. Sed mores antiqui illi paulatim antiquati sunt, et in deterius prona humanæ indolis conditione ita ferente prolapsi.

Tandem ex amæno historiarum Bedæ viridario pedem efferamus, et ex aliorum scriptorum hortis tanquam flores, beneficia excerpamus apud Britanniæ majoris incolas à nostratibus collocata; et cænobia, collegiaque ab iisdem instituta, Episcoporum sedes constitutas, et studia literarum amplificata commemoremus. Abindonia monasterii Abindonensis sedes S. Abbano nostrate nomen sortita est,[4] quasi Abban Dun, seu Dun-Abban, id est Dunum, sive oppidum Abbani, qui Reginam loci

[3] Pag. 168. [4] Colganus 19.

[a] Barton upon Humber? Lincolnshire, founded by St. Chad.

[b] Dr. Lanigan denies that this can have been the famous St. Abban, whose acts have been published by Colgan, March 16. See Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iii. pp. 14, 22. His chief reason for denying that St. Abban was in England, namely, that South England was then under

him and by his disciples; namely, Lindisfarne, Melrose, Lestingham, Eadbaren,[a] Brawen, and others. Whitby, the monastery of St. Hilda, was established by St. Aidan. In all Britain there was hardly any monastery more famous for apostolic and holy men than Lindisfarne. The order of St. Columba converted many men and many provinces in England. For the greater part of England was brought over from Paganism to the true religion by the very holy and learned disciples of St. Columba." Thus far Broughton.

From many other passages of Beda it is evident that our countrymen were as zealous by example as by preaching, to light the Anglo Saxons in the way of salvation. They had bound themselves to the severest abstinence and contempt of the world's wealth, never possessing more than the necessaries of life, and giving all their superflous property to the poor; they never travelled on horseback, but whenever duty called they journeyed on foot; not to entertain their hosts with frivolous conversations, but to instruct the people in some salutary truths. The people thronged around them in great numbers, and would not consent to separate without falling on their knees to receive the parting prayer and blessing of the priest. The people reverenced the priest; the priest communicated to them the maxims of salvation; a holy rivalry which descended to posterity; confirming the proverb, like priest like people. But these ancient habits have by degrees fallen into disrepute, and are every day deteriorating under that fatal propensity of the human character to lapse from bad to worse.

Turning from the sweet and flowery pages of Bedá's repository, we now go among other writers to gather, like flowers in a garden, the blooming wreath of eulogy on the benefits conferred by Irishmen on the inhabitants of Great Britain; the monasteries and colleges they founded, the Episcopal sees they erected, the schools they extended and improved. Abingdon, the site of the monastery of Abingdon, was so called from our countryman, St. Abban, Abban Dun or Dun Abban,[b]

the Pagan Saxons, proves nothing; for, supposing, with Dr. Lanigan, that Abban died early in the seventh century, and that he lived, as all accounts suppose, to a great age, he might have been, as Colgan states, at Abingdon, when a young man, in the first quarter of the sixth century; and there

ad vitam, incolas ad veram religionem vocavit.[5] Hunc eremitam fuisse, et ei loco nomen tribuisse aliqui scripserunt "apud Camdenum,"[6] qui ait monasterium istud "in eam magnificentiam paulatim excrevisse, ut inter Britanniæ monasteria, cum opibus, tum amplitudine vix secundis acquiesceret." Camdenus etiam merito dixit, "Malmsburiense monasterium originem suam Hibernis debuisse." Maldulphus enim "Scoto Hibernus" (verba sunt Camdeni) vir summa eruditione, et singulari vitæ sanctitate nemoris amænitate captus, quæ hic sub colle succrevit, eremiticam vitam ibi duxit. Postea ludum aperiens, et cum auditoribus monasticæ vitæ se devovens, cænobium ædificavit.[7] Hinc à Maldulpho illo oppidum Maildulfburg pro Ingilborne dici cæpit, Bedæ Maildulphi urbis, et postea contracte Malmsburie."[8] Quo in loco, addit Malmsburiensis, "Aldhelmus à primo ævo infantiæ, liberalibus literarum studiis eruditus, et in gremio sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ nutritus vitam duxit." Qui deinde Abbas fuit "Monasterii quod Maildui urbem nominant, vir undequaque doctissimus. Nam et sermone nitidus, et scripturarum tam liberalium, quam Ecclesiasticarum erat eruditione mirandus."[9] Ac denique Occidentalium Saxonum quadriennio Episcopus è vita migravit.

Celeberrimo quoque Glastonensi monasterio initium Hibernos dedisse author est Camdenus dicens: "Primis temporibus viri sanctissimi hic Deo invigilarunt, et præcipuê Hiberni, qui stipendiis regiis alebantur, et adolescentes pietate, artibusque ingenuis instruebant. Solitariam enim vitam amplexi sunt, ut majore cum tranquillitate sacris literis

[5] Mar. 6, 12. [6] Pag. 202. [7] Pag. 177. [8] De Gestis Regum lib. 1, c. 2. Beda, lib. 5, c. 19. [9] Ibidem, Pag. 165.

is no reason to believe, but the contrary, that the Saxons had at that time pushed their conquests to Abingdon.

[c] St. Maidulph died about the year 675. See Dr. Lanigan, vol. iii. pp. 98, 100.

[d] It is called by Beda "Maidulphi urbs;" by others Maldubury, Maldunburg. See Camden.

[e] Glastonbury, or Glastonia Hibernorum, "one of the earliest foundations of the Irish in Britain; anterior probably to the Saxon conquest.

that is the Dun or town of Abban, who restored the queen of that district to life, and converted the inhabitants from Paganism. He was a hermit, and gave his name to that place, according to some authorities cited by Camden, "who says that in course of time that monastery rose to such magnificence, that in wealth and extent it was hardly second to any in England." The same writer has truly recorded "that the monastery of Malmsbury owed its origin to the Irish."[c] For Maldulph, an Irish Scot (such are Camden's words,) a man of extraordinary learning and singular holiness of life, being struck with the delightful position of a grove that was at the base of a hill, lived there an anchorite. He afterwards commenced a school, and having devoted himself with all his scholars to the monastic life, they founded a monastery. Hence instead of its old name Ingilborne, the place began to be called Maidulpburg; the city of Maidulph (Beda) and afterwards by contraction, Malmesbury. "It was here," says William of Malmsbury, "that Aldhelm lived from his tenderest infancy, was instructed in all the branches of polite learning, and nurtured on the bosom of Holy Mother church." He was afterwards Abbot of a monastery, which they call the city of Maildue.[d] "He was a most learned man, a perspicuous writer, and admirably versed in all liberal and sacred books." During the four last years of his life he was Bishop of the West Saxons.

The most celebrated monastery of Glastonbury was also founded by the Irish. "In primitive times," according to Camden, "most holy men, principally from Ireland, kept their heavenly vigils there. They were supported at the royal expense, and instructed youth in piety and the liberal arts. They embraced the solitary life that they might devote themselves with greater peace to sacred learning, and exercise themselves to carry their cross by an austere mode of life."[e] To these it may not be uninteresting to add the testimony of Osborne of Can-

See Camden for the great fame it enjoyed with ancient writers, who called it 'the fountain of all religion in England;' 'the mother and tomb of Saints,'" &c., the disciples of our Lord, it was believed, had founded it; and there too, they maintained, was the tomb of St. Patrick. See Lanigan, vol. i., p. 327.

vacarent, et severo vitæ genere, ad crucem perferendam se exercerent."[10] His ex Osberno Cantuariensi non piget adjungere "quod peregrinandi consuetudo Hibernis adhuc vehementer maneat, quia quod aliis bona voluntas in consuetudinem, hoc illis consuetudo vertit in naturam. Quorum multi, atque illustres viri divinis ac liberalibus literis nobiliter eruditi, dum relicta Hibernia, in terra Anglorum peregrinaturi venissent, locum habitationis suæ Glastoniam elegerunt;[11] propterea quod esset à civili multitudine sequestratus, et humanis usibus accommodatus." Sanctus etiam Congellus in Britanniam navigavit, et constituit ibi monasterium in quadam villa in regione Heth. Sanctus vero Brendanus in Britanniæ regione monasterium nomine Ailech, Ecclesiam Bledach dictam in regione Heth condidit.[12]

Tathæus quoque in Monmothensium Venta, "rogatu Caradoci regis scholarum studium aliquando rexit, confluentibus undique scholaribus ad erudiendam scientiam septem disciplinarum."[13] Præterea Broughtonus dicit Tathæum nobili genere in Hibernia, ortum et percurrente per universam Hiberniam fama ejus, confluxisse undique juvenes ad hauriendam ejus doctrinam; qui in Britanniam trajiciens assumptis secum octo discipulis Carodocus rex utriusque Guentoniæ, certior famæ quæ de illo sparsa est factus, venerandum Doctorem invisit, eumque quam
[148] vehementissime precatus est ut civitatem | Guentam peteret, ibique scholam citra moram moderaretur. Doctissimus Tathæus postulationi regis obsecutus, utpote cupidus talenti sibi commissi ritè disseminandi, proximam urbem adiit, et literarum studiosos ad eum undique commigrantes instituere cæpit. Ita ut plurimos disciplinæ suæ alumnos postea celebres habuerit. Quorum unus gloriosissimus Cadocus erat, filius regis, sancti Guedelenis plurimorum in Britannia Monachorum Abbas, et demum Beneventi Episcopus in Italia. Itaque Tathæus docendi

[10] Apud Usherum in sylloge, p. 164. [11] Ex vita S. Congelli apud Ushæ, p. 956. [12] Ushærus, p. 955, et 1126. [13] Ushærus primord. pag. 92, ex vita S. Tathai.

[f] Uncertain where this Heth lay; more probably it was in Bretagne, which was visited by St. Brendan.

[g] He must have been a contemporary of St. Patrick's. Lanigan i., 490.

terbury, "that the habit of going to foreign countries still forms a powerful trait in the Irish, so that what good will makes a habit in other people, in the Irish is changed from habit into nature. Many of them, men of great renown, nobly preeminent in liberal and sacred learning, after leaving Ireland on a pilgrimage through the land of England, selected Glastonbury as the place of their dwelling, because it was far remote from the busy multitude, and adapted for the uses of man." St. Congal also travelled to Britain and founded a monastery there in a village in the district of Heth. St. Brendan founded in Britain a monastery called Ailsah, and a church called Bledach in the territory of Heth.[f]

Tathæus[g] also, at the request of king Carodoc, presided over a school at Venta,[h] in Monmouth, and was attended by crowds of scholars from all quarters, to be instructed in the seven liberal arts. Broughton, moreover, records that Tathæus was an Irishman of noble birth, whose fame being spread throughout all Ireland, young men flocked to him from all parts to imbibe his doctrine. Taking with him eight disciples, he crossed over to Britain, where Carodoc, king of the two Guentoniæ,[i] hearing of his great renown, visited the venerable doctor, and entreated him most earnestly to go to the city of Venta, and immediately preside over a school there. The very learned Tathæus complied with the king's request, as being desirous of dispensing the talent committed to him; and coming to the city, he began to instruct in learning, students who flocked to him from all parts: so that he had under his care a very great number of pupils, who afterwards became celebrated. One of those was the most glorious Cadoc, son of king Gundleus, abbot of many monks in Britain, and finally bishop of Beneventum,[k] in Italy. Thus Tathæus continued to teach here to the last day of his life, and deserved to be buried with honor." He cites in the margin, Voliberus on the lives of the Welsh Saints, Cosgrave on St. Tathæus. Antiqui-

[h] Caerwent in Welsh, supposed to be the same as Chepstow (Saxon). Near it is the castle which gave his title of to the famous Strongbow.

[i] Guineath, Venedotia, Guinethia.

[k] A mistake probably for a place called Beneventa in England, supposed by Camden to be the same as Wedon in Northamptonshire.

munus ibidem ad ultimum vitæ diem prosecutus est, et sepeliri cum honore meruit. Citat autem in margine Voliberum de vitis sanctorum Walliæ, Capgravium in S. Tathæo. Antiquitates Cantabrigenses lib. 1, p. 148, additque alibi Tathæum hunc, collato sibi à rege Caradoco agro, Ecclesiam in S. Trinitatis honorem construxisse,[14] et consilio Laudanensis Episcopi duodecem canonicos ibidem Deo servientes instituisse. Sanctus etiam Brandanus in Britannia triennium egit, et S. Talmachus quandam belluam hominibus et pecoribus exitialem è Britanniæ finibus ejecit: S. quoque Cadro è incendii flammas latè Londini grassantes precibus coercuit.

Sed hæc nunc missa faciamus, et rationem exhibeamus, qua nostrates Oxoniam exulantes Musas primi adduxerunt. Nimirum Aluredus rex studiorum ibi sede ac domicilio collocato,[16] Joannem nostrum Scotum Erigenam "eo misit jussitque" (Pitsium audis) "ut Academiâ jam restitutâ, omnium primus ibi bonas literas publice doceret." Quem Scotum ideo dictum aliqui scriptores autumant;[17] "quod in Scotia, id est Hibernia, ad quam frequens erat nostratium" (inquit Harpsfeldius) "hoc, et superiori sæculo, ad ingenium excolendum, disciplinasque hauriendas concursus, versatus fuerat."[18] Additque Cajus "ætate Alfredi regis Hibernos vulgo dictos fuisse Scotos, eamque ab causam, ubicunque apud Orosium occurrebat Hibernus, Aluredus vertis Scotte."

Videre profecto apud Ushærum est Aluredum, sive Alfredum hunc in Saxonica sua Orosii versione,[19] Hiberniam vocare Scothlandiam, et in Saxonica Bedæ interpretatione ab Alfredo etiam elucubratâ, et nuper in lucem emissâ per Abrahamum Whelocum,[20] ubi Beda lib. 1, cap. 10, dicit Pictos extra fines omnes Britanniæ Hiberniam pervenisse, vocem Hiberniam Saxonice vertit "Scotland." Alibi in eodem capite Hiberniam exprimit per Heoralande postea bis,[21] in hoc etiam capite ad Hiberniam Saxonice exprimendam voce tantum latina Hibernia utitur,

[14] Pag. 152. [15] Colganus 26 Febr. p. 414, in notis n. 2. Ibidem. Idem. 6, Martii. [16] Pag. 168. [17] Sæculo 9, c. 12. [18] Antiquit. Cantabri. lib. 1, p. 223. [19] De prim. p. 731. [20] Catabrig. an Dom. 1643. [21] Pag. 23.

[l] Caerleon upon Usk?

[m] Bretagne more probably; Britain according to Ussher.

[n] This name does not appear in the common Irish Calendars.

[o] Mabillon, the Bollandists, and Dr.

tates Cantabrigenses, L. I. p. 148, adding, moreover, that St. Tathæus having received a grant of land from king Carodoc, erected a church to the Holy Trinity, and by the advice of the bishop of Laudon,[l] established in it twelve canons devoted to the service of God. St. Brendan spent three years in Britain,[m] and St. Talmach[n] banished from the land of Britain a beast that was destructive both to men and cattle. St. Cadroe[o] also arrested by his prayers a conflagration which was spreading over London.

But dismissing this subject, let us recount how our countrymen first restored the muses to their seats in Oxford. King Alured having established there grounds and edifices for a college, sent our countryman, John Scotus Erigena, and ordered him (as Pitsius says), the college being now established, to commence public lectures on useful learning."[p] He was called "Scotus," according to some writers, "because he had lived in Scotia, that is, Ireland, whither," says Harpsfeld, "both in this and the preceding century, our students had flocked to cultivate their genius, and acquire knowledge." Caius adds, "that in the time of king Alfred, the Irish were generally called Scots," and for that reason, wherever the word Hibernus occurs in Orosius, it is rendered by Alured "Scotte."

Ussher proves that this Alured, or Alfred, calls Ireland "Scotland," in his Saxon version of Orosius, and also in his Saxon translation of Beda, which has lately been published by Abraham Wheloc: for, where Beda states, Lib. I. c. 10, that the Picts went to Ireland, a place entirely beyond the bounds of Britain, Ireland is translated into the Saxon word "Scotland." In another part of the same chapter he twice translates "Hibernia" Heorlande, and sometimes uses in the same place the Latin word "Hibernia" itself in the Saxon version, merely adding the Saxon words "Scotta eolande," that is, the Island of the Scots. And in numerous other passages of Beda, where the word Hibernia occurs, the same ex-

Lanigan maintain against Colgan, that St. Cadroc was a British Scot.

[p] Dr. Lanigan, vol. iii.. p. 100, proves conclusively, that John Scotus was never received in England by king Alfred, and that probably he never sojourned in that country. The John whom Alfred invited over from France was a Saxon.

de suo adjiciens Saxonicas hasce voces "Scotta eolonde" id est Scotorum Insula. Et non solum hic, sed in multis præterea Bedæ locis, eodem prorsus additamento vocem "Hiberniam" à Beda solitarie positam cumulat. Nimirum lib. 3, cap. 19, p. 209, lib. 4, cap. 3, p. 267, cap. 25, p. 337, cap. 26, p. 345, et in titulo lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 7, ut jam non miror Giraldum dixisse: "Albaniam nunc abusive Scotiam dici;" ipso scilicet superstite, sub annum Dom. 1190, in Dialogo de sede Menevensi, et citatur â Joanne Prisio in defensione historiæ Britannicæ p. 74.

Sed ut eò unde ista me abduxerunt redeam,[22] Erigena noster non tantum educatione, sed etiam Nicholao Papa ipsi coætaneo testante, "Scotus genere fuit," aut "Scotigena;" ut eum Anastasius per eadem quoque tempora superstes appellat.[23] Scotus etiam est Malmsburiensi, Hovedeno, et Westmonasteriensi nempe Scotus ex Hibernia; bis ut supra monuimus, Scotia ab Aluredo, et creberrime insula Scotorum dicta.

Erigena vero perinde est ac Hibernigena, quod malo alienis quam meis verbis ediscas.[24] "Joannem Scotum Erigenam" (inquit Edwardus Maithew) "Hibernum fuisse insinuare videtur ipsum nomen Erigena, quod virum de Hibernia ortum significare dicitur. Nam Hibernia Insula hodie idiomate Hibernico Erin vocatur. Nec verisimilitudine caret, quod notant Abrahamus Ortelius in suo Theatro orbis terrarum, in suis tabulis Geographicis, et alii nonnulli, Anglicum nomen "Ireland" olim Anglis fuisse Irinland sive Erinland. Quod si verum sit, vox
[149.] Erigena non minus significat Hibernum, quam | vox Angligena Anglum, et Francigena Francum."[25] Huic igitur quem Aluredus rex et "sibi, liberisque adhibuit præceptorem, et quo tanquam geniali sidere" (ut loquitur Lelandus) "Academiam Oxoniensem adornavit:" et tam docti regis eruditio, et Academiæ tam nobilis erectio accepta referri debet,

[22] Ushærus in sylloge, p. 65, et 535. [23] De gestis Regum. lib. 2, c. 4, n. 88. [24] De scrip. Anglis. Benedict. p. 166. [25] Pitsius ubi supra. Antiquit. Oxonies. lib. 2, p. 195.

[q] Because it was only about the time of Giraldus that North Britain began to be generally called Scotia, not always "sine addito" however, but Scotia minor, and sometimes Scotia nova; Ireland being for many ages

planatory addition is constantly made in the Saxon translation. Lib. 3, c. 19, p. 209; lib. 4, c. 3, p. 267; c. 25, p. 337; c. 26, p. 345; and in the title, lib. 1, c. 1, p. 7. So that Giraldus had good reason to say "Albania was in his day improperly called Scotland."[q] The passage occurs in his dialogue on the See of St. David's, about the year 1190, and is cited by John Price in his Defence of British History, p. 74.

But returning to the subject from which I have strayed, Erigena was Irish not only by education, but, according to his contemporary, Pope Nicolas, an Irishman by birth, "Irish born," as he is named by Anastasius, who flourished at the same period. William of Malmsbury, Hoveden, and Matthew of Westminster, also make him a Scot, that is, a Scot from Ireland; Alfred having, as I showed already, twice called Ireland, Scotland, and very frequently the Island of the Scots

Erigena, means the same as "Irish born," a fact which I prefer presenting to you in the words of another, that "John Scotus Erigena (says Edward Mathew) was an Irishman, appears from the very name Erigena, which is said to mean a native of Ireland." Nor is it at all improbable, that Irinland, or Erinland, was the old English name of Ireland, as it is marked in "the Theatre of the World," and Geographical charts of Abraham Ortelius and others. "In that case, Erigena as clearly means an Irishman as Angligena, or Francigena an Englishman or Frenchman." This was the man, therefore, who was chosen preceptor by Alfred for himself and his children, and who, in the words of Leland, illumined the Academy of Oxford by his genial star; to whom is owing the erudition of a learned king, and the foundation of so illustrious a university;" and it would be almost impossible to find one man of his day at all equal to him in all useful learning. Hence, as several cities contended for the honor of Homer's birthplace,

afterwards known on the Continent as Scotia, simply or "Scotia major," "Scotia vetus." North Britain was very seldom called Scotia before the clseo of the eleventh century. [q]Genebrard annum 1150. Edit. Paris. So late as the year 1626, Edward Fitzgerald, colonel in the Imperial service and count of the Empire, who was an Irishman, is described in his epitaph in the church of the Franciscans at Heidelberg as "Scotus natione."

"qui in omni meliori doctrina vix sui similem quemquam in illa ætate per terrarum orbem habuerit."[26] Ut sicut plures urbes de Homeri natalibus contenderant, sic Oxonia, et Cantabrigia, utri earum ille ascribendus fuerit, in disceptationem vocaverint.

"Ad hunc Regem Aluredum" (verba sunt Westmonasteriensis) "tres homines de Hibernia venientes, solitariam pro Christo vitam ducere cupiebant.[27] Construxerunt namque sibi de tribus coriis bovinis et dimidio naviculum quandam brevissimam sine omni navis instrumento, qui adjuncto sibi unius septimanæ victu, clam mare sunt ingressi quocunque fortuna concederet ire disponentes. Qui Domino ducente, septima suæ ingressionis die, in Cornubia applicantes, pro miraculo, et novitate inauditâ regi præsentabantur.[28] Nomina autem eorum erant Dubsane, Manchetus, et Manslinus." Qui apud Ushærum vocantur, Dufflanus, Macbætus, et Magilmumenus. Quorum postremum Ushærus dicit "fuisse artibus frondentem, litera doctum, magistrum insignem." Ut proinde judicem hospites suos literis imbuisse,[29] ut eruditionis vicem hospitii beneficentiæ rependeret. Quam rem cumulate multo ante præstitit "Petrocus Cornius" (Harpsfeldium audis) "qui cum viginti totos annos, in Hibernia divinis literis operam dedisset, sacris his mercibus abunde instructus patriam repetit, et in cænobio non ita procul â Sabrino flumine, quæ didicerat ab aliis,[30] ingenue et liberaliter communicat, inter quos illustriores fuere Credanus, Mechanus, et Dachanus."

Et ut extra Harpsfeldum oratio non evagetur: "Conditum est" (inquit sæculo nono) "sacrarum virginum apud Polliswicthum juxta sylvam Ardeniam, in Castrensi Diæcesi per beatam Modwenniam cæno-

[26] Pitsius ibidem. Antiquit. Cantab. p. 211. [27] Antiquit. Oxonien. p. 196, et sequ. [28] An Dom. 891. [29] De prim. 732. [30] Pag. 42, c. 27.

[r] It is unquestionable that the famous John Scotus Erigena was Irish, but that he had any connexion with either Oxford or Cambridge, or any school in England, is not satisfactorily proved, though very often asserted by English writers.

[s] Fame writes the name of these three learned men different ways; for which see Dr. Lanigan, vol. iii., p.

so Oxford and Cambridge dispute to which of them Erigena belonged.[r]

According to Matthew of Westminster, " three men came to Alfred from Ireland intending to lead a solitary life in honor of Christ. Constructing a very small boat for themselves of three cow-hides and a half, without any of the appliances of a ship, and taking in one week's provision, they pushed out secretly to sea, resolved to settle wheresoever fortune might lead them. On the seventh day of their voyage, by the guidance of heaven, they made land in Cornwall, and on account of the miraculous and unheard-of adventure, were presented to the king. Their names were Dubsane, Manchet, and Mainslin," or as they are called by Ussher, Duflan, Macbœtus, and Magilmumen,[s] the last being, according to the same authority, " eminent in the arts, learned in books, and an illustrious teacher," he and his associates probably instructed their guests and repaid their hospitality with learning. In this manner, Petroc,[t] of Cornwall, highly distinguished himself. For having devoted himself to the study of sacred learning during full twenty years in Ireland, he returned home richly stored with these sacred treasures, and in a monastery not far from the river Severn, nobly and liberally dispensed around him what he had learned from others, of whom the most illustrious were Credan, Mechan, and Dachan.

Still confining ourselves to Harpsfeld, we find " that in the ninth century a convent for holy virgins was founded by St. Modwenna at Pollesworth,[u] near the forest of Arden in the diocese of Chester. St.

346. He adopts the forms, Dufflan, Macbeathath and Magilmunen. In Petrie's Round Towers, p. 323, is given an illustration of the tombstone of Suibne Mac Maelhumai, a famous scribe and anchorite at Cluainmacnois. A.D. 890, 891. It is there stated, that Suibne was one of the three Irishmen presented to Alfred, which can hardly be reconciled with the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 891, where Suibne is mentioned as different from the three. There may be a clerical error, Mac Maelhumai, being changed into Magilmun.

[t] From whom Petrockstow, or Padstow, in Cornwall, is named. See Lanigan, vol. i., 493.

[u] In Warwickshire near Tamworth.

bium.[31] Illi divam Editham Alfredis regis sororem, quæ ibi usque ad nostra tempora religiose colebatur præfecit. Ipsa vero apud aliud monasterium, quod prope Streneshalium condidit versata est: Modwennæ discipula fuit diva Athea, et diva Ositha. Ad hanc Modwennam dicitur Ethelwolphus rex filium Aluredum deplorato quodam morbo implicitum curationis gratia in Hiberniam transmisisse, quæ eodem postea referente: "cœnobium Streneshalamense beneficio Aluredi regis reparasse traditur, et aliquandiu incoluisse."[32] Bartonense vero monasterium ait Camdenus: "Modwenniæ Hiberniæ mulieris secessu quondam insigne fuit, et in hoc tractu ejus sanctitas celeberrima est."[33] Tumuloque ejus ibidem posito versiculi à Camdeno recitati, pro Epitaphio inscripti erant. Idemque illam elogio "alibi" exornat. Quam et Edwardus Maithew scribit "in modico fluvii Trentæ Insulæ oratorio in honorem S. Andreæ constructo, septem annis anachoritice vixisse."[34] Additque Ushærus ab illa "septem in Scotia, sive Albania constructas fuisse Ecclesias, Chilnecassensem, Dundonaldensem, Dunbretenensem, Striveliensem, Dundenensem, Dunpelderensem, et Lanfortinensem." Ut vere Broughtonus affirmaverit,[35] multa illam sanctimonialium cænobia condidisse, quorum unum centum et quinquaginta sanctæ virgines incolebant.[36] Viri etiam ea informante monasticis disciplinis imbuebantur, è quibus S. Eugerium cernens "S. Modwenna bonæ indolis adoptavit in filium, et summo studio enutriens, fide ac moribus reddidit eruditum."[37] Denique Westmonasteriensis eam "crebris miraculis claruisse scribit."[38] Ita ut Matthew merito dixerit: "S. Modwennam in Hibernia ortam, Angliam sua sanctitate, ac præclaris meritis, ac miraculis insigniter illustrasse."[39]

Imo plures alii è nostratibus in Anglia,[40] Walliaque claruerunt, ac nominatim S. Brendanus qui Lhancarvensi monasterio post Cadocum præfuit. Sancti Modomnocus, Barreus, Maidocus, Senanus, Mollagga

[31] Cap. 13, p. 175. [32] Ibib. c. 14. [33] Stradford Shire, p. 441. [34] Uvarmuth Shire, p. 419. [35] 5 Julii. p. 913. [36] Primor. p. 706. [37] Ubi. sup. p. 165. [38] Ad annu 1201. [39] Ubi supra. p. 908. [40] Ushærus de prim. p. 533.

[v] Andresey, probably; a small island in the Trent not far from Burton. See Ussher's Antiquities, p. 368, and Lanigan, iii., p. 41, for the conflicting opinions on the life and time of St. Moduenna.

Edith, sister to king Alfred, was appointed Abbess, and her memory was religiously honored there down even to our own day. Modwenna herself resided in another convent founded by herself near Streneshal. SS. Athea and Ositha were her disciples. It was to her, while yet in Ireland, that king Ethelwolf is said to have sent his son Alured, to get him cured of some mortal disease: she "afterwards, according to the same authority, rebuilt the convent of Streneshal,[v] by the aid of king Alfred, and dwelt there some time." The monastery of Burton-on-Trent, Camden says, "once honored as the retreat of Modwenna, a holy woman from Ireland, and her sanctity was famous in the whole county around." He publishes the monumental verses, which were engraved there on her tomb, and himself, in another part of his work, celebrates her fame. Edward Mathew thus writes of her, "that she lived seven years as a hermit in a little oratory, built in honor of St. Andrew on an island in the river Trent." Ussher adds, "that she founded seven churches in Albania or Scotland, namely, Chilnecas,[w] Dundonald, Dunbriton, Stirling, Edinborough, Dunpelder,[x] and Lanforth."[y] Broghton has, therefore, truly said, "that she had founded many convents of nuns, one of which was inhabited by one hundred and fifty holy virgins." Men, also, were under her care brought up in monastic discipline; amongst whom was St. Eugerius, whose good dispositions made St. Modwenna adopt him as her son, and educating him with great care, she made him perfect in faith and morals. She was famous for miracles, according to Matthew of Westminster. "Born in Ireland," says Edward Mathew, "Modwenna poured over England the halo of her sanctity, miracles, and illustrious merits."

Many others of our countrymen rose to distinction in England and Wales, and especially St. Brendan, who governed the monastery of Lhancarven after Cadoc. SS. Modomnoc,[z] Barry,[a] Maidoc,[b] Senan,[c]

[w] In Galloway.

[x] A hill in Lothian.

[y] Supposed by Ussher to be a place near Dundee.

[z] Domnoc who settled at Tybroughney, south-west of the county of Kilkenny.

[a] Bishop and patron of Cork.

[b] Bishop and patron of Ferns.

[c] Of Inniscatthy.

et S. Scotinus, aliique qui literis à S. Davide imbuti,[41] multa miracula per Britanniam ediderunt. S. Buriena, cujus et nomen et memoriam Cornwalliæ viculus Saintburieus adhuc retinet. "S. Ivæ quoque mulieris Hibernicæ oppidum Santives nomen suum acceptum refert." Padstou quoque à S. Pirano Hiberno nomen mutuata est.[42] Et Saintbees in Cumberlandia nuncupationem suam "à S. Bega pia et religiosà Hibernica virgine,[43] quæ vitam illic solitariam egit," nacta est. Nimirum
[150] eorum nomina gratæ posteritatis beneficio,[44] iis locis adhæserunt, | quæ vivi insederunt. Ut meritorum quæ apud incolas collocarunt, memoria recordatione quam longissima foveretur.

Pene mihi è memoria Ultanus noster excidit, qui in Lindisfarnensi cœnobio "polite atque concinne libros sacros exscribere solebat,[45] vir singulari pietate, quod et post mortem ejus et Deus ostendit. Defuncti enim manus (cum ossa post aliquot annos à tumulo eruerentur alibi reponenda) fratri cuidam periculose ægrotanti repentinam salutem suo attactu attulit." S. Finnanus in Britannia majori stagnum sic arefecit, ut in humo per quàm decurrerat, plures modo civitates extructæ visantur. Insulam Echinum, passerum, pulicum, et serpentum infestatione liberavit.[46] Saxonum copias à Britonibus prælio aggrediendis desistere renuentes, montis mole oppressos delevit.

Exploratum igitur est nostrates per multas in Britannia majori provincias fidem propagasse, plures literis excoluisse; plurimos monasticis disciplinis cumulatè instituisse, plura cænobia tanquam virtutum palestras erexisse, complures etiam Episcoporum sedes inchoasse, ut eum à ratione aversissimum esse oporteat, qui viros tantâ vitæ sanctimonia, et literarum scientia conspicuos, suis civibus in prima barbarie, et morum pravitate tanquam luto inhærentibus, ad pollutos alienigenarum mores

[41] Colgan in actis Sanctorum Hiber. Camden. p. 136. [42] Idem p. 140. [43] Ibidem. [44] Idem p. 630. [45] Harpsf. sæculo 9, cap. 14, p. 177. [46] Colgan. ad 23 Feb.

[d] See Lanigan iii., 83.

[e] From whom Tescoffin near the city of Kilkenny derives its name.

[f] Padstow was so called from the Petroc; between Padstow and St. Ives there was a church named after Piron, who is supposed by some to be the same as St. Kieran of Saiger.

[g] For an account of the biblical MSS. of the Irish school preserved

Molagga,[d] S. Scotinus,[e] and other disciples of St. David, worked many miracles in Britain. S. Buriena's name and memory are still preserved in Saintbury, a little hamlet in Cornwall, and St. Iva, an Irish woman, has bequeathed her name to the town of St. Ives. Padstow is so called from St. Piron,[f] an Irishman, and St. Bees in Cumberland had its name from St. Bega, a holy and religious virgin, who led a solitary life there. The gratitude of posterity perpetuated the memory of their saints in the names of the places which they inhabited during life; that they might live through long ages in the affections of the people whom they had served.

Our countryman, Ultan, had well nigh escaped me. It was in the monastery of Lindisfarne that he used to transcribe the sacred books, neatly and elegantly.[g] He was a man of singular piety, which God manifested after his death. "For when his relics were raised from the tomb some years after his death to be deposited in another place, his hand was applied to one of the brothers who was dangerously ill, and instantly restored him to health." St. Finnian also drained a marsh in Great Britain so thoroughly, that many towns are now built on the space through which it flowed. He also freed the island of Echin from sparrows, bugs and serpents, and annihilated a whole army of Saxons, by burying them under a mountain as they were advancing against the Britons.[h]

It is then proved to demonstration that our countrymen propagated the faith in many provinces of Great Britain, that many of them instructed her in learning, many more had abundantly supplied her with monastic institutes, and founded many monasteries, which were the great schools of virtue; finally, that they laid the foundation of most of her episcopal sees. Can anything be more irrational than that men so highly eminent for sanctity of life and learning, should devote their lives to reform and refine the barbarous depravity of strangers, while

in England and at home, the reader is referred to Dr. O'Conor's Prolegomena, and Westwood's Paleographia Sacra. They are the most enduring monuments of the primitive church in Ireland. and of the influence of the Irish in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons.

[h] St. Finnian, it is said, spent many years in Wales, before he established his famous school at Clonard.

debito nitore poliendos operam suam collaturos esse conseret; ingratæ autem indolis indicium est in eos quibus majores tui suam pene omnem institutionem acceptam referunt maledictis debacchari.

Quod si pro humanæ inconstantiæ conditione, longa temporum vicissitudo nonnullam à prima morum præstantiâ declinationem pariat; meminisse debuit obtrectator, non eum bonitatis tenorem res omnes retinere, in qua primum conditæ sunt, sed cuique rei suam periodum esse; regna etenim et Respub. suas conversiones experiri; nihil unquam in primo quem fixit gradu diu perstitisse; omnia in deterius sensim sine sensu prolabi. Ut is imitatorem Chami agat, qui optime de se meritorum nævos propalare quam celare malit. Itaque quis Giraldum Chami personam induisse, ac summæ ingratitudinis infamiam subiisse negabit?[47] qui Hibernos majorum suorum ad fidem, virtutem, et literas duces, ac magistros conviciis proscindat, et pro benefactis maledicta reponat? In Anglos enim, et Cambros ceu Wallos institutionis beneficium Hiberni contulerunt. Et ad "utram gentem, Trojanamque nobilitatem generis" originem Giraldus refert.

Quæ officia nostrates Anglis præstiterunt paulo uberius; quæ Cambris pressius supra commemoravi. In utraque re latius potuit oratio excurrere: sed eam de industriâ coërcui, veritus ne prolixitate fastidium lectori crearem. Ut autem quam arctis inter se amicitiæ vinculis nostrates ac Britanni olim mutuo colligabantur paucis perstringam, hoc tantum dicam nullum fuisse necessitudinis genus, quod genti nostræ cum Britannis non intercessit.[48] Hiberniam è Britannia primos incolas recepisse nonnullorum est conjectura;[49] à Britano Hiberno Britones originem duxisse historici nostri memorant. Eodem morum cultu, ingeniorumque similitudine utramque nationem imbutam fuisse, è Tacito, et ipso Giraldo percipi potest.[50] In utraque lingua tanta est vocum multitudo easdem syllabas, et significationes referentium (Creveus Primas Hiberniæ quingentas cumulavit) ut non nisi duo rivuli ex

[47] In ejus vita operibus annexa p. 817. [48] Camden. p. 728. [49] Ushærus de prim. p. 821. [50] In vita Agricolæ In descriptione Cambriæ.

[i] It is clear from this and from several other passages that our author knew nothing of that high degree of civilization which visionaries of the

their own countrymen were plunged in the mire of primitive barbarism and profligacy; it proves an ungrateful heart, to launch into foul invectives against those to whom your ancestors owed all the rudiments of their civilization.

What, though in the long lapse of ages, the inherent instability of human affairs may have produced some falling off from their first palmy civilization, the calumniator ought to have borne in mind that all things do not retain the healthful vigor of their prime. All things have their day; kingdoms and republics have their revolutions; nothing ever remained in the state in which it was first founded; all things degenerate by little and little. Who but a Cham would expose instead of concealing his best benefactors? Can any man deny that Giraldus is a Cham, and has incurred the infamy of the most foul ingratitude?—he who repays blessings by maledictions, and calumniates those who are the teachers and guides of his ancestors in faith, in virtue, and in learning? The Irish conferred the grace of enlightenment on both English and Cambrians or Welsh, and Giraldus traces his own descent from both nations and their Trojan nobility.

The services of the Irish to the English have been already given in detail; and their services in Wales have been more briefly noticed. I could have been more copious on both subjects if I had not purposely refrained from wearying the reader by greater prolixity. But comprehending now in a few words the old bonds of friendship between our countrymen and the Britons, I may say that all the ties that bind nation to nation were contracted between them. Ireland was originally peopled from Britain, according to some; Britain was peopled by the descendants of Brito, an Irishman, according to our own native annalists. Their manners, and the character of their minds, were the same, as appears from Tacitus,[i] and from Cambrensis himself. Their languages have so great a number of words, identical both in elements and sense (Creagh, Primate of Ireland, collected 500 of them), that they may be regarded as two streams from the same fountain.[k] Need

last century claimed for pagan Ireland; he believed the Irish were like their neighbours the Britons, who were considerably below the Gauls in the scale of civilization.

[k] See O'Donovan's Irish Grammar, and Latham's English Language, appendix, on the affinity of the Welsh and Irish, illustrated from the grammatical structure of both languages.

eodem fonte scaturientes censendi sint. Quid memorem frequens connubiorum commercium,[51] et creberrimas virorum literis, et pietate illustrium ultro citroque commigrationes, et literas, ac vitæ sanctimoniam hic vicissim, et illic discentium et docentium ? Non possum igitur meo calculo non approbare laudatissimam illam Britonum, et Hibernorum consuetudinem se mutuo fratres etiamnum appellantium. Quippe qui tot vinculis astricti sunt, ut potiori jure mutua fratrum nuncupatione utantur, quam illi Pompei milites, qui cum ipse res in Asia gereret, ab Albanis in monte Caucaso habitantibus fratres fuerunt salutati,[52] propter
[151] commune nomen Albanorum. |

Quare qui tam inveteratum amicitiæ fædus radicitus evellere contendit, tanquam improbus odiorum disseminator mihi ex historicorum numero proscribendus esse videtur. Et quia probris in majorum suorum amicos benefactores, ac socios sæviens ingratitudinis maculam contraxit, æquum est ut contumeliis quas in Hibernos evomit fides abrogetur, quo nec quicquam oblatrante morum probitas nullo unquam tempore Hibernos defecit. Licet vulgi partem ut ubique gentium aliquibus temporibus scelerum contagio quandoque corripuerit.

[51] Camden. ubi supra. Hanmer. p. 11, ut fatetur in prefatione instit. Chr.
[52] Hamner, p. 8.

I mention their frequent intermarriages, and the ceaseless intercourse of men eminent both for sanctity and learning, passing from one shore to the other, masters or disciples, alternately, in both countries, of intellectual and spiritual life. I approve with all my heart that most admirablefeeling which makes the Briton and the Irishman still regard each other as brothers. The numerous ties that bind them together give them a better right to be called brothers than those soldiers of Pompey, who, serving under him in Asia, were saluted as brothers by the Albanian inhabitants of Mount Caucasus, merely on account of their common name, Albanians.

The man who endeavours to eradicate this deep-rooted feeling of brotherly friendship, ought, in my opinion, to be expunged from the rank of historians, as a malignant sower of discord. And if calumniating the benefactors and associates of his own fathers, he has branded on himself the stain of ingratitude, can it be just to believe his accusations against the Irish, amongst whom, whatever the calumniator may say, immorality was never triumphant, though, as in all other countries, some of the humbler classes were occasionally corrupted by the contagion of crime ?

CAPUT XIX.

QUÆ CONVITIANTI GIRALDO PATROCINARI VIDENTUR PRODUCUNTUR, ET MOX INFIRMANTUR: GIRALDUS ETIAM HIBERNOS PRIMITIAS, ET DECIMAS NON SOLVISSE, MATRIMONIA NON CONTRAXISSE, INCESTUS, ET ADULTERIA NON VITASSE DICENS FALSI CONVINCITUR.

[151] Conorensium spurcitiæ, a Giraldo Hibernis omnibus adscriptæ. [152] S. Bernardus a malo bonum, Giraldus e malo majus malum elicit.—Conorenses ad bonum frugem se receperunt.—Giraldus S. Bernardo contradicit.—S. Malachias Conorenses erudiit. [153] Quid S. Malachias Archiepiscopus egerit. Quæ Legatus præstiterit. [154] Giraldus labes, S. Bernardus laudes Hiberniæ evulgare contendit.—Quomodo Hiberni non barbari. [155] Hiberni nondum Christiani matrimonium inierunt.—Meæatarum et Caledoniorum mores. [156] Henrici II. libidines.—Libidines Henrici VIII.

Non dubito quin Giraldus in vitâ S. Malachiæ à S. Bernardo conscriptâ legerit S. Malachiam Episcopatui Conorensi gubernando admotum, cum Episcopi munia primum obire aggrederetur, "tum intellexisse non ad homines se, sed ad bestias destinatum, nusquam adhuc tales expertus fuerat,[1] in quantacumque barbarie nusquam repererat sic protervos ad mores, sic ferales ad ritus, sic ad fidem impios, ad leges barbaros, cervicosos ad disciplinam, spurcos ad vitam, Christiani nomine, re Pagani, non decimas, non primitias dare, non legitime inire conjugia, non facere confessiones." Non tam ovum ovo simile est, quam his ea sunt, quæ Cambrensis in Hibernos effutiit. Cum hoc tamen discrimine, quod hic nova exaggerationis accessione illius dicta cumulaverit, et Conorenses S. Bernardus "spurcos," Hibernos Giraldus "spurcissimos" dixerit. Imo non solum rem, sed ipsa etiam verba è divo Bernardo hausisse videtur, ut in memorato cap. 19, videre est. Datâ tamen operâ reticuit iis increpationibus à viro sancto Conorenses duntaxat perstrictos fuisse: et quod S. Bernardus ad exigui tractus incolas arguendos protulit, Giraldus ad universæ gentis contumeliam nefariè traduxit. Hanc quoque perfidiam majori cumulavit, quod etiam

[1] Cap. 6.

CHAPTER XIX.

STATEMENT AND REFUTATION OF SOME POINTS WHICH APPEAR TO SUBSTANTIATE THE CALUMNIES OF GIRALDUS; HIS FALSE ASSERTION THAT THE IRISH DID NOT PAY FIRST FRUITS OR TITHE, OR CELEBRATE THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT, OR AVOID INCEST AND ADULTERY.

[151] Filthy habits of the people of Connor, ascribed by Giraldus to all the Irish. [152] St. Bernard draws good from evil: Giraldus from evil draws greater evil. The people of Connor reformed themselves.—Giraldus contradicts St. Bernard.—St. Malachy instructed the people of Conor. [153] Actions of St. Malachy while he was archbishop: his zeal as legate. [154] Giraldus labors to publish the crimes; St. Bernard the merits of Ireland.—The Irish were not barbarous. [155] The Pagan Irish formed contracts of marriage.—Morals of the Meatæ aud Caledonii. [156] Lust of Henry II. and of Henry VIII.

Giraldus, no doubt, read in St. Bernard's life of St. Malachy, that when the latter after being appointed to the bishopric of Connor, began to exercise his episcopal functions, "he then discovered that it was not to men but to beasts he had been sent; in all the barbarism which he had yet encountered, he had never met such a people, so profligate in their morals, so uncouth in their ceremonies, so impious in faith, so barbarous in laws, so rebellious to discipline, so filthy in their life, Christians in name but Pagans in reality; they neither paid first fruits nor tithes, nor contracted marriage legitimately, nor made their confessions." There is an obvious, a striking similarity between these words and the invective of Giraldus; with this single difference, that the latter exaggerates the picture with a new addition, to heighten the words of the former; St. Bernard says the people of Connor were "filthy," but all the Irish were "most filthy" according to Giraldus. He has not only adopted the sense but almost the identical words of St. Bernard, as appears from chap. 19, already cited. But he deliberately suppresses the fact, that the people of Connor alone are thus severely censured by the holy man, and thus malignantly turns to the infamy of the whole nation what St. Bernard had confined to the inhabitants of one small

Conorenses, è vitiorum illorum volutabro emersisse, et ad bonam se frugem recepisse tacitus præterierit. Quod si quis divi Bernardi sensum penitius hic investigare non gravetur, perspiciet profecto virum sanctum spurcitias Conorensibus non magis ascribere, quam aliis adimere, dum dicit: "Nusquam adhuc tales expertus fuerat, nusquam repererat sic protervos etc. Nimirùm indicans S. Malachiam aliis etiam populis erudiendis ante incubuisse, qui minus erant quam Conorenses inconditatibus istis inquinati. Dudum enim Archiepiscopus et Primas Armachanus, "Vices ei suas commisit." Ut non solum Diœcesem sed etiam cæteram provinciam Armachanam probioribus moribus excoluerit; et fortasse ad totam Hiberniam cultioribus institutis informandam sollicitudinem extenderit,[2] Primate Armachano universam Hiberniam sua potestate complexo. "Jure" enim ut Analectes ait, "et usu olim receptissimo Archiepiscopus Armachanus quolibet septennio visitabat totum regnum, cæterosque Metropolitanos ad suum tribunal evocabat, judicabat et lites causasque graviores devolutione, appellatione, aliisque Juris præeminentiis, aut facti remediis terminabat Primatiali authoritate." Certe Hiberniam olim à Primatibus creberrime obitam Annales nostri referunt. Cum igitur S. Malachiam singulis Hiberniæ regionibus percursis, et eorum incolis probâ institutione informatis ad Conorenses optimis disciplinis excolendos accessisse S. Bernardus insinuet, omnibus Hibernis mores longe minus fædos assignare quam Conorensibus intelligendus est. Divo Bernardus res à S. Malachia gestas enerranti
[152] necessitas imposita est vitia quæ ille sustulit, oratione | prosequendi, ne

[2] Pag. 228.

[a] The diocese of Connor over which St. Malachy was placed in 1124, included, according to the Synod of Rathbreasal, the present dioceses of Down, Connor, Dromore, and the north east part of Derry as far as the river Roe. St. Malachy's immediate predecessor was the first who had held this union of episcopal sees.

[b] He had been ordained priest, at the age of 25, five years before the canonical age, and appointed Vicar by St. Celsus the primate. St. Bernard gives an account of his labours, and of the abuses suppressed, and the reforms introduced by him, while he was Vicar-general of Armagh.

[c] It is certain that St. Malachy had opportunity of knowing the state of religion in the south at least during

territory.[a] By a still greater aggravation of perfidy, he does not mention that the people of Connor emerged from the thraldom of their vices, and devoted themselves to a more perfect life. Whoever takes the trouble to weigh attentively the words of St. Bernard, must perceive that if the holy man imputes great vices to the people of Connor, he does by the very fact exclude others from a participation in their guilt. "Never," he says, "had he met such a people, so profligate, &c. &c.," intimating that St. Malachy had labored in the instruction of other people who were not defiled with the enormities of the people of Connor, at least in an equal degree. St. Malachy having been already delegated by the archbishop of Armagh, the primate, must have labored in reforming not only the diocese, but the province of Armagh,[b] and had perhaps even extended his pastoral solicitude to establish more perfect institutions throughout the whole Irish church, as all Ireland was under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Armagh. "For," in the words of the Author of the Analecta, "by a law and custom formerly in force, the archbishop of Armagh visited the whole kingdom once every seven years, summoned the other Metropolitans to his court, and decided controversies, and the more important cases, by devolution, appeal, and the other prerogatives of law or practical remedies, by virtue of his Primatial authority." Our annalists certainly record very numerous visitations of Ireland by the primates. St. Malachy, therefore, having trained all parts of Ireland, and instructed their inhabitants in salutary discipline, came among the people of Connor to work the same reformation, and found among them, as Bernard declares, a state of morals far more revolting than what he had witnessed in any other part of Ireland.[c] St. Bernard, having undertaken to write the life of St. Malachy, was bound to state the vices which he reformed, otherwise he should be condemned as a faithless historian, who had not done full justice to the memory of him whose life he had proposed to transmit to posterity. The duty of a truly faithful biographer has been accom-

his residence at Lismore, between the period of his vicar-generalship of Armagh and his promotion to the see of Connor. But inferences like these drawn by our author are puerile in the extreme, as he adduces no proof that Giraldus had ever read a word of Bernard's life of St. Malachy.

probi scriptoris partes non explevisse argueretur, si cujus vitam posteritati transmittendam suscepit, ejus virtutes pro dignitate non commemoraret. Verum ille scriptoris integerrimi officium cumulate præstitit. Ejus enim enarratio scelerum quibus Conorenses inquinabantur non iis dedecori sed honori cessit. Utpote quibus quanto turpius erat flagitiorum se laqueis irretire, tantò fuit gloriosius se iisdem expedire. Majus "enim gaudium erit in cælo super uno peccatore pænitentiam agente,[3] quam super nonaginta novem justos." S. Bernardum igitur suscepti operis necessitas ad unius populi labes evulgandas, et laudes illi etiam accumulandas compulit. Voluntas seu potius invidia Giraldum impulit unius Hibernici populi crimina non ad ullam ei famam sed ad infamiam omnibus Hibernis conflandam torquere. Ille bonum è malo elicuit, hic malum angustiis coercitum finibus latius diffudit.

Quid multis? en tibi S. Bernardi verba Conorensium resipiscentiam exprimentia. Malachiâ in plebe suâ erudienda laboriosissimè desudante,[4] "cessit duritia, quievit barbaries, et domus exasperans paulatim leniri cæpit, paulatim correptionem admittere, recipere disciplinam. Fiunt de medio barbaræ leges, Romanæ introducuntur, recipiuntur ubique Ecclesiasticæ consuetudines, contrariæ rejiciuntur. Reædificantur basilicæ, ordinatur clerus in illis. Sacramentorum ritè solemnia celebrantur, confessiones fiunt, ad Ecclesiam conveniunt plebes, concubinatus honestat celebritas nuptiarum. Postremò sic mutata in melius omnia, ut hodie illi genti conveniat, quod Dominus per prophetam dicit: qui ante non populus meus nunc populus meus."

Ista quæso quivis æquus arbiter paulò accuratius perpendat, et cum improperiis in Hibernos à Cambrensi congestis conferat. Ac advertat S. Bernardo teste, "hodie" id est 1152 quo ista scripsit, priscas Conorensium spurcitias penitus abstersas fuisse. Giraldum asserere "nondum," (id est ut ego interpretor, ante annum 1159, quo Adrianus quartus Papa fato functus est, ad quem de Hibernorum fædis moribus querela delata esse dicitur) Hibernis incultos, et insulsos mores excussos, fuisse, ut vides hunc negantem, illum aientem, et illum huic reclamantem. Utrius autem S. Bernardi ne, an Giraldi testimonium sit

[3] Lucæ 15, v. 7. [4] Ubi supra.

plished to perfection by St. Bernard. Under his pen, the crimes with which the people of Connor were charged turn to their credit more than to their dishonor; because the more shamefully they were bound down by the chains of crime, the more glorious it was to emancipate themselves. "There is greater joy in heaven for one sinner that doth penance than for ninety-nine just." St. Bernard, in the discharge of a strict duty, was obliged to publish the vices and commemorate the praise of one territory; but Giraldus, through mere caprice or rather envy, was urged to turn the crimes of one portion of the people of Ireland, not to its credit, but to the infamy of the whole nation. One drew good from evil, the other magnifies a slight local into an universal evil.

But what more? here is St. Bernard's description of the reformation of the people of Connor. Malachy having labored most strenuously in instructing his flock, "their obduracy yielded, their barbarism was softened down, and the exasperating family began to be more tractable; to receive correction by degrees, and to embrace discipline. Barbarous laws were abrogated, and Roman laws introduced, the customs of the church were every where admitted, and contrary customs abolished. Churches were rebuilt and supplied with priests. The rites of the sacraments were duly administered; confession was practised; the people attended the church; and concubinage was suppressed by the solemnization of marriage. In a word, so completely were all things changed for the better, that you can apply to that people now what the Lord said by his prophet, "they that were not my people, are now my people."

Let any unprejudiced judge weigh these words attentively and compare them with the exaggerated calumnies of Giraldus against the Irish. Mark St. Bernard's words, "to-day," that is in the year 1152, when he was writing, the former immoralities of the people of Connor had completely disappeared. Giraldus asserts that they had not: "not yet," he says (that is, as I interpret it, before the year 1159, the date of Pope Adrian's death, to whom the calumnious representations were made on the character of the Irish), not yet have the Irish reformed their barbarous and abominable morals. Here one denies what the other asserts, and again the first repeats his denial; but whether the

locupletius ? quivis judex esto. Verum reponet aliquis, unius tantum, nec spatiosæ ditionis incolæ pravos mores S. Malachiæ operâ melioribus permutarunt, ita ut veritas Giraldi dicta nondum penitus destituerit, fædos illos mores cæteræ genti ascribentis. Retorqueo non unam plebem, sed plures populos, nec plures modo sed nationem universam imbre salutaris doctrinæ S. Malachiam irrigasse : statim enim ac illum sacro tantum Presbyteratus ordine S. Celsus " qui Malachiam in Diaconum,[5] Presbiterum, Episcopumque ordinavit" initiaverat, idem " vices suas ei commissit seminare semen sanctum et dare rudi populo, et sine lege viventi, legem vitæ, et disciplinæ, suscepit ille mandatum in omni alacritate. Et ecce linguæ sarculo cæpit evellere, destruere, dissipare de die in diem factitans prava in directa, et aspera in vias planas. Diceres ignem urentem in consumendo criminum vepres, diceres securem vel asciam in dejiciendo plantationes malas, extirpare barbaricos ritus, plantare Ecclesiasticos.[6] Veternosas omnes abolere superstitiones, seu quaslibet ubicumque deprehendisset malignitate immissas per Angelos malos. Denique quidquid incompositum, quicquid indecorum, quicquid distortum obviam habuisset, non parcebat oculus ejus : sed velut grando grossos è ficu, et sicut pulverem ventus à facie terræ, sic coram facie sua ejusmodi nitebatur totum pro viribus exturbare, ac delere de populo suo. Et pro his omnibus tradebat jura Ecclesiastica optimus legislator. Leges dabat plenas justitiæ, plenas modestiæ, et honestatis ; sed et Apostolicas sanctiones, et decreta sanctorum patrum, præcipueque consuetudines sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, in cunctis Ecclesiis statuebat. Nam minimè id ante fiebat in civitate quidem. Ipse vero in adolescentia cantum didicerat, et in suo cænobio mox cantari fecit, cum necdum in civitate, seu in Episcopatu universo cantare scirent vel vellent: deinde usum saluberrimum confessionis, sacramentum confirma-

[5] Cap. 7. [6] Cap. 2.

[d] A curious collateral proof of the improvement effected by St. Malachy in all Ireland may be deduced from a chronological list of sacrileges collected in a publication of the Irish Archæological Society, " Primate Cotton's visitation," p. 96. For nearly a century after the year 1129, there is not re-

authority of Giraldus be as good as St. Bernard's, I leave my reader to determine. It may be urged, however, that the salutary labors of St. Malachy reformed the depraved morals of one district, which was by no means extensive, and therefore Giraldus may have been justified in his description of the depravity of other parts of the kingdom.[d] I answer, it was not one district, but many, not many, but the whole nation that was copiously watered with the fertilizing teaching of St. Malachy. For as soon as he was raised to the order of the priesthood by St. Celsus, who ordained him deacon, priest and bishop, he was appointed vicar by St. Celsus to sow the holy seed, and to give to the rude and lawless people the law of life and discipline; which commission he joyfully undertook. Behold him now day after day, plucking up and pulling down and scattering with the hoe of his eloquence; making the crooked ways straight, and the rough ways plain. He is a raging fire, burning down all the rank weeds of crime; an axe or a hatchet levelling all bad plantations, uprooting barbarous customs, and planting those of the church. The old superstitions he swept away, and all those, wherever he met them, which he found to have been introduced by the malice of the fallen angels. His eye never spared disorder, indecorum, or irregularity of any kind, but as the hail sweepeth the green figs from the figtree, and the wind sweepeth the dust from the face of the earth, so did he strain all his might to remove from before his face and eradicate among his people all abuses of the kind. In their place, with the wisdom of a good legislator, he established the laws of the church. All his ordinances breathed justice, and moderation, and propriety, and with these he established in all the churches the apostolical decisions, and the decrees of the Holy Fathers, and especially the customs of the Holy Roman church. For that had not been done before even in the city. In his youth he had learned music, and now he revived ecclesiastical song in his monastery, for neither in the city nor in any part of the whole diocese were they able or willing

corded a single outrage against ecclesiastical persons or property; though during the two preceding centuries there had been at least twenty such public offences, many of which were so flagrant as to prove that the people and their chiefs had lost much of their former respect for religion.

tionis, contractum conjugiorum; quæ omnia aut ignorabantur, aut negligebantur Malachias de novo instituit."

[153] Posteà vero Archiepiscopus Armachanus renuntiatus gregem suum, | ad summi pontificis legati fastigium evectus gentem universam è perditionis præcipitio ad certum salutis iter ægregiis monitis eduxit. Quod hoc pacto sigillatim ac signanter percipi potest. Archiepiscopatum iniens negotiorum compages misere convulsos offendit. Cleri disciplina dissolutior, laicorum vita laxior, nobiles aliqui non jam proterviâ, sed ferociâ intumuerunt, et Antistitis opibus inhiantes, ejus etiam vitæ insidiabantur.[7] Sed illos ad officium protervos, ad obsequium ferocientes ad tranquillitatem hortationum et mansuetudinis assiduitate flexit. Ut "intra triennium" (verba sunt S. Bernardi) "redditâ retributione superbis, et libertate Ecclesiæ restitutâ, pulsâ barbarie, et reformatis ubique moribus Christianæ religionis, videns omnia in pace esse," Armachano se præsulatu abdicans, Dunensem Episcopatum capessiverit.[8] Dunum vero "universi confluebant ad eum, nec modo mediocres sed et nobiles et potentes illius se sapientiæ, et sanctitati instruendos, corrigendos, ac regendos committere festinabant.

Legatina vero munia obiens, totam Hiberniam sua cura complexus est. Quæ igitur in tota Hibernia jacere vidit improborum tumultibus perculsa et prostrata excitavit; Ecclesiastici ordinis authoritatem constituit, pravas opiniones abolevit, libidines compressit, religionem propagavit, omnia quæ delapsa jam fluxerunt, severis legibus vincivit. Denique quæ ordo Ecclesiasticus perdidit ornamenta dignitatis, et præsidia stabilitatis postliminio restituit.

In sede Armachana, Hiberniæ Ecclesiæ capite, disciplina Ecclesiastica nutabat, et inveterato malo diu invalescente virus ad cætera membra

[7] Cap. 9. [8] Cap. 10.

[e] It does not appear that the culture of church music in Ireland in ancient times ever obtained such importance as might reasonably be expected from the musical tastes and deeply-religious feeling of the people. But that ecclesiastical chant had not been so neglected as some have asserted, is proved by the authorities cited by Dr. Lanigan, Ecc. History, vol. iv., p. 65. Beda's

to sing.[e] St. Malachy also revived the most salutary practice of confession, and the sacrament of confirmation, and the solemnization of marriage, all of which had been either unknown or neglected.[f]

Being raised to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh, he was appointed Legate to the Pope, and in his new dignity he labored, by his admirable councils, to conduct his flock, that is, the whole nation, from the precipice of damnation along the sure paths of salvation. These are detailed and striking proofs of his zeal. When he entered on his episcopal charge, he found the whole state of affairs in frightful disorder; laxity of discipline among the clergy, profligate morals among the laity, and many of the nobles not only insolent, but ferocious, coveting the land of the Archbishop and plotting against his life. But by persevering in a mild course, his exhortations won over the obstinate to the path of duty, and calmed down their ferocity. "In the course of three years," says St. Bernard, "he gave retribution to the proud and liberty to the church, and having extirpated barbarism and re-established the morals of the Christian faith, seeing all things in peace, he resigned the archbishopric of Armagh, and retired to the see of Down. Here he was visited by immense crowds, not only of the middle classes, but of the nobles and powerful, who hastened to his feet to be instructed, corrected, and governed by his wisdom and sanctity."

In discharge of his legatine functions, all Ireland came under his solicitude. The havoc and disorders caused by the ruinous tumults of the wicked, were repaired by him, throughout the whole country; he consolidated the authority of the ecclesiastial order, abolished bad opinions, suppressed luxury, propagated religion, and infused by his severe laws a vigorous life into the disorganized and tottering system. In fine, he restored the lost splendour of the ecclesiastical dignity, and the bulwarks of its strength.

The discipline of the church was set at nought in the see of Armagh,

assertion that ecclesiastical music was unknown except in Kent, Lib. iv., c. 2, does not prove that the Irish missionaries had not introduced music into the churches founded by them; for it is certain they observed "the canonical times of singing psalms at home," Ibid. Lib. iii., c. 27.

[f] For the meaning and extent of these reforms, see Dr. Lanigan, vol. iv., pp. 67, 72.

profluxit. "Nam" (S. Bernardum audis) "quomodo tam morbidi capitis membra valerent?" Et paulo ante: "Indè tota illa per universam Hiberniam de qua multa superius diximus, dissolutio Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, censuræ enervatio, religionis evacuatio." Inde illa ubique pro consuetudine Christianâ sæva subintroducta barbaries, imo paganismus quidam inductus sub nomine Christiano.

Verum hydriæ tot malorum capita unius S. Malachiæ tanquam alterius Herculis solers sedulitas amputavit. Ab eo enim, "Opus" (ut S. Bernardus loquitur) "exercetur legationis multis in locis, celebrantur conventus multi; ne qua regio seu portio regionis, legationis fructu, et utilitate fraudetur. Seminatur per omnes agros, non est qui se abscondat ab opere solicitudinis ejus. Non sexus, non ætas, non conditio, non professio reputatur. Ubique semen spargitur salutare, ubique intonat tuba salutaris et cælestis. Ubique discurrit, ubique irrumpit evaginato gladio linguæ ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus, increpationes in populis. Terror ejus super facientes mala. Clamat inquiens: nolite inique agere; et delinquentibus nolite exaltare cornu. Religio ubique plantatur, propagatur, fovetur. Oculi ejus super eos, et cura ejus ad necessitates eorum. In conciliis quæ passim celebrantur, repetuntur antiquæ traditiones, quas tamen bonas fuisse constiterit, abolitas vero negligentia sacerdotum. Nec modo vetera instaurantur, cuduntur et nova, et quæcumque promulgaverit tanquam cælitus edita acceptantur, tenentur, scripto mandantur ad memoriam posterorum."

Obsecro candide lector, ut ista tacitus animo parumper evolvas et sedulo cum Giraldi dictis componas. Cujus illud "Nondum" quid aliud sibi vult, quam eas spurcitias à Giraldo memoratas, post homines natos ad Giraldi dies Hibernis adhæsisse: neque tum quidem elutas fuisse, cum iis auferendis S. Malachiam plurimos labores exantlasse S. Bernardus affirmaverit. Ut obgannire S. Bernardo, et mendacii ca-

[g] Refers to the usurpation of the See of Armagh during nearly 200 years by one family; many of those usurpers were not bishops; eight of them immediately preceding St. Celsus had been married men; St. Celsus who was of that family, secured by the influence of his last will the emancipation of the See in the election of St. Malachy.

the head of the Irish church, and as the inveterate evil had been of long standing,[g] its poison spread over the other members: "for what health could be," asks St. Bernard, "in the members of so sore a head?" "To that," he says a little after, "we may trace that total and universal destruction of ecclesiastical discipline, of which I have spoken already: the inefficacy of censures; the nullity of religion." Thence arose that savage barbarism, which supplanted the forms of Christian life, a sort of paganism, in truth, introduced under the name of Christianity.

But Malachy, like another Hercules, with prudent sagacity, amputated the hydra head of those multiplied evils. In discharge of his duty as legate, he visited many places and convoked numerous synods, lest any territory or part of a territory should be deprived of the advantage and fruit of the legatine authority. The seed was scattered over every field; there was none that could escape the vigilance of his solicitude. There was no distinction of age or sex, or condition or profession. In all places the sacred seed was scattered; in all places, the life-giving and heavenly trumpet resounded. He is present everywhere, everywhere he charges with his naked sword to do vengeance on the nations, and correction on the people. The evil doer shrunk in terror before him. He cries out, saying, "do not act wickedly, and to those who sinned, exalt not your horn. Everywhere religion is planted, and propagated and nurtured. His eye is over them, and their wants are his care. In the councils which he held, the ancient traditions if laudable and useful, were revived, which had fallen into desuetude by the negligence of the clergy. Not only were the old restored, but new ones were established, and all that he promulgated, were received as the dictates of heaven, adopted and committed to writing for future ages."

I entreat the candid reader to dwell silently for a moment on these words and carefully compare them with the statements of Giraldus. Does not his "not yet" evidently imply that all the enormities enumerated by him had been at all times characteristic of the Irish down to his own day, and had not even then been eradicated, though St. Malachy, according to St. Bernard, had exerted stupendous energy to abolish them. Does he not seem to contradict St. Bernard and charge

lumniam impingere velle videatur.[9] Giraldus Hibernicam "gentem omnium gentium in fidei rudimentis incultissimam" esse prædicat. S. Bernardus vero "Sacramentorum" in Hibernia "rite solemnia celebrari, confessiones fieri, ad Ecclesiam plebes convenire," et S. Malachiæ operâ "reformatos fuisse ubique mores Christianæ religionis" asserit. Contra tamen hiscere Cambrensis audebit, fidei rudimenta eos ignorare, qui confessiones, Ecclesias, et Sacramenta frequentant. Et non uno tantum in loco, sed ubique Christianæ religionis instituta imbiberunt. Nam "religio ubique plantatur, propagatur, et fovetur. Nulla regio Hi-
[154] berniæ, nulla regionis portio fructu, et utilitate | legationis fraudabatur. Non ætas, non sexus, non conditio, non professio quempiam abscondebat à sollicitudine" S. Malachiæ. Non scio quomodo apertius exprimi, aut explicatius inculcari potuit S. Malachiæ doctrinam non solum ad quascunque Hiberniæ regiunculas, sed etiam regiuncularum angulos pervasisse. Aut omnem hominum ordinem, ætatem, et sexum religionis Christianæ institutis ab eo cumulatè excultum fuisse, tamen ut Giraldus S. Bernardo integrè reclamaret, non regionem, non ætatem, non sexum, non ordinem à fidei rudimentorum ignoratione eximit, sed gentem universam ejusdem ignorationis caligine involvit.

Ille Hibernos ait: "Nondum decimas,[10] vel primitias solvere, nondum matrimonia contrahere, non incestus vitare, non Ecclesiam Dei cum debita reverentia frequentare." Ut eum divo Bernardo datâ operâ obloqui, nemo tam stultus qui non videat, nemo tam improbus qui fateri non cogatur. Nam ille asserit in Hibernia decimas, vel primitias

[9] Top. d. 3, c. 19. [10] Top. d. 3, c. 19.

[h] That is, according to Dr. Lanigan, they contracted marriage "per sponsalia de futuro", and not "de præsenti," vol. iv., p. 72, or in the disorder of those times neglected some of the ceremonies of the marriage contract; an omission which would expose them to the imputation of not contracting marriage at all, in the same way as their non-payment of tithes and first fruits, made it be believed that they made no provision for the church. But for some account of disorders certainly existing in Ireland similar to those described by Giraldus, see *Destruction of Cyprus*, p. 250, edited by J. C. O'Callaghan, Esq. Irish Archæological Society.

him with the crime of falsehood? Giraldus insists, "that the Irish nation is of all others the most ignorant of the rudiments of faith." St. Bernard answers, "that the rites of the sacraments were duly administered in Ireland, that confessions were made, that the churches were frequented by the people, and that by the zeal of St. Malachy Christian morality was universally restored." Yet, Giraldus has the audacity to say that persons who frequented confession, and the church, and the sacraments were ignorant of the rudiments of faith, and this when the precepts of the Christian religion were received, not in one place, but throughout the whole island. "For, religion was every where planted and propagated and nurtured. No region of Ireland, no part of a region, was deprived of the fruit and advantage of the legatine authority. Neither sex, nor age, nor condition, nor profession, screened an individual from the zeal of St. Malachy." Can any words state more clearly, enforce more energetically, that the preaching of St. Malachy was not confined to any small districts in Ireland, but had been heard even in the recesses of the smallest districts. Is it not clear, that every rank, age and sex was perfectly instructed by him in the precepts of the Christian religion; and yet Giraldus contradicts St. Bernard on every point, exempting neither rank, age, or sex in any district from ignorance of the rudiments of faith, but wrapping the whole nation in the murky darkness of ignorance.

"The Irish," he says, "do not yet pay tithes, nor first fruits. They do not solemnize marriage,[h] nor avoid incest,[i] nor frequent the church of God with becoming reverence." Here the blindest must see, the most prejudiced must confess, that Giraldus deliberately contradicts St. Bernard. The former says the Irish pay neither tithes, nor first fruits; the latter "the customs of the church are every where received, and contrary customs condemned;" Malachy "having established in all the churches the Apostolical canons, the decrees of the Holy Fathers, and especially the customs of the Holy Roman church." Giraldus says, "they neither contract marriage, nor avoid incest." St. Bernard

[i] They married within some of the forbidden degrees of consanguinity; and in ancient times at least the brother appears to have sometimes married the widow of his deceased brother. See Lanigan, vol. iv., p. 69.

non solvi: hic "consuetudines Ecclesiasticas ubique recipi, contrarias rejici." Malachias enim "apostolicas sanctiones, et decreta sanctorum patrum, præcipueque consuetudines Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, in cunctis Ecclesiis statuebat," Ille non matrimonia contrahi, non incestus vitari: "hic celebritatem nuptiarum concubinatum honestare." Et Malachiam "contractum conjugiorum instituisse." Ille Dei Ecclesiam cum debita reverentia ab Hibernis non frequentari: hic "Sacramentorum rite solemnia celebrari, ad Ecclesiam plebes convenire." Ut Hodie anno nimirum 1153, illi genti conveniat quod Dominus per prophetam dicit; "qui ante non populus meus, nunc populus meus."

Nihilominus S. Bernardum adhuc impugnare non veretur, superiora maledicta pluribus cumulans in hæc verba: "gens hæc barbara est, et vere barbara, et omnes eorum mores barbarissimi sunt, et solam barbariem in qua nati sunt, tanquam alteram naturam amplexantur."[11] Ista fortassis hausit ex divo Bernardo, in primo vitæ S. Malachiæ aditu dicente: quod "Malachias noster ortus Hibernia de gente barbara qui de natali barbarie traxit nihil, non magis quam de sale materno pisces." Hic ad Rhetoricam auxesim de more suo se Giraldus vertit; non aliter ac Rhetores in exaggerationibus pro impudico scortatorem, pro hilari scurram, pro læto luxuriosum, pro fure sacrilegum, pro homicida parricidam appellant. Ita Giraldus è S. Bernardi uno aut altero verbo malè percepto ansam arripuisse videtur toties barbariem ingeminandi, et Hibernis exprobrandi; cum meo quidem judicio illius tantum ditionis incolas in qua S. Malachias in lucum editus est, S. Bernardus barbarie notet. Dum enim eum "Hibernia ortum" patriam, et "è gente barbara" populum seu regionem indicat:[12] in vicinia nimirum urbis Armachanæ, aut saltim in provinciâ Armachanâ, ut qui ex Odochartorum familia oriundus Conallum Gulbanum eundem, quem S. Columba generis authorem habuerit. Cum enim Armachanæ sedis administratio penes eos ea tempestate fuerit, qui per vim dignitatem iniverunt, et pro libidine non ex legum scitis officio suo functi fuerunt: non est mirum è gubernantium iniquitate licentiam non mediocrem ad finitimos populos emanasse. Nec potuit aliter fieri quin quo motu Ecclesiæ Hiber-

[11] Topo. d. 3, c. 10. [12] Trias Thaum. p. 299 et 481.

answers, "the solemnization of marriage has now removed the stain of concubinage:" and again, "St. Malachy established the marriage contract." Giraldus complains, "that the Irish did not frequent the church with becoming reverence;" but St. Bernard declares, "that the rites of the sacraments are duly administered, and the people assemble in the church," so that at present, that is in 1153, we may say of that people, what the Lord once said by his prophet, "they who before were not my people are now my people."

Still he has the impudence to assail St. Bernard, and aggravate his former calumnies in the following strain:—"This people is barbarous, and really barbarous, and all their customs are most barbarous, and to the barbarism in which they were born, to that alone they cling as to a second nature." Perhaps he borrowed this from St. Bernard, who says in the commencement of the life of St. Malachy, "our Malachy was born in Ireland, of a barbarous people, which had its all from its native barbarism, as the fish from its mother sea." Giraldus, as usual, moulds this by a rhetorical auxesis, employing the trick by which rhetoricians exaggerate, and represent the unchaste as debauchees, the gay as buffoons, the good tempered as luxurious, the robber as sacrilegious, and the murderer as a parricide. In the same way, one or two expressions of St. Bernard, whose meaning was misconceived, suggested apparently to Giraldus this multiplied repetition of barbarism and invective against the Irish; though, in my opinion, St. Bernard's charge of barbarism applied only to that territory in which St. Malachy was born. The words, "born in Ireland," tell the country; the words "of a barbarous people," the family or territory; namely, the neighbourhood or at least the province of Armagh,[k] because he was of the family of the O'Dohertys, [rectè OMorgairs,] descended from Conall Gulban, the ancestor of St. Columba. The see of Armagh being at that time in the hands of those who took violent possession of its honors, and who discharged their duties according to their caprice, not according to the dictates of law, it is not astonishing that the wickedness of the rulers should have

[k] According to O'Flaherty, he was son of Mughron O'Morgair, a famous professor at Armagh, who died A.D. 1102. See Genealogies of the Irish saints, by the O'Clerys, and also Annals of the Four Masters, at that year, and also at 1138, where the death of Gillachrist O'Morgair, bishop of Clogher, is recorded. The former was probably the father, and the latter the brother of St. Malachy.

nicæ caput quateretur, eodem reliqua membra multum inclinarentur.[13] Fingamus etiam ad eum quem Giraldus dicit gradum in Hibernia barbariem elatam fuisse: nonne illam penitus sublatam fuisse è S. Bernardo discere potuit? asserente "barbariem quievisse, barbaricas leges de medio sublatas fuisse." Et alibi: "Barbariem pulsam fuisse."[14] Ut nemo jam nonvideat, Giraldum turpi dissensione in moribus Hibernorum exprimendis à divo Bernardo dissidere. In qua re uterque contraria prorsus viâ incedit. Si quo elogio ille Hibernos exornavit, illud vituperio mox commutat, in cauda (ut aiunt) venenum habens; ut protrusa e lectorum animo laude, vituperium in memoria firmius resideat. Hic vitia gentis primum effert, commendationem deinde subjicit, ut lector obliteratâ delictorum memoriâ, virtutum recordationem menti arctius affigat. Solent enim oratores quæ postremò proferunt audien-
[155] tium animis acrius ingerere, ut altius imbibita | tenacius hæreant. Ita ut ambo contendere videantur, ille ad famam Hiberniæ deprimendam, hic ad extollendam: ille ad labes ejus, hic ad laudes in vulgus emittendas. Ut quantum Hiberni ob nominis honorem sibi Giraldi scriptis abreptum, Giraldo jure succenseant; tantum ob patriam ab obtrectatorum calumniis vendicatam, magno divo Bernardo merito devinciantur.

Non possum adduci ut credam Hibernos jam Christianos, spreto connubii vinculo, in promiscuam libidinem ultrò irruisse, qui nondum Christianis adscripti, mulieres suas tanti æstimarunt, ut eas non ante Pictis nuptui dederint, quam pacti fuerint, ut in rege statuendo, major generis materni ratio quam paterni duceretur? Nonne Solinus author est in Hibernia "puerperam si quando marem edidit, primos cibos gladio imponere mariti."[15] Ut hinc ediscas Hibernos ne tum quidem Platonicæ Reipub. cives fuisse, nec mores tum tulisse, ut in obvios quosque amplexus vulgo iretur.

Exstat libellus de Illustribus Hiberniæ fæminis quem Gillemadudus prolixo etiam poëmate complexus est, in quem plures regum Hiberniæ uxores relatæ sunt, quæ ante hac post Hiberniam Christi leges amplexam floruerunt. Itaque apud Hibernos suum cuique uxori maritum,

[13] Cap. 6. [14] Cap. 9. [15] Cap. 25.

soon diffused a marked depravity among the neighbouring people. And how was it possible that the shock under which the head of the Irish church was reeling would not be sorely felt by the other members? But granting, for a moment, that Irish barbarism had ever sunk to the depth depicted by Giraldus, does not St. Bernard tell him, that it was completely removed by St. Malachy? "Barbarism," he says, "was checked, and barbarous laws abolished." And again, "barbarism was banished," which evidently prove that Giraldus was flagrantly at variance with St. Bernard in his description of the morals of the Irish. Both proceed in this matter in directly opposite ways. If Giraldus ever bestows any praise on the Irish, he immediately neutralizes it by censure, leaving behind him (as they say) the poisoned tail, expelling the favorable impression from the minds of his readers, that the calumny may sink the deeper in their memories. But St. Bernard places first the faults of the nation, and then adds their eulogy, that the memory of their faults may be obliterated from the minds of his readers, and the sense of their virtues be more faithfully retained. Such is the usual custom of orators—to reserve for the close what they wish to impress more deeply on the minds of their audiences, that by sinking deeper into the heart, they may make a more lasting impression. There is a sort of rivalry between them: one depreciating, the other extolling: one publishing the praise, the other the invective; so that the same grounds which justify the indignation of the Irish against the defamatory pen of Giraldus, compel them to reverence the great St. Bernard for his vindication of their country from the calumnies of its rivals.

Nothing can induce me to admit that promiscuous lusts were indulged and that the marriage tie was disregarded by the Irish after their conversion to Christianity, when I reflect that this same people, when yet Pagans, paid such respect to their women, that they would not allow them to intermarry with the Picts, without the express stipulation, that the maternal line should be preferred to the paternal in the Royal succession.[1] Does not Solinus himself testify that "when the mother was

[1] The rule applied to doubtful cases only; it was faithfully observed according to Beda, down to his own time. See the original story in Irish Nennius, p. 127, and Appendix, p. lxxi. with some remarks, ibid. p. lv.

et suam cuique viro uxorem fuisse constat. Alioqui frustrâ in congerendis opibus alienæ proli ullus desudaret. Et frustrà Hiberni de certi generis rege sibi præficiendo solliciti essent, si fœminæ omnibus sui copiam impunè facientes, de incerto patre sobolem susciperent. Historici nostri in sanctorum, et procerum genere commemorando accuratissimi sunt. Nec in enarranda materna prosapiâ segnes se præbent, veritatis ratione tam sanctè habitâ, ut si natales etiam sanctorum aliqua labes infecisset, eam evulgare, non dubitaverint. Libros enim ediderunt, de sanctorum ac procerum matribus è quibus scire quis possit è conjugio non adulterio, incestu, aut concubinatu, plerosque sanctos, et magnates procreatos fuisse.

Nec mihi quispiam obgerat à S. Lanfranco, et S. Anselmo Archiepiscopis Cantuariensibus Hibernos argui,[16] quod illicitis libidinibus effrænè se tum polluerint. Id malum latius ea tempestate serpsit: "Nec solum in Hibernia, sed etiam apud Anglo Saxones et Scotos in Britannia invaluerunt. Ut cum Duplexio levitatis vitium à suis Gallis avertente mihi dicere liceat,[17] quod indubitatum sit malitiæ argumentum labem pluribus nationibus communem, uni soli affigere.[18] Suprema etiam

[16] Apud Ushærum in Sylloge, p. 27, 36. [17] Ibid. p. 37. [18] Memoirs des Galles, lib. 1, c. 11.

which prove that the Irish were not more exempt than their neighbours from polyandria.

[m] Alluding evidently to the authority of St. Jerome, who expressly states of the Scots and Attacots, "de Republica Platonis, promiscuas uxores, communes liberos habent," Ep. 69, ad Oceanum. And again: "Scotorum natio uxores proprias non habet. Nulla apud eos conjux propria est, sed ut cuique libitum fuerit pecudum more lasciviunt." *Adv. Jovin.* lib. ii.

[n] Of course the Christian religion must have abolished, or at least endeavoured to abolish all customs opposed to the sanctity and stability of the marriage contract; and Christian writers speaking according to the ideas and institutions of their own times, would very naturally ascribe to their Pagan ancestors some observance of marriage less revolting than promiscuous concubinage. These writers, however, have handed down sufficiently revolting anecdotes of their Pagan ancestors, as of Meadhbh, queen of Connacht, and Clothra, her sister; of Conchobhar Mac Nessa, king of Ulster; of Lughaidh Riabhdearg, monarch of Ireland; of Cathair Mor, monarch of Ireland, &c. According to Campion, who wrote in the year 1571, the Irish even then "much

delivered of a male child, she gave it its first food from the point of its father's sword," evidently proving that the Irish even in those times were not citizens of the Platonic Republic,[m] and that the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes was not part of their moral code.

We have extant a history of the illustrious women of Ireland, which has been also made the subject of a long poem by Gillemoduda. It records the wives of many Irish kings, both before and after the conversion of Ireland to the law of Christ.[n] Every wife, therefore, must have had her own husband, and every husband his own wife in Ireland; for what would otherwise be the use in laying up property for another man's children? or how could the Irish be so jealous in selecting their king from a certain family, if promiscuous intercourse were permitted to the women, and the paternity of their issue thus left uncertain? Our historians are most careful in detailing the genealogy of our nobles and saints. And in tracing the maternal line, they are also so rigid, that from a sacred regard for truth, they do not shrink from recording any stain on the legitimacy even of the saints. Their books on the mothers of the saints and the nobles, prove that most of these saints and nobles were begotten in lawful marriage, not by adultery, incest, or concubinage.

Should any man object to me, that the Irish are charged by S. Lanfranc and Anselm, Archbishops of Canterbury, with defiling themselves by the most licentious lusts,[o] I answer, that the evil was not confined to Ireland. "It prevailed not only in Ireland, but among the Anglo Saxons and Scots in Britain," so that I may say with Duplessy, when exculpating his countrymen from the charge of levity, that nothing

abused the honourable state of marriage, either in contracts, unlawfull meetings, the Leviticall and Cannonicall degrees of prohibition, or in divorcementes at pleasure, or in ommitting sacramental solemnities, or in retaynning either concubines or harlots for wives. Yea, even at this day where the Cleargie is fainte, they can bee content to marrie for a yeare and a day of probation, and at the yeare's end, to return her home upon any light quarrells, if the Gentlewoman's friendes be weake and unable to avenge the injurie." *Historie of Ireland.* Dublin, Ed. of 1809, chap. vi., pp. 22, 23, 27.

[o] For some observations on these letters of Lanfranc and Anselm, the reader is referred to Lanigan, vol. iii., p. 477.

[p] *Bleeding afresh.* The progress of

authoritas Ecclesiastica in Hibernia, olim licentius fluctuabat, ut non mirum sit si Reipub. administratio vehementius laxata fuerit, cum à supremo etiam Ecclesiastico magistratu vitiis habenæ laxatæ fuerint: Et ut non longè abeam, mala illa omnia S. Malachias ut anteà memoravi radicitus evulsit. Ita ut ista vulnera denuò recruduisse falso Giraldus improperet.

Itaque non sunt Hibernis ascribendi Caledoniorum, aut Meatarum mores, "Quorum hi" Dione authore "juxta murum incolunt, qui insulam in duas partes dividit. Caledonii post illos sunt. Possident utrique montes asperrimos. Et communibus utuntur uxoribus, liberosque omnes alunt. Argetocoxi Caledonii uxor Juliæ Augustæ ipsam mordenti, quod ipsæ impudenter cum viribus versentur dixisse fertur; nos multo melius explemus ea quæ naturæ necessitas postulat, quam vos Romanæ. Nam apertè cum optimis viris habemus consuetudinem, vos autem occultè pessimi homines constuprant." Ut lector hinc obiter comperiat, eam Britanniæ partem quam hodie Scotiam appellamus, nec Scotorum coloniam, nec religionem Christianam recepisse, ante anno Dom. 189,[19] "quo Britanniam vallo à mari usque ad mare à Severo præcinctam fuisse" Beda scribit. Susceptam autem à Severo expeditionem in Caledoniam incidisse in annum 208 Ushærus tradit, ad quem etiam annum quæ Dio supra memoravit referenda sunt.

Quæ hactenus produximus liquido evincunt S. Bernardum probrorum cumulos à Giraldo in gentem Hibernicam aggestos oris sui spiritu difflavisse; nec minus eodem halitu alia dissipasse convitia Giraldi
[156] dicentis: | quod Hibernica natio fuerit, "gens adultera, gens incesta,

[19] In Epitome indic. Chonol. p. 1079.

reason and civilization has been slow in all countries: regulations which to us appear so equitable, obvious and simple, required the efforts of civil and ecclesiastical authority during several centuries to introduce and establish them. It is not within the range of possibility that St. Malachy could, during his comparatively short career, have corrected all the vices of the people and irregular discipline of the church of Ireland, of which he complained to St. Bernard; and it is but reasonable to believe that much of them remained in the time of Giraldus, and even to a much later period.

[q] There is no solid reason for supposing the inhabitants of Ireland to have

but barefaced malice can impute to one nation alone a crime that is common to many. Besides the supreme ecclesiastical authority in Ireland, was formerly irregularly vacillating, and is it surprising, that the frame of civil society should be violently disorganized, when the supreme ecclesiastical magistrate relaxed the reins to licentiousness? But to close this topic:—all these disorders were, as I have already proved, completely eradicated by St. Malachy. Giraldus calumniously represents the wounds as reopening and bleeding afresh.[p]

The Irish, therefore, are not to be charged with the immorality of the Caledonians and the Meatæ.[q] The latter, according to Dion, dwelt near the wall which divided the island into two parts. The Caledonians dwelt beyond them. The territory of both was rugged mountains. Their wives were common and all the children supported by the public. The wife of Argetocox the Caledonian, when reproved by Julia Augusta, for this outrageous immorality, is said to have replied, "We comply with the promptings of nature much better than you, Roman women. We cohabit publicly with the best men; you are dishonored in private by the most debased." It is clear from this testimony that the part of Britain now called Scotland, was neither converted to Christianity, nor occupied by any colony of Scots before the year 189,[r] "when Severus," according to Beda, "fortified Britain with a wall from sea to sea." Ussher assigns the expedition of Severus into Caledonia to the year 208, the period to which the preceding quotation from Dion also refers.

From all we have said, it is evident that St. Bernard scattered to the winds the monstrous calumnies of Giraldus against the Irish, and with the same breath, subverts the following charge among others, "that the Irish nation was an adulterous nation, an incestuous nation, a nation illegitimately born and married." For St. Bernard says nothing of either incest or adultery, but merely that some of the Irish were unlawfully married or living in concubinage. Though the authority of

been free from the vices of their Pagan neighbours; both because contemporary authorities and our author himself, when it suits his purpose, describe the manners and customs of the Irish and Britons as being nearly the same; and because it is highly probably that those Meatæ and Caledonii were of the same stock as the mass of the primitive population of Ireland: the

gens illegitime nata et copulata." Cum S. Bernardus Hibernos aliquos illegitimis tantum matrimoniis, sive concubinatu, non adulteriis, aut incestu fœdatos fuisse dixerit.

Quanquam ista criminum agglomeratio jam est à divo Bernardo funditus eversa, non abs re tamen erit Giraldum sciscitari, cur non erubuerit adulterii scelus Hibernis exprobare? quo regem suum vehementer inquinatum fuisse non ignoravit? qui Eleonoræ a rege Galliarum post susceptam prolem repudiatæ, ac suspicione habiti cum quodam Turcâ clandestini coitus laboranti, matrimonio copulatus,[20] nefariis pellicum amplexibus se fidemque conjugalem polluebat; diuturnis Rosamundæ Cliffordæ amoribus sic irretitus, ut ad eam suæ uxoris oculis et insidiis subducendam, Westokiæ labyrinthum multis ambagibus occursu recursuque inexplicabile fabricari curaverit. In ejus tamen adytum filo ducente Regina penetravit. Zelotypia nimirum magis est ad indagandum ingeniosa, quam sollicitudo quæcunque ad celandum cauta. Sed huic adulterio tanquam minus nefario quod scortum maritali vinculo non esset cuiquam innexum non acquiescens, pravæ libidinis consuetudinem cum Rafi Beverlii uxore habuit. Et ex his penè tot spurios, quot è legitima uxore liberos suscepit. Regis itaque moribus populi mores sunt potius metiendi quam paucorum labes in totam gentem effundendæ. Nam[21]

"Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus."

Populus se instar maris habet, quod reges tanquam venti quo volunt impellunt. Illicitæ quoque veneris dedecore rex Joannes se contaminavit, qui Reginæ Isabellæ "non legitimè copulatus erat,[22] eam enim Hugo cognomento Brunus comes de Marchia, per verba de presenti in suam receperat, antequam regi Anglorum desponsaretur." Romani Bletonesios publico judicio postularunt quod hominem diis immolavis-

[20] Richar. Baker in Henr. II. [21] Claudia. [22] Westmon. an. 1202.

Caledonii being as the name suggests, the old Gaoidil, Guidil, Celtæ, &c., and the five or six tribes of Meatæ, being the more recent immigrants into Scotland, known in Ireland as the Cruithne.

[r] That is, no colony of that dominant race in Ireland, which were called Scotti, had gone over before this date to Scotland; but our author has

St. Bernard is a triumphant vindication of Ireland against this long catalogue of calumnies, it may not be out of place to ask Giraldus, why he was not ashamed to accuse the Irish of adultery? was he not well aware that his own king was a profligate adulterer?[s]

Eleanor was divorced by the king of France after they had issue. She was suspected of a secret criminal intercourse with some Turk, but Henry married her, and then violated his marriage vows and disgraced himself by associating with abandoned women. So enslaved was he by his long amours with Rosamond Clifford, that he had constructed for her at Woodstok, a labyrinth so full of windings, that it was impossible to know how to enter or return, in order to remove this concubine from the sight and the machinations of his wife. The queen, however, discovered the thread that led to the interior; for jealousy is more ingenious in discovering, than precaution can be in concealing. But not content with this adultery, where his paramour was unmarried, he indulged his abandoned lusts with the wife of Ralph Beverly, and had by all these as many bastards as his wife bore legitimate children. Is it not more just to judge the morals of a nation by the morals of its king, than to impute to a nation the crimes of a few of its members. ? For

"The thoughtless mobs change always with their king,"

The people are like the sea, the king like the winds, can drive them where he pleases. King John also was tainted with the disgraceful crime of adultery. "He was not the lawful husband of his Queen Isabella, for she had been contracted by 'verba de præsenti' to Hugo, surnamed Brune, count of March, before she was betrothed to the king of England." The Romans brought the people of Bletonum to trial for having offered a human sacrifice to the Gods, though they themselves buried alive, from some religious superstition, two Greeks and two Gaulish women,

already recorded many emigrations of other races from Ireland, several centuries earlier. But it does not suit his argument here to acknowledge these facts.

[s] Giraldus himself recorded in the blackest colours the vices of his king, Henry II. but not until after that monarch's death.

sent, cum ipsi duos Grecos, ac totidem ex Gallia mulieres in foro Boario etiam per sacrorum superstitionem viventes defodissent. Ad Romanorum consuetudinem Giraldus accedere videtur, dum nostratibus ea vitia exprobrat, quibus sui famam suam indignissimé macularunt. Crediderim Giraldo è memoria excidisse quod sui acerrimos adulteriis patronos exhibuerunt, qui Dermicii Murchardidis flagitiosissimo adulterio etiam armis patrocinati sunt. Qui enim delicti pænas scelesto justè irrogatas non solumab eo per vim amoverunt; sed etiam in supremam potestatem meritâ illum animadversione plectentem, bellum moventi opem tulerunt; nemo eos sceleris communione scelerato adjungi diffitebitur, qui eos viderit sceleratum scelera sceleribus cumulantem impense adjuvisse. Ut jam æquus rerum æstimator discernere possit, quænam gens magis adultera sit; eane quæ potentium etiam adulteria bello comprimere nitebatur, an ea, quam non puduit adulterio impunitatem armis comparare?

Quod si ad secuta præsertim annorum nostrorum tempora Giraldus vitam produxisset proculdubio sibi temperasset ab improperando, Hibernis quod fuerint "gens incesta, gens illegitimè nata, et copulata;" præ timore ne quod in vulgus Hibernicum evomuit, in suæ nationis principes potiori jure retorqueretur. Nam post homines natos, in mortalium neminem ista convitia magis appositè quadrabunt, quam in Henricum VIII. qui tam effrænè libidinibus indulserat, ut non simplici se "incestu," sed multiplici conspurcaverit. Alterius enim uxori, et duabus ejus filiabus stuprum intulit, et filiæ suæ ex ea susceptæ "illegitime copulatus," prolem ex ea "illegitime natam" suscepit. Imo in veneris genycæo ita innutritus est, ut Franciscum Brianum, hominem ea tempestate non illepidum sciscitatus quod peccatum videretur matrem primum, deinde filiam cognoscere? responsum ab eo retulit, quale gallinam, deinde pullum ejus comedere.

in the ox forum. Giraldus imitates this conduct of the Romans, reproaching our countrymen with those very vices to which his own countrymen were most foully enslaved. One would think he had completely forgotten that his countrymen had signalized themselves as the patrons of adultery by taking the field in defence of the most abominable adultery of Dermod Mac Murrough. They not only protected him by arms from the punishment justly awarded to his crime, but even assisted him in his rebellion against the supreme authority which inflicted it. Can any man doubt that they were accomplices in the crimes of the wretch, when he sees them aiding him in his headlong career of iniquity, adding crime to crime? Any candid judge can easily decide which is the more adulterous—the nation which rose in arms to punish the adulteries of its potentates, or that which secured impunity by its arms to the adulterer.

Had Giraldus lived in later ages, and especially in our own days, he must have hesitated to call the Irish nation "an incestuous nation, a nation illegitimately born and married," lest the calumny which he flung on the common people of Ireland might be retorted with effect against the first men of his nation.[t] From the days of Adam was there ever a man, to whom the charge applies with such justice as to king Henry VIII., who, in the indulgence of his unbridled lusts, committed not simple, but the most aggravated "incests." He dishonored another man's wife and her two daughters, and then "marrying illegitimately" his own child by that woman, had by her a child "illegitimately born." So deeply was he plunged in the mire of impurity, that having asked Francis Brian, a wit of the day, "what sin it was to cohabit first with the mother and then with the daughter," he was answered, "the same as to devour the hen first and then her pullet."

[t] For a refutation of the unjust inferences drawn by modern English writers from the authority of St. Bernard, the reader is referred to Dr. Lanigan. Ecc. His. vol. iv., p. 34.

CAPUT XX.

NUM VERE GIRALDUS DIXERIT, QUOD HIBERNI FUERINT GENS EXLEX DISSERITUR.

[157] Leges a S. Malachia traditæ.—Leges in Hibernia ante et post Christianismum.—Leges Hibernice scriptæ. [158] Variæ legum species dictæ Brehon laws. [159] Volumina legum Hibernicarum.—Lingua Saxonica etiamnum ediscitur.—Hibernicæ linguæ cognitio ad antiquites Hibernicas eruendas perutilis, e linguæ desuetudine ignoratio ejusdem oritur. [160] Patres Lovanienses ab interitu linguam Hibernicam vendicant.—Synodus et concilia frequentabantur in seculo undecimo.

SED convitiari pergit Cambrensis, Hibernos "gentem exlegem" appellans; quibus verbis cum duo subsint sensus, quorum altero ea ille protulerit ignoro. Vel iis igitur verbis indicare voluit, Hibernos non potuisse legibus coerceri; vel legum omnium expertes, non secus ac si Nomadicam vitam agerent, ex libidine non ad præcepta legum omnia factitasse. Sanè regem suum Henricum secundum isto aculeo pungere potius debuit, qui legibus se omnibus eximere adornans "fecit abjurari in Anglia obedientiam debitam Papæ Alexandro â puero duodeno ad hominem senem."[1] Sub Christianæ religionis in Hibernia exortum S. Patricius leges condidit Ecclesiæ Reiquepublicæ administrandæ ac-

[1] Westmo. ad an. 1168.

[a] *A nation without law.* Spenser made nearly a similar assertion in 1596. Speaking of the strict obedience of the English nation to their laws, he writes of the lawless condition of the Irish thus :—

Ireneus. "But with Ireland it is farre otherwise ; for it is a nation ever acquainted with warres, though but amongst themselves, and in their own kinde of military discipline, trayned up, even from their youthes, which they have never yet been taught to lay aside, nor made to learn obedience unto lawes, scarcely to know the name of law, but instead thereof have alwayes preserved and kept their owne law, which is the Brehon law.

Eudoxus. "What is that which you call the Brehon law? it is a word

CHAPTER XX.

WHETHER GIRALDUS WAS RIGHT IN SAYING THAT THE IRISH WERE A NATION WITHOUT LAWS.

[157] Laws instituted by St. Malachy.—Laws in Ireland before as well as after the introduction of Christianity.—Laws written in the Irish language. [158] Various kinds of laws.—Called Brehon laws. [159] Volumes of Irish laws.—Attention now paid to the study of the Saxon language.—A knowledge of the Irish language indispensable for the elucidation of Irish antiquities.—Ignorance of that language consequent on its disuse. [160] The Franciscan Fathers of Louvain are rescuing the Irish language from ruin.—Synods and Councils held in Ireland, during the eleventh century.

PROCEEDING in his calumnies, Giraldus asserts that the Irish were a "nation without laws." The phrase is ambiguous, and I know not in what sense to understand it. Either he means that the Irish could not be restrained by any laws, or that like the Nomadic tribes, they had no laws, but shaped their morals by their lusts, and not by moral rules. The latter charge could be pointed with greater truth against his own king, Henry II., who attempted to exempt himself from all law, "by forcing all Englishmen from the age of twelve to the old man, to abjure lawful obedience to Pope Alexander." After the establishment of Christianity in Ireland,[a] St. Patrick adopted laws admirably adapted for

unto us altogether unknown."

Iren. "It is a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes there appeareth great shew of equity, in determining the right betweene party and party, but in many things repugning quite both to God's law and man's: as for example in the case of murder, the Brehon, that is their judge, will compound betweene the murderer and the friends of the party murdered, which prosecute the action, that the malefactor shall give unto them, or to the child or wife of him that is slain, a recompence which they called an *Eriach.* By which vilde law of theirs, many murders amongst them are made up, and smothered. And this judge, being as hee is called, the *Lord's Brehon,* adjudgeth for the most part, a better share unto

commodatissimas. Illum Jocelinus refert "magnum volumen quod dicitur Canoin Phadruig id est Canones Patricii scripsisse, quod cuilibet personæ seu seculari, seu etiam Ecclesiasticæ ad justitiam exercendam, et salutem obtinendam satis congrue convenit."[2] Bernardus locuples testis est Hibernos à S. Malachia legum frænos sic recepisse, ut ad omnes in Hibernia homines et loca, præclara ejus institutio pervaserit.

[2] Cap. 185.

his Lord, that is the Lord of the soyle, or the head of that sept, and also unto himselfe for his judgement a greater portion then unto the plaintiffe's or parties grieved." *View of the State of Ireland*. Dublin Ed. p. 6, 8.

Campion, however, who wrote a few years earlier, 1571, and who, even though his hatred to the Irish was equally intense and unnatural, acknowledges that these Brehons were rude Latin scholars and acquainted with the Civil Institutes. His words are:—

"Without either precepts or observation of congruity, they speake Latine like a vulgar language, learned in their common schooles of Leachcraft and Law, whereat they begin children, and hold on sixteene or twentie yeares conning by roate the Aphorismes of *Hypocrates* and the Civill Institutions, and a few other parings of those two faculties. I have seene them where they kept schoole, ten in some one chamber, grovelling upon couches of straw, their bookes at their noses, themselves lying flatte prostrate, and so to chante out their lessons by peece-meale, being the most part lustie fellowes of twenty-five yeares and upwards."

"Other Lawyers they have, liable to certaine families which after the custome of the country determine and judge causes. These consider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours, be it murder, or felony, or trespasse, all is redeemed by composition, (except the grudge of parties seeke revenge:) and the time they have to spare from spoyling and proyning, they lightly bestow in parlying about such matters. The *Breighoon* (so they call this kind of Lawyer) sitteth him downe on a banke, the Lords and Gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceede." *Historie of Ireland*, chap. VI.

Were it not for these passages in Campion's work, and a few others in the writings of Davis and Ware, it might be difficult to satisfy the English reader by the evidence of English writers themselves, that the Irish Brehons had schools of law, or that the Brehon laws had been committed to writing. But, fortunately for the cause of truth, one MS. of these laws which had been in existence during the great plague in Ireland (1350), is still extant in rather good preservation, and proves beyond any possibility of doubt that Spenser's assertion was grounded on sheer ignorance or intentional falsehood. Davis, in

the government of church and state. He compiled, according to Jocelyn, a large volume, which was called Canóin Phádruig,[b] that is, "the Canons of St. Patrick," which prescribed rules suitable to all persons, lay and ecclesiastical, to practice justice and work out their salvation. St. Bernard clearly testifies that the Irish bowed to the laws of St. Malachy[c] so meekly that there was no rank nor place which

his first letter to the Earl of Salisbury, mentions an ancient Roll, containing an account of the various articles payable to Maguire, chief of Fermanagh, by the subordinate chieftains, or heads of tribes within his principality. The Roll was kept by O'Brislane, the principal Brehon of the country. It was written on both sides in a fair Irish character, and it was with great difficulty he could be prevailed upon to suffer it out of his hands to be copied. See *Davis's Tracts*, 8vo, Dublin, 1787, p. 253, and *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, vol. I, p. 159. See also the Statute of Kilkenny, edited by Hardiman, for the Irish Archæological Society, p. 16, 17, note [n]. (J. O'D.)

[b] *Which was called Canoin Phadruig*. This account is taken from Jocelyn's Life of St. Patrick: "Magnum etiam volumen quod dicitur *Canoin Phadruig*, *id est Canones* Patricii scripsit; quod cuilibet personæ, seu seculari, seu etiam Ecclesiasticæ, ad justitiam exercendam, et salutem animæ obtinendam, satis congrue convenit." *Trias Thaum*, p. 214, col. 1. The work here referred to by Jocelyn is that which is called *Cain Phadruig*, or *Lex Patricii*, by the Irish Annalists. See the *Annals of Tighernach* at the year 737, and the *Annals of Ulster* at the years 782, 798, 805, 810, 822, 824, 835. See also Tribes, &c., of *Ui-Fiachrach*, p. 74, note *b*. In the preface to the Seanchus Mor, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 3, 17, it is stated that St. Patrick changed the laws of the Pagan Irish, so as to make them not repugnant to the purity of the Gospel, and called the code so changed by the name of *Seanchus Mor*. A good copy of this work, which was once in the possession of Duald Mac Firbis, is preserved in the Library of T.C.D., H. 3, 17, and there are fragments of older copies of it made in the beginning of the fourteenth century in the same library, H. 2, 15, and a large fragment in the British Museum, Harl. 432, Plut. xlviii. E. This fragment consists of forty folio pages, in beautiful preservation, and contains the fullest preface to the work as yet discovered. (J. O'D.)

[c] *The laws of St. Malachy*. This argument is not sufficienty to the point, because St. Bernard is nearly as severe in his censure of the Irish people as Giraldus himself. Moreover, it is well known that in Malachy's time every effort was made by the heads of the Irish clergy to reform the discipline of the Irish Church, which had become very lax, in consequence of certain barbar-

Nam à S. Malachia inquit: "ubique semen spargitur salutare, gladio linguæ. Religio ubique plantatur, propagatur, fovetur, non sexus, non ætas, non conditio, non professio se abscondit ab opere solicitudinis S. Malachiæ nulla regio, nulla portio regionis, legationis ejus fructu, et utilitate fraudatur." Et alibi: "omnibus tradebat jura Ecclesiastica optimus legislator, leges dabat plenas modestiæ et honestatis." Et postea: "repetuntur antiquæ traditiones, quas bonas fuisse constitit, nec modo vetera restaurantur, cuduntur et nova." Non exleges igitur Hiberni, qui se intra legum gyrum ultro receperunt. Nec etiam tum legum inopia laborabant Hiberni, cum è paganismo nondum emergebant. Etenim jam tum comitia tertio quoque anno indicebantur; ad quæ reges, magnates, et literarum cuneus Temoriam confluebant. Ubi communibus suffragiis leges ad Reipub. administrationem accommodatas ferebant: quarum aliquæ aliis post Hibernos Christianismo imbutos latis annexæ in pluribus magnæ molis voluminibus etiamnum extant.

Tres Obuirrechani fratres, Tarrananus Episcopus, Boighalachus judex, et Moeltulius poëseos, reique antiquariæ peritus, Cathaldo Finghini filio in Momonia regnante, anno post Christum natum 686, aut non multo secus, è juris peritorum scriptis, legum etiam undique à se decerptarum accessione cumulatis, unum opus conflarunt, "Brathaneimhadh" dictum, quod perindè est ac judicia sacra; denominatione nimirum à potiori operis parte desumpta quæ circa res Ecclesiasticas versatur. Summam operis isti versus Hibernici paucis complectuntur.

"Eagluis, flatha agus filidh, Breitheamh dhios gach dligh,
Na bruigh foaibh dar linn, na saoir agus na gabbainn."

ous encroachments of the laity; to check which the heads of the Irish Church were glad to avail themselves, even of the intervention of the English monarch. How far they were deceived in their calculations at this period their subsequent history amply shows. (J. O'D.)

d *Every where planted.* But the necessity of planting it at so late a period as the time of Malachy (who died in 1148) shows that the discipline of the Irish Church had become loose and irregular. St. Bernard's words clearly show that great lawlessness had existed both before and during Malachy's time. (J.O'D.)

e *Called Breatha Neimheadh*, or *sacred decisions.* That this is not the true interpretation of *Breatha Neimh-*

did not receive his institutions. By St. Malachy "the salutary seed was every where scattered, with the word of his tongue." According to St. Bernard, "Religion was every where planted,[d] and propagated, and nurtured. Neither sex, nor age, nor rank, nor profession was screened from the zealous labors of St. Malachy. No region, no part of a region, was deprived of the fruit and advantage of the legatine authority." And again, "our most wise legislator prescribed ecclesiastical laws for all: laws breathing moderation and virtue." Finally, "all the old traditions, if found to be laudable, were revived, and not only were the old revived, but new ones were introduced." The Irish could not be a people without laws when they thus voluntarily embrace the path of law. But even before the Irish had emerged from Paganism, there was no want of law among them; triennial conventions being held at Tara, where the kings, nobles, and learned orders enacted, by common consent, wise laws for the government of the kingdom. Some of these laws are still extant, bound up in many immense volumes, with the laws enacted after the establishment of Christianity. During the reign of Cathal, son of Finghin, king of Munster, in or near the year 686, the three O'Buirrechans, brothers, namely, bishop Tarannan, Boighalach, a Brehon, and Moeltuile, an eminent bard and historian, compiled from the works of Brehons and many laws collected by themselves, a volume called Breatha Neiṁeaḋ,[e] or "Sacred decisions," a title given to the work because the greater part of its contents regarded ecclesiastical matters. A summary of that volume is compressed into the few following Irish lines:

> "Eagluis, Flatha, agus Filidh, Breitheamh dhior gach dlighiḋ,
> Na bruigh foaibh dar linn, na saoir agus na gabhainn."

eadh, O'Reilly has amply proved in his short Essay on the Brehon laws, read before the Royal Irish academy June 28th, 1824, and published in their Transactions, vol. xiv., *Antiquities*, p. 28, *et sequent.*

[e] There is a copy of the *Breatha Neimheadh*, or Judgments relating to the Nemeds, chiefs, or dignitaries, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 3, 18, and in the British Museum Bibl. Cotton; Nero, A, vii p. 49, Plut, xxx., A. (J. O'D.)

Quæ hunc sensum ferre possunt.

> "Quod sit jus cleri, satrapæ vatisque, fabrique
> Nec non agricolæ, liber iste docebit abunde."

Alii præterea jurium libelli in unum opus coaluerunt, quorum primum Meillbhreatha Hibernicè dicimus, ad imperitos à deceptione liberandos accommodatum, Constantino Centimacho Hiberniæ rege (qui sub annum Christi nati 181 mortuus est) à Modainio Tolbani filio confectum.

Alteri juris operi "Fiondfuith" nomen est, à Fithico Fiorgothio uno è Temoriæ jurisconsultis editus, Cormacho superioris Constantini filio ad clavum Hiberniæ sedente qui fato functus est anno Domini 252.

Tertium appellamus "Ainteachtbreath." Jurium miscellanea nullo inter se vinculo nexa complectens. |

[158] Quarti titulus est "Anfuighilbreath." Ac si diceres judiciorum reliquiæ quibus "Fothamor" adjungitur, quod perinde est ac si diceres fundamentum magnum. Tendit autem ad judicem illum magistratu privandum qui gratia non lege ad ferendam sententiam ducitur.

Quinti "Fothabeag" inscriptio est, qui docet qua ratione divisionem inter se instituere debent qui sunt ex eodem genere.

Sextum "Aidbreatha" dicimus qui de furtis agit.

Septimum "Corasfine" nominamus; qui vinginti quinque rationes præscribit, quibus qui eodem genere orti sunt inter se mutuo convenire debent.

[f] *Meillbhreatha*. There are copies of this tract preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H, 3, 18, and in the British Museum, Egerton 90, Plut. clxvi., H. It is stated in the preface that St. Patrick approved of these Decisions, having first purged them of a few Pagan peculiarities, and gave them their present appellation of *Meillbhreatha*, that is, sweet, good, or just decisions or laws. (J. O'D.)

[g] *Cormac*. A copy of laws ascribed to this famous monarch and his Brehons is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, E, 3, 5, and in the Stowe Collection of MSS. now in the possession of Lord Ashburnham. See the *Stowe* Catalogue, and *Petrie's* Antiquities of Tara Hill, pp. 40, 41, 42. (J. O'D.)

Which may be thus translated,

> "Churchmen, chieftains and poets, Brehons knowing each law
> The Brooes, next after them we are sure, the artizans and the smiths."

Other law tracts were also compiled into one volume; the first was Meillḃreatha,[f] a work intended to guard the unlearned against deception. It was compiled by Modan, son of Tolban, in the reign of Con of the Hundred Battles, who died in year of our Lord 181.

The second compilation of law was called Fiondsoith. It was edited by Fithrich Fiorgoth, one of the Brehons of Tara, during the reign of Cormac king of Ireland,[g] grandson of Con of the Hundred Battles, A.D. 252.

The third was called Ainteachtḃreatha,[h] a compilation of miscellaneous documents not bearing on each other.

The fourth was "Anfuighillbreatha,"[i] which may be interpreted "supplementary decisions," to which was annexed the "Fotha mór," or "great principle." Its drift is, that all judges should be degraded from their office, if their decisions were swayed by favor against law.

The fifth was "Fotha beg," containing the principles to be followed by persons of the same kindred in the distribution of property.

The sixth is called "Aidbreatha,"[k] which lays down the law on theft.

The seventh is called "Coras fine,"[l] which propounds twenty-five arguments why those who are of the same kindred should combine together in mutual love, or (which propounds twenty-five principles regulating the mutual harmony of persons of the same kindred.)

[h] *Ainteacht-bhreatha.* There are various miscellaneous laws of this kind preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 3, 17, and H. 3, 18, and in the British Museum, Egerton, 88, Plut. Clxvii. and in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Rawlinson, 506. (J. O'D.)

[i] *Fuighill-bhreatha.* There is a copy of this and the next Tract in the British Museum. Nero. A. vii. (J. O'D.)

[k] *Aidhbhreatha*, copy in H. 3, 17, and H. 3, 18, Lib. T.C.D. (J. O'D.)

[l] *Coras Fine*, i.e. Law of the tribe, copy in H. 2, 15, and also in 3, 17, T.C.D. (J. O'D.)

Extat et aliud quadripartitum opus "Cain" Hibernicè, "mulcta" latinè dictum, cujus prima pars in mulctâ universim, et mulctâ Ecclesiasticâ exponenda versatur. Altera docet quibus pænis coercendi sunt qui cæde se, vel alio quovis nefario facinore inquinant: Tertia modum præscribit quo pignora præhendantur, et retineantur. Postrema de testibus, et testimoniis agit, ac de ratione qua furtum indagari debeat. Hoc autem opus Cassiliæ peractum fuit, Felimidio Crimthoni filio Momoniæ gubernacula moderante, qui post regnum 27 annos administratum annum Christi nati 845 et vivendi finem fecit.

Huic operi aliud adnectitur "Eidgheadh" dictum à Cormacho Arturide filioque suo Carbrio Hiberniæ quondam regibus elucubratum, de sceleribus quæ quis per imprudentiam, aut alio quovis modo patrat.

His subjicimus alium juris librum "Dula" nuncupatum, tribus partibus constantem, quarum prima regi bellum inferri et plures alios injurias per vim fieri vetat. Docet præterea quæ sint tutelæ ac Asyli jura, qua pæna sint afficiendi qui sanguinem fuderint ii quibus præsentibus et annuentibus scelus quodpiam admissum est; quà formâ in scriptum pacta referri debent. In hoc libro conficiendo Cormacus rex supra memoratus et alii elaborarunt.

Altera pars, de rebus Ecclesiasticis agit, ac præsertim de jure sepulturæ, vetatque avitum sepulchrum à quopiam deseri. Deinde præcipit armenta de satis abigi, et quid de rebus agendum sit, in mari, aut terra fortuitò repertis tum variæ leges attexuntur. Prior pars Comini Fodui filii Fachnai opus: Posterior Cormaci et Carbrii Hiberniæ regum quorum paulo ante mentionem feci. Ultima pars præscribit honorem qui deferri debeat regi, Episcopo, et literatorum præsidi, ordinique, ac denique diuturno agrorum possessori: rationem etiam indicat qua injuriam cuiquam eorum illatam resarciri oporteat. Hujus operis præter cæteros author est Rognius Rosgadach Uganii regis Hiberniæ filius. Alias etiam res liber ille complectitur.

[m] *Cain, or fine.* This is a mistake of our author's, and not of Mac Firbis's, for in the Feineachus or Law dialect of the Irish, with which the latter was well acquainted, the word *Cain* (which Jocelyn erroneously translates Canones) is technically used to signify *lex* or law. See note i. on *Cain Phadruig supra.* (J. O'D.)

[n] *Appended.* It may have been

There is extant, also, a work divided into four parts, which is called in Irish "Cain,"[m] or "fine." The first division treats of fine in general and of ecclesiastical fines. The second explains the penalties to be enforced against criminals guilty of murder or other atrocious offences. The third prescribes the form for receiving and retaining pledges (securities). The fourth treats of evidence and witnesses, and the judicial process or inquiries regarding robbery This work was compiled at Cashel, during the reign of Felimidh son of Crimhthan, king of Munster, who held the sceptre during 27 years, and died in the year 845.

Another work called Eidghheadh, was appended to the preceding.[n] It was compiled by Cormac son of Art, and his son Carbry, kings of Ireland, and treated of crimes committed through imprudence or otherwise.

To these may also be added the law treatise called "Dula,"[o] which consisted of three parts. The first propounds the law against making war on the king, and many other offences committed by force. It also teaches the privileges of sanctuaries and protections, the penalties against those who shed blood, and those who were present at and approved any crime: it prescribed also the legal forms of covenants. King Cormac, with the aid of other scholars, made this compilation.

The second part treats of ecclesiastical matters, and especially of the law of sepulture, prohibiting any person from abandoning the burial place of his fathers. It then orders the herds to be kept from the tilled fields, and promulgates various laws on the mode of disposing of things accidentally found on land or sea. Comin Foda, son of Fachtna, was author of the first part: Cormac and Carbry, kings of Ireland, already mentioned, compiled the second. The last division explains

copied next in succession after it, in the MS. in which Duvald Mac Firbis found these tracts, but it has no natural connection with it as far as regards subject or date. (J. O'D)

[o] *Dula*, i.e. *Duil Rosgadhach*, *Duil Feadha*, &c. &c. There is a curious copy of these in H. 3, 17, T. C. D. but not under this title. The second part is by far the more curious, as it points out very curious relations between the church and the laity. (J. O'D.)

"Cain fuithribhe" alterius libelli nomen est, latifundiorum, et longæ possessionis jura continentis, Cathaldo Finghini filio Momoniæ regnum obtinente conscripti.

Leges in Hibernia ante paganismum Hibernis excussum latas erroribus omnibus paganismum redolentibus S. Patricius purgavit, et legum pene omnium summam tribus "Antiquitatis magnæ" partibus complexus est.

"Cui Drubhartaigh bearro" titulus libri, qui jus maritimum prosequitur; docetque quid de ocæani ejectamentis fieri debuerit quæ emolumenta è navibus percipi debebant, aut quibusvis aliis ocæani eventibus. Præscribitque leges, iis qui in alieno fundo, vel aucupium exercent. Nimirum ut vel certam volucrum, et plumarum iis detractarum partem fundi domino conferant, vel in illius agros venationis, aut aucupii gratia pedem non inferant.

In alio libro cujus titulus Hibernicus est "Cain lanamhna mor et "Cain lanamhna beag" leges proponuntur quibus diversa paria mutuis commodis inservire, et obortas inter se controversias sopire debebant. Ea vero paria sunt rex et Regina, vir et uxor, pater et proles, Ecclesia et monachi etc. In "Fuidfæainechais" cumulus legum promiscuè con-
[159] geritur nullo inter se nexu | copulatarum. "Cainborachta" tradit alienos boves nec mactandos nec furto subducendos esse.

Postremus juris Hibernici liber poëtis leges indicit; et edicit qua ratione poëmata fieri debeant: et præcepta tradit, ac figuras in iis

[p] *Cain-Fuithribhe.* There is a considerable fragment of this preserved in the Library of T. C. D., H. 3, 18, with a preface, giving an account of the time, and cause of its composition. (J. O'D.)

[q] *The Great Antiquity.* This is the *Seanchus Mor*, which the compiler of the Annals of Ulster, though a most profound Irish lawyer, rather incorrectly translates *Chronicon Magnum* at the year 439. A full copy of this ancient and curious work is preserved in H. 3, 17, T.C.D., and two fragments in H. 2, 15, transcribed before 1350.

[r] *Cai Drubhartaigh Bearro.* No law tract under this head has been yet identified; but various fragments have been found relating to the rights to things thrown ashore by the sea, in H. 3, 17, and H. 3, 18. T.C.D. (J. O'D.)

[s] *Cain Lanamhna, &c.* These form a section of the *Seanchus Mor* already referred to. (J.O'D.)

[t] *Fuidh Feineachais.* There are various compilations of heterogeneous subjects answering to this description

the honors due to the king, the bishop, the literary order and their president, and finally to the old landed proprietor: it also prescribes the mode of redress for any injuries that may have been inflicted on them. This work was the compilation of several persons, especially Roighni Rosgadhach, son of Ugoni, king of Ireland. It comprises other subjects besides those I have recorded.

Cain fuiṫribhe[p] was the title of another work, containing the rights of landed property and long possession (prescription ?) It was written during the reign of Cathal, son of Finghin, king of Munster.

All the laws made in Ireland during the Pagan period, were expurgated of their Pagan errors by St. Patrick, who compiled a collection of nearly all the laws in his "Great Antiquity,"[q] a work divided into three parts.

Cui drubhartaigh bearrio[r], was the naval code, which prescribed the uses to be made of things cast up by the sea, and the toll to be levied on ships and other things regarding the ocean. It also lays down the law for those who hunt on the property of another, namely, that they should either pay to the proprietor of the soil a certain number of birds, or a quantity of their feathers, or not dare to enter his land either to fowl or hunt.

Another Irish work, called "Cain lanamhna mór and "Cain lanamhna beag,[s] contains the laws regarding the intercourse of equals, how they were to contribute to each other's interests, and arrange any controversies that might arise between them. The equals were the king and queen, the husband and wife, the father and child, the church and monks, &c., &c.

The Fuidfeinechais,[t] is an indigested mass of laws on various subjects. The Cain borachtu[u] decides that the cattle of another man must not be either killed or stolen. The last body of Irish laws con-

preserved in the MSS. H. 3, 17, H. 3, 18, and H. 2, 15, T.C.D. the first of which was once the property of Duvald Mac Firbis who furnished our author with this list of the Irish laws above given in the text. (J. O'D.

[u] *The Cain Borachta.* This seems to correspond with the *Breatha Comhaithceasa* or Neighbour Laws, of the MSS. H. 3, 5, and H. 2, 15, in the manuscript library of Trinity College, Dublin, in which there are very minute laws relating to herding and common of pasture. (J. O'D.)

faciendis adhiberi solitas. Præterea satyras, et æncomia componendi modos aperit. Ita tamen ut quæ pæna satyris quemcunque per injuriam rodenti irroganda sit edoceat. Ad hoc opus concinnandum operas contulerunt Aithirnius, Ailgerachus, Seanchius Torpestius, et alii.

Vidi ego plura è pergameno spissa legum Hibernicarum volumina, et in illis textum charactere grandiori conscriptum lineis modice disjunctis faciliori vocum interpretatione minutioribus literis insertâ. Uberiora commentaria per paginam diffusa textum obibant eadem omninò ratione qua textum et glossam in libris utriusque juris aspicimus. Ex his superiores titulos ante aliquot annos decerpsit Duvaldus Virbisius. Leges illæ jampridem tribunalibus exclusæ in desuetudinem penitus abiissent nisi pauci admodum innato quodam linguæ patriæ ab interitu vendicandæ studio capti iis addiscendis incubuissent; operam ultro impendentes ad illam ruinæ subducendam, quam illi multoties Angli intentabant, eam comprimere lata lege sæpius aggressi. Non multum à Carthaginiensibus abeuntes, qui senatus Consulto caverunt "ne quis Carthaginiensis aut literis[3] Græcis, aut sermoni studeret." Rerum etiam vicissitudine ita ferente, ut sicut Imperia, sic communis loquendi forma, et consuetudo suo quasi confecta senio contabescat: atque ut ex corporibus placent potius quæ vigentis florem ætatis præ se ferunt, quam quæ caducam quandam authoritatem adepta sunt, sic in quotidiano loquendi usu qui sermo postremo loco successit, ille pluri-

[3] Justinus, lib. 10.

[v] *Laws of the Poets.* There is a law relating to the poets preserved in H. 3, 17, and in various other MS. in the Library of T.C.D., and the *Seanchus Beug* in the Book of Ballymote, contains curious laws relating to them; and a most curious classification of them according to their dignities and privileges. The king of Munster is set down as the chief Ollumh or Poet laureat of all Ireland! (J. O'D.)

[w] *Duvald Mac Firbis.* For some account of this remarkable man, see Introductory remarks to *Tribes, &c. of Ui Fiachrach.* According to the tradition in the country he was most wantonly murdered by a drunken member of the Crofton family at Dunflin, near Dromore west in the Co. of Sligo, A.D. 1670. See *Ui Fiachrach,* Introductory Remarks, pp. viii. and ix. and *Ogygia Vindicated,*

tains the laws on poets,[v] prescribing how poems were to be composed, and expounding the rules and figures usually used in the composition. But in explaining the laws of satire and panegyric, it prescribes the penalties to be enforced against unjust and libellous satires. This compilation was the joint production of Aithirni, Ailgerach, Seanchan Torpest, and others.

I saw a great number of thick volumes of Irish laws, with the text written in large characters, and a large space between the lines, to admit more conveniently in smaller letters a glossary on the meaning of the words. The page was covered over with copious commentaries, inserted between the text, as are usually seen in compilations of canon or civil law. Some years ago, Duvald Mac Firbis[w] transcribed from these books the titles which I have given. As the laws themselves have been long since excluded from the courts, they would have fallen into oblivion, if a small number of persons,[x] inspired by an innate zeal to save their native language from ruin, had not resolved to study them, and thus by their voluntary exertions, rescue from the fate to which the English so often attempted to consign it by their prohibitory and penal enactments. Their policy resembled the decree of the Carthaginian senate, " which prohibited all Carthaginians from learning to speak or read the Greek language." Such is the instability of human things, that language, like empires, even the common form and custom of speech itself, should sink under the weight of years and fade away; for as the eye is more pleased with a youth in the flower of his age, than with him on whose frail frame age has set its venerable seal, so with regard to the vehicle of daily intercourse, the language last introduced is more respected and honored by men. It is thus that the

pp. ix. x. The traditional details are too uninteresting to be even hinted at here. It was one of those occurrences that disgrace the history of this ill-starred land. (J. O'D.)

[x] *Small number of persons.* The persons here alluded to by our author were evidently Duvald Mac Firbis, Tuileagna O'Maelchonaire, [Tully Conry,] and some members of the Mac Egans, O'Davorans, Mac Clancys, and O'Breslens, who were hereditary Brehons and professors of the *Feineachas* or ancient Irish laws. (J. O'D.)

mum apud homines honoris obtineat, ac dignitatis. Hoc pacto è pristino splendore linguam Hibernicam, Anglica detrudere contendit, nisi Hiberni nonnulli qui linguam vernaculam non è libris acceperunt, sed à natura arripuerunt, non à magistro didicerunt, sed à nutrice hauserunt, non in scholis perceperunt, sed in cunis cum lacte ebiberunt, eam retinere maluissent, quam alienam è sexcentis chartis, commentariis, et præceptoribus petere, et omni dimicatione contendissent, ut usus ejus adhuc floreret. Non secus ac olim cænobitæ Tavistokenses in Anglia, studium suum ad linguam Saxonicam fovendam contulerint, qui "prælectiones Saxonicas in suo monasterio instituerunt, ne hujus linguæ cognitio intercideret."[4] Imo nostra etiam memoria linguæ Saxonicæ cognoscendæ à pluribus insudatur. Fortasse nostrates illi tam acres linguæ patriæ sectatores persuasum habent, non alia lingua Hiberniæ incolas in extremi judicii die responsuros quam Hibernicâ, ut de sua linguâ ille Brito ajebat apud Camdenum.[5] Magnam certudinem lectori et memorabilem commendationem sibi Camdenus peperit: quod linguæ Britannicæ, et Saxonicæ sedulo incubuerit. Hinc enim ea quæ literis mandavit, non è rivulis, sed è fontibus illum hausisse perspectum habemus: si quidem nulla est exploratior narratio, quam quæ veteris memoriæ monumentis vernaculâ patriæ cujus rei priscæ in lucem producuntur linguâ exaratis eruitur. Quod si nullum aliud emolumentum ex Hibernicæ linguæ cognitione perciperetur, quam ut res antiquitus in Hibernia gestas nobis enucleatius aperiret, plurimum profecto præstaret aliquos semper superesse qui penitiore idiomatis Hibernici scientiâ imbuerentur.[7] Quare non meliori studio Hiberniæ antiquitatis oblivione sepeliendæ illi arsisse censendi sunt, qui linguam Hibernicam abolere tantopere contenderunt. Nam sicut cæteris mortalium rebus temporis diuturnitas, sic linguis dissuetudo interitum. Numæ Pompilii libros dudum post ipsius tempora repertos, Tagis sortes, Etruscorum auguria, et lintea volumina nemo intellexit. Et Polybius tradit conventa quæ Romani primo bello Punico cum Carthaginiensibus transegerunt,
[160] ubi ducentis annis nondum elapsis eorum inspiciendorum occasio | ad

[5] Welocus in præfat. ad Bedam Camden. p. 144. [6] Spelman in præfat. ad Cocil. Panbrit. p. 17. [7] Qualis est nunc doctissimus Johannes O'Donovanus. (M. K.)

English language is laboring to deprive the Irish of its ancient splendor, if some Irishmen who have not received their native language from books, but absorbed it from nature, who have not learned it from masters, but imbibed it from their nurse, who have not picked it up in schools, but drank it in with their mother's milk, had not resolved to retain it, rather than learn a stranger tongue from six hundred commentaries and schoolmasters. The grand object of their zeal has been to keep it alive, like the Anglo Saxon monks of the monastery of Tavistock, who formerly took the English language under their protection, "and established Saxon lectures in their monastery, lest the knowledge of the language might be lost." Even in our own time many persons are laboring strenuously to acquire a knowledge of the Saxon. Perhaps those countrymen of ours who patronize the Irish language so zealously, believe that the Irish are to answer at the last judgment in the Irish language only, as the Briton, according to Camden, believed of his own language. It affords great confidence to his reader, and reflects great renown on himself, that Camden had diligently studied both the English and Saxon languages. It enabled him to draw his writings not from the streamlets, but from the fountain head, and thus impart to his narrative that high authenticity which can be found only in those venerable documents, written in the vernacular language of the country, whose ancient history is to be published. Were no other advantage to be derived from the knowledge of the Irish language, than the great light it would throw on the ancient history of Ireland, it would still be most desirable, that we should have at all times some men profoundly versed in the Irish idiom. How ardently must these men have burned to obliterate the ancient history of Ireland, who labored so strenuously to abolish her language. For as time is the great destroyer of all other mortal things, so disuse destroys a language. No person could understand the books of Numa Pompilius, which were discovered a long time after his death, nor the divinations of Tagis, the Etruscan auguries or the linen volumes. And Polybius states, that when the Romans, in deciding some controversy, about two hundred years after the first Punic war, were obliged to examine the treaties then made with the Carthaginians, the documents could not be understood. In the same way, no person can understand the ancient

controversiam aliquam decidendam exorta est, non fuisse percepta. Simili prorsus ratione si usus idiomatis Hibernici è medio tolleretur, ad monumentorum veterum Hibernicorum intelligentiam nullus penetrare posset.

Cæterum ea linguæ Hibernicæ concinnitas est, ut primis labiis lectionem ejus degustantes, ad penitiorem illius cognitionem comparandam attrahantur. Vidi plures linguæ Hibernicæ legendæ cognitione tenuiter imbutos, tanta lectionis illius voluptate delinitos fuisse, ut libros Hibernicos vix sibi è manibus evelli passi fuerint, nisi parentum objurgationibus ad magis quæstuosa studia curam vertere cogerentur.

Speramus fore ut lingua Hibernica Reverendorum ordinis S. Francisci patrum Collegium Lovaniense incolentium operâ denuo revirescat, qui abstrusiora vernacula monumenta indies non solum è tenebris in lucem, sed ex idiomatis obsoleti squalore ad latini sermonis nitorem educunt. In qua re præ cæteris indefatigabili studio admodum Reverendus pater Joannes Colganus sacræ Theologiæ professor emeritus, ac scriptis de patria optimè mortalium meritus desudat. Ex hujus collegii prælo plures Hibernico charactere libros prodiisse jam vidimus. Et ab eodem Hibernicum grandius Dictionarium, quod eorundem patrum aliqui moliri dicuntur, brevi emissum iri confidimus. Ita ut quantum Angli Monachis suis Tavistokensibus ob linguam Saxonicam servatam debeant tantundem Hibernia patribus suis Lovaniensibus ob rubiginem Hibernicæ linguæ abstersam obstringatur. Nisi etiam beneficio majori patriam suam hi devinxerint quod tum cum tota gens ad ultimas angustias redacta in indubitato pereundi periculo versaretur, "minimè passi fuerint eadem terrâ quæ civium suorum corpora tegebat, rerum

[y] *A copious Irish Dictionary.* No such work has been published and nothing has been discovered to show that it was even commenced. The largest work of the kind which was published by the Franciscans was Michael O'Clery's Glossary, a small octavo volume, printed at Louvain in 1643. In the preface to this little work, O'Clery gives the names of the principal Irish scholars, some of whom were living or lately deceased, who had written Glosses, and such of whom as were living he was anxious to stimulate to undertake a more copious work than his own. The names mentioned by him are Boethius Roe Mac Egan, Torna O'Mulconry, Me-

Irish documents, if the use of the Irish language be destroyed. Such, however, is the elegance of Irish language, that how lightly soever a person sips of it, he is drawn on to acquire a more profound knowledge. I have known many persons who had but a very slight acquaintance with Irish books; still so great was the delight they found in reading them, that they could hardly have ever let them out of their hands, if the reproofs of their parents had not forced their attention to more profitable studies.

The labours of the Reverend Fathers of the orders of St. Francis, in the college of Louvain, will, we hope, once more revive the Irish language. They are not only bringing to light every day the more abstruse vernacular documents, but translating them from the rugged obscurity of an obsolete idiom into elegant Latin. In this undertaking, the indefatigable zeal of the Very Rev. Father John Colgan, professor emeritus of Theology, stands nobly pre-eminent among all the writers on the history of our country. We have already seen many books printed in the Irish type, at the press of this college, and we are expecting soon from the same source a copious Irish dictionary,[y] which some of the same fathers are said to be compiling. Thus, if the English must thank their monks of Tavistok, for the preservation of the Saxon, the Irish owe similar obligations to the Louvain Fathers, for the preservation and refinement of the Irish. Perhaps of the two, the benefit conferred on Ireland is the greater, since those fathers stood forward when she was reduced to the greatest distress, nay, threatened with certain destruction, and vowed that the memory of the glorious deeds of their ancestors, should not be consigned to the same earth that covered the bodies of her children. May the wisdom of God be ever praised and adored, for inspiring those fathers with the

laghlin Moder O'Mulconry, Lewy O'Clery, John O'Mulconry, and Flann son of Carbry Mac Egan. None of these scholars, however, have left us any work in the shape of a Dictionary, and O'Clery's own little vocabulary may be considered the first attempt of the kind after Cormac's Glossary. We are still left without a perfect dictionary compiled, as it ought to be, from our ancient and modern MSS.; and it appears very likely, from the depressed state of the country, and the increasing apathy of the natives, that the present generation will pass away without seeing one. (J. O'D.)

etiam à majoribus præclarè gestarum memoriam obrui." Ut divini numinis prudentiam admirari, et venerari debeamus, quæ mentem iis patribus immiserit, cum Hiberni fortunarum omnium, et avitorum agrorum jacturam fecerint, quominus avitæ quoque famæ detrimentum patiantur impedire.

Sed ista me non sentientem longius adduxerunt; nunc in viam ad interrupti sermonis telam texendam redeo. Ac primum doceo juris Hibernici scientiam, ab Hibernis "Fenechais" universim appellari, ab Anglis "Brehonlaw," vocabulo è voce Hibernica "Brehumh" judicem, et Anglicâ "Law" legem significante, satis insulse ut aliquorum fert sententia conflato.

Deinde sciscitor quo pacto ille populus exlex esse potuit, ad cujus mores sive instituendos, sive restaurandos creberrimæ leges, et decreta cudebantur? Etenim post Hibernos ad bonam frugem à S. Malachia revocatos, sæpe sæpius indicta sunt comitia multo principum et Antistitum numero frequentata. Ut si quæ fæcula populi moribus (post diligentiam in iis excolendis à S. Malachia adhibitam) adhæserat abstergeretur. Anno salutis 1152 vivo adhuc S. Bernardo laudum Hiberniæ per ea tempora præcone præstantissimo, Kenenusam omnes

[z] *Absurd combination.* The term Brehon law means literally *judge law*, which is rather an odd compound; but by the word Brehon the English writers meant an Irish judge, so that in their minds Brehon law meant the *Law of the Irish Judges*, in contradistinction from the statute and common law of England. The oldest mention of the Irish laws, under this title, is found in the statute of Kilkenny, enacted in the fortieth year of King Edward III. A. 1367, "Que nul Englois soit reule en diffinition de Marche *ne de Breon*, que par raison ne doit estre lei ein malveis custume." *Statute of Kilkenny*, pp. 16, 17, edit. Hardiman. (J.O'D.)

[a] *The most ardent encomiast of Ireland.* This certainly is not the case. St. Bernard justly became the most ardent encomiast of the excellent, zealous, and virtuous prelate, St. Malachy, but the most vehement censurer of his countrymen, the Irish, who, we must all confess, were then tolerably lawless! The candid and truly enlightened Dr. Lanigan, after drawing a sad picture of the lawless state of Ireland in the time of St. Malachy, remarks, that "several of the Irish princes and chieftains had imbibed the spirit of the Danes, sparing neither churches, nor monasteries, nor ecclesiastics, according as suited their views; a system which was held in abhorrence by their ancestors, and which often excited them to unite, in defence of their altars, against the Scandinavian rob-

resolve, that the ancient glory of Ireland should not be entombed by the same convulsion, which deprived the Irish of the lands of their fathers and of all their property.

But I have been imperceptibly drawn into a long digression on this subject. Let us now resume the thread of our discussion. I observe, in the first place, that the knowledge of Irish laws was called by the Irish " Fenechais," and by the English " Brehon Law," from the Irish word, bꞃeıċeaṁ, " a judge," and the English word "law," a very absurd combination[z] according to some tastes.

In the next place, I ask with what justice that people could be called " a people without law," for whose instruction or reformation, laws and enactments were so often made? After the general reformation of the Irish, effected by St. Malachy, many other assemblies were held and numerously attended by bishops and princes. Whatever stain may have remained on the character of the people after the searching zeal of St. Malachy, must have been effaced by their councils. In the year 1152, during the life time of St. Bernard, who had then become the most ardent encomiast of Ireland,[a] all the bishops

bers."

But granting that the Irish were as lawless as St. Bernard describes them from the dictation of St. Malachy, it is but fair to compare what he says of the civilized Romans, whose conduct he had witnessed with his own eyes, at the same lawless period:—

" Who is ignorant of the vanity and the arrogance of the Romans? A nation nursed in sedition, cruel, untractable, and scorning to obey, unless they are too feeble to resist. When they promise to serve, they aspire to govern; if they swear allegiance, they watch the opportunity of a revolt; yet they vent their discontent in loud clamours, if your doors or your counsels are shut against them. Dexterous in mischief, they have never learnt the science of doing good. Odious to earth and heaven, impious to God, seditious among themselves, jealous of their neighbours, inhuman to strangers, they love no one, by no one are they beloved; and while they wish to inspire fear, they live in base and continual apprehension. They will not submit; they know not how to govern; faithless to their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike impudent in their demands and refusals. Lofty in promise, poor in execution: adulation and calumny, perfidy and treason, are the familiar arts of their policy," &c. Hi invisi terræ et cælo utrique injecere manus. *De considerat*, lib. iv. c. 2. (J.O'D.)

Hiberniæ præsules in cœtum coierunt, "ad Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ reformationem[6] (veteris scripti verba sunt) et repurgationem, moresque populi reformandos." Nec multum postea temporis effluxit, cum anno post Christum natum 1157, Antistitum et procerum consessus Ecclesiasticarum, et civilium legum violatores censuris Ecclesiasticis debitisque pænis plexit.[7] Proximo deinde anno Episcopi viginti quinque in Mediam concesserunt,[8] et Christiano O'Conairche legato Apostolico præsente, suffragia tulerunt, "Pro Ecclesiastica disciplina, et moribus in melius mutandis."[9] Anno postea 1162 viginti septem Episcopi ab

[6] Apud Colganum 19 Martii, p. 654. [7] Ibidem. [8] Ibidem, p. 655. [9] 28 Martii, p. 777.

[b] *Synod of Kells.* This great national synod was held at Kells, in Meath (not at Drogheda, as the Annals of the Four Masters incorrectly state), in the year 1152. It was presided over by Cardinal Paparo (as Legate of Pope Eugene III.), who distributed the palliums brought by him from Rome to the four several archbishops of Ireland, according to their order of precedency, of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam, to procure which distinction for the metropolitan heads of the Irish Church had long been a favourite object with St. Malachy.

Besides the distribution of the palliums, the chief affairs that occupied the attention of this synod were some enactments against simony and usury as well as against the prevalence of concubinage among the laity. There was also promulgated among the acts of this Council an order from the Cardinal, in virtue of his apostolic authority, for the payment of tithes.

The Four Masters state that at this synod rules were enacted for putting away concubines and lemans from men, not to demand payment for anointing or baptizing, not to take money for church property, and to pay tithes punctually. Keating has extracted the following brief account of this synod from the Annals of the Church of Clonenagh, in Leix:

"Milessimo centessimo quinquagessimo secundo anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi bissextile et embolismali anno, nobile concilium in vernali tempore, ad Dominicam lætare Jerusalem, apud Ceanannas celebratum fuit: in quo præsidens D. Joannes Cardinalis Præsbyter Beati Laurentii in Damaso, inter vigenti duos Episcopos et quinque electos, et inter tot abbates, et Priores ex parte Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et Domini Apostolici Eugenii, simoniam et usuram omnibus modis extirpavit, et damnavit, et decimas dandas Apostolica authoritate præcepit. Quatuor pallia quatuor Archiepiscopis Hiberniæ, Dublinensi, Casssiliensi, Tuamensi et Armachano tradidit. Insuper Armachanum Archiepiscopum in Primatem super alios, ut decuit ordinavit. Qui etiam Joannes Cardinalis

of Ireland assembled at Kells,[b] for the reformation (as the old annalist says) and restoration of ecclesiastical discipline and the amelioration of the morals of the people. Not many years later, in 1157, a mixed assembly of bishops and nobles,[c] enacted ecclesiastical censures and other penalties against the violators of the laws of church or state. In the next year, twenty-five bishops met in Meath,[d] and in the presence of Christian O'Conaiurche, apostolical legate, passed laws "for the reformation of morals and of ecclesiastical discipline." Afterwards, in the year 1162, twenty-seven bisheps, besides abbots and others summoned from the clergy, met at Clane,[e] in Leinster, under Gelasius,

protinus post peractum concilium iter arripuit, et nono Kalendas Aprilis transfertavit."

[c] *A mixed assembly, &c.* This assembly met at Mellifont in 1157 (not at Drogheda, as the Four Masters have it). There were present seventeen bishops, together with the legate and the successor of St. Patrick, and a vast number of persons of various ranks. Among the kings was Murcheartach Ua Lochlainn, Tighearnan Ua Ruairc, Ua h-Eochadha, king of Uladh, and O'Cearbhaill, prince of Oirghialla. The principal object of this assembly was the consecration of the church at Mellifont; but after the consecration was over, the whole assembly, lay and clerical, proceeded to enquire into a charge of murder brought against Donnchadh O'Maileachlainn, king of Meath; and on his being found guilty, he was first excommunicated by the clergy, and then deprived of his principality by the monarch, with the consent of the other princes; and his brother, Diarmaid, was established in his place. (J.O'D.)

[d] *Twenty-five bishops,* &c. This synod was held at a place called Bri-mic Taidhg, in the territory of Iveleary, near the town of Trim, in East Meath. It was enacted at this synod that Derry should be raised to the rank of a regular episcopal see. The Four Masters remark that the bishops of Connacht, who were going to attend this synod, were plundered and beaten, and two of their people killed at Cuirr-Cluana, a place on the Shannon, near Clonmacnoise (in the King's County), by the soldiers of Diarmaid O'Maileachlainn [then recently set up in place of his deposed brother as] king of Meath, and that they then returned home. This fact is left untranslated by Colgan in his Annals of Derry. *Trias Thaum*, pp. 309, 505. (J.O'D.)

[e] *Clane*, in the county of Kildare. It is strange that our author has here omitted to notice the most curious enactment of this synod, by the clergy of Ireland, namely, "that no one should be a Lector or professor of theology, in any church in Ireland who was not an alumnus of Armagh." See *Trias Thaum*, p. 211, 309, and Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1162. (J.O'D.)

Armachano Primate Gelasio Cloeniam in Lagenia, præter Abbates, aliosque de clero acciti, "Multa circa clericalem disciplinam, et mores salubriter decreta sanciverunt." Anno quoque reparatæ salutis humanæ 1166 legati Apostoli accitu,[10] Casseliam à clero concursum est, et Concilium ibidem habitum. Templum etiam solemni precatione con-
[161] secratum est, duodecem Episcopis legatum accomitatis. | Anno post virginis partum 1167, ordines regni ad Comitia Athbuytlochtiæ, à Rotherico Hiberniæ rege indicta, frequentes confluxerunt, et præter optimates plurimos, ac tres Archiepiscopos, tredecem etiam equitum millia eo accurrerunt. Ante vero quam comitia dimissa sunt, optimæ leges ad prospiciendum Reipub. administrationi latæ; et quæ ante desuetudine obsoluerunt ad usum revocatæ, ac immunitates Ecclesiasticæ omnium calculis comprobatæ amplificatæque sunt.

Hinc elicimus consuetudinem apud Hibernos proculdubio tunc invaluisse, ut simulatque aliqua difficultas in Ecclesia, aut Repub. derepente oriretur, Ecclesiastici, et Reipub. ordines capita et consilia contulerint, quo malum antequam ejus initia multum progrederentur amoverent. An non statim pene ac in Hiberniam Angli pedem intulerunt, Armacham ab ordine Ecclesiastico concursum est? et ibi "statutum ut Angli ubique per insulam servitutis vinculo mancipati, in pristinam revocentur libertatem?"[11] Ut nesciam quo pacto tam multæ maculæ gentis illius

[10] Annales Inisfal. Colga ad 28 Martii, p. 778. [11] Cambr. Hib. exp. lib. 1, cap. 8.

[f] *To Cashel.* This synod is not mentioned in the Irish Annals, and it is very probable that it is a mistake, for the assembly which assembled at Cashel in 1134 to consecrate Cormac's church. (J.O'D.)

[g] *Athbuidhe Tlachtgha,* now the town of Athboy, near the hill of Tlachtgha, now the hill of Ward, in the county of Meath. (J.O'D.)

[h] *Knights.* This should be *horsemen.* See Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1167. Moore makes the whole number 30,000, but this is certainly a mistake. (J. O'D.)

[i] *States, &c. revived.* The Four Masters state simply: "They passed many good resolutions at this meeting respecting veneration for churches and clerics and controul of tribes and territories, so that women used to transverse Ireland alone [i.e. unaccompanied by their protectors] and a restoration was made of his property which had been taken from the successor of Patrick by the Ui-Failghe

primate of Ardmacha, "and enacted many salutary canons, regarding morals and ecclesiastical discipline." In 1166 the clergy were convoked to Caiseal[f] by the apostolic legate, and a council was held. The church was solemnly consecrated, twelve bishops assisting the legate. In the year 1167, all the orders of the kingdom met in great numbers in the assembly of Ath-buidhe Tlachta,[g] convened by Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair, king of Ireland. It was attended by thirteen thousand knights,[h] besides many great chieftains and three archbishops. Before its dissolution, excellent laws were enacted for the welfare of the kingdom, statutes which had fallen into desuetude were revived,[i] and the liberty of the church was unanimously approved and extended.

A custom had by this time grown up[k] in Ireland, that in all sudden emergencies of church or state, the lay and ecclesiastical orders should meet and consult together, how the evil could be best arrested and stifled at its birth. Was there not a council at Ardmacha[l] immediately after the landing of the English? did not the clergy there decree that all the English who were kept as slaves, throughout the whole island should be restored to their former liberty?" Is it not incredible, that a people who had such vigilant guardians, who watched the incipient abuse, should yet have contracted so many foul stains on their reputation? Bishoprics, moreover, were more numerous[m] in Ireland in those

at the intercession of the aforesaid kings. (J. O'D.)

[k] *Had grown up!* Had not this custom existed from the remotest period whenever the interests of the laity were concerned; but after the English invasion the heads of the clergy met at Caiseal, and consented to receive Henry II. of England as their sovereign, without the consent, *and even without the knowledge of the king of Ireland*, or many of the provincial princes. (For facts directly contrary, see Lanigan, vol. iv., p. 201, and notes at the end of next chapter. M.K.) For this they repented them soon after. (J. O'D.)

[l] *A Council at Ardmacha.* Where is the authority for this? (J. O'D.) Giraldus: not a good authority it is true for facts said to have occurred in the north of Ireland. (M.K.)

[m] *Bishoprics more numerous.* This is very true, for previously to the synod of Rath Breasail in 1118, almost every distinguished church and monastery in Ireland had a bishop. But the complaint made by Giraldus was, that the Irish bishops were generally taken from the regular or monastic clergy, and that they were habitually indolent, and not at all as active

moribus inhærere potuerint, quæ tam perspicaces speculatores habuit ad eas ubi primum eruperint comprimendas. Huc accedit quod in plures Episcopatus olim Hibernia quam nunc dissecta fuerit; et continuo plures Episcopi saluti populorum invigilaverint, qui crebras itinerum molestias boni communis causa impigrè subierunt. Ut hinc constet cum domi quiescerent sedulam operam instituendo gregi suo navasse. Abhorret enim à ratione quam maximè, ut quis sacro etiam Episcopi ordine initiatus, aliorum se negotiis sollicitius ingereret, et in susceptâ sui gregis cura segniorem se præberet.

chief pastors as those taken from the secular clergy. This remark of Giraldus is probably not without some foundation in fact, though it would not hold good at the present day. (J.O'D.)

days than at present; a greater number of bishops watched over the spiritual welfare of the people, and as they often encountered with alacrity the fatigues of a journey for the common weal, surely they must have labored strenuously for the instruction of their flock when they were at home in their dioceses. For nothing can be conceived more abhorrent to common reason, than that a person exalted to the sacred order of bishop, should zealously intrude in the business of others, and neglect his appointed duty to his own flock.

CAPUT XXI.

EX ALIQUOT REGUM, ANTISTITUM, ET ALIORUM ILLUSTRIUM VIRORUM, QUI CIRCA TEMPORA SPURCITIIS A GIRALDO NOTATA FLORUERUNT ACTIS MORES HIBERNORUM ÆSTIMANTUR.

[161] S. Cormacus Momoniæ rex. [162] Genealogia vicecomitis Muscriæ.—Terdelvachi Hiberni regis laus.—Murchertachi regis laus.—Ratisponense chronicon. [163] Rex Conchaurus.—Abbas Ratisponensis obtinet subsidium ab Hibernia.—Conchaurus O'Brien rex Momoniæ. [164] Terdelvachus O'Brien Momoniæ rex.—Gregorius Hibernus abbas Ratisponensis.—Marianus Hibernus præceptor Adrianæ papæ IV. [165] Hiberni celebres Adriano coætanei.

Quod si tempora paulo anteriora cogitatione percurramus, et populi mores regum moribus metiamur, morum spurcitiem Hibernis falso adscriptam fuisse deprehendemus. Lectori ob oculos è S. Bernardo, Annalibus Innisfalensibus, Tigernacique Continuatione tanquam in tabula proponam quibus moribus S. Cormacus Macchartius primum Desmoniæ, deinde totius Momoniæ rex excultus fuerit, ut hinc eorum quibus imperavit mores ediscantur.

Anno Christi nati 1127 Terdelacus O'Conchaurus Hiberniæ rex Cormaco agris exuto, Donatum Cormaci fratrem in Australis Momoniæ, in Aquilonari autem regno Conchaurum O'Brien substituit:[1] "Quare Cormacus rex pulsus regno, ad Episcopum Malchum confugit, non tamen ut ope illius regnum recuperaret, sed magis princeps devotus dedit locum iræ, et necessitatem in virtutem convertit, privatam eligens ducere vitam regium fastigium deponens, quasi unus ex pauperibus fratribus expectans potius Domini voluntatem, quam per vim recipere regnum, nec voluit pro suo honore terreno, sanguinem humanum fundere qui contra se clamet ad Deum de terra. Itaque traditur regi

[1] S. Bernard in vita S. Malachiæ, c. 4.

[a] Bishop of Lismor, who had acquired an extraordinary reputation in those days.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHARACTER OF THE IRISH, COLLECTED FROM THE LIVES OF SOME KINGS, BISHOPS, AND OTHER ILLUSTRIOUS MEN, WHO FLOURISHED AT THE PERIOD WHICH HAS BEEN DESCRIBED IN SUCH DISGUSTING COLORS BY GIRALDUS.

[161] St. Cormac king of Munster. [162] Genealogy of Viscount Muskerry.—Eulogy of Toirdhealbhach, an Irish king: and of king Muircheartach.—Chronicles of Ratisbon. [163] King Conchobhar.—The abbot of Ratisbon obtains money from Ireland.—Conchobhar O'Briain, king of Munster.—Gregorius, Irish abbot of Ratisbon.—Marianus, an Irishman, preceptor of pope Adrian IV. [165] Celebrated Irishmen contemporaries of Adrian.

If we examine the period immediately preceding, and estimate the morals of the people from the character of their kings, we shall be convinced that the charge of profligate immorality made against the Irish was calumnious. Let us place before our readers, from St. Bernard, the Annals of Innisfallen and the continuation of Tighearnach, a moral portrait of S. Cormac Mac Carthaigh, at first king of Deas-Mhumha and then of all Munster. We may thence estimate the character of his subjects.

In the year 1127, Toirdhealbhach O'Conchobhair, king of Ireland, having expelled Cormac from his territitories, gave Deas-Mhumha to Donnchadh, Cormac's brother, and Tuath-Mhumha to Conchobhar O'Briain. "King Cormac thus driven from his kingdom, retired to bishop Malchus,[a] not to implore his help for the recovery of his kingdom, but rather, pious prince that he was, to bow to the storm, and make a merit of necessity; preferring to live as a private man, renouncing the pomp of royalty, and, in the humble guise of a poor brother, waiting patiently the will of the Lord, rather than recovering his crown by violence. He would never consent to purchase his earthly dignity at the expense of human blood, which would cry out to God against him from the earth. A poor

[b] He had been sent to Lismor by St. Celsus to perfect himself in ecclesiastical knowledge and discipline.

paupercula domus ad habitandum, et Malachias in magistrum; ad victum panis, cum sale et aqua. Ad hæc per singulas noctes lachrimis suis lectrum suum rigabat, sed quotidiano aquæ frigidæ balneo male calentem extinguebat in carne libidinem."

Paulo autem post Conchaurus O'Brien, quem anteadixi Aquilonaris Momoniæ regnum Hiberniæ rege conferente retulisse "videns quæ facta sunt, repletus est zelo,[2] et hinc quidem indignans prædonum libertati, et insolentiæ superborum, inde miseratus regni desolationem, et regis dejectionem," cum fratre Terdeluaco, "descendit ad cellulam pauperis." Cui Cormacus, "accedente mandato Episcopi, et Malachiæ consilio, vix tandem acquievit." Et postea Cormacus, "pulsis prædoni-
[162] bus reducitur | in sua, cum exultatione suorum, regnoque restituitur suo." Qui deinde S. Malachiæ, fratrumque tanto amore tenebatur, ut eum è patriâ hostibus irruentibus eversâ, "cum centum et viginti fratribus" in Momoniam concedentem quam lætissimus exceperit, illi et comitibus necessaria omnia abundè subministrans. "Ibracense quoque monasterium" quod incolerent iis extruxit:[3] "adducta incontinenti animalia multa ad usus fratrum; multa insuper in auro, et argento ad sumptus ædificiorum pro regiâ liberalitate collata. Ipse quoque erat intrans, et exiens cum eis sedulus, et officiosus, habitu quidem rex, sed animo discipulus Malachiæ. Et benedixit loco illi Dominus propter Malachiam, et in brevi factus est magnus rebus et possessionibus et personis."

Scribit clarissimus Warræus suo judicio hoc fuisse monasterium quod in comitatu Corcagiensi, Cormacus ille "Canonicis Regularibus S. Augustini circa annum 1134 in honorem S. Joannis Baptistæ construxit:[4] et Dermicius ejusdem Cormaci filius, et successor possessionibus ditavit, circa annum 1173; quod à multis annis, antiquato priore nomine monasterium de Antro S. Finborri, et Gille-Abbey

[2] Ibidem, [3] Cap. 6. [4] Antiquit. Hibernia, p. 196.

[e] The site of this monastery is not clearly ascertained. Dr. Lanigan thinks that Ibrach or Ibracen as our author has it, is the same as Iveragh, a barony in the county of Kerry; might it not be Uiberchon in

dwelling was therefore assigned to the king, and Mael-maedhog[b] was appointed his master; his food was bread, and salt and water. Moreover, every night he watered his couch with his tears, and repressed by a cold bath every day the intemperate ardor of carnal concupiscence."

In a short time, Conchobhar O'Briain, whom we saw receiving Tuath-Mhumha from the hands of the king of Ireland, "hearing what was done, was influenced with zeal and indignation at the licentiousness of the robbers and the insolence of the proud; pitying, moreover, the desolation of the kingdom and the deposition of the king," he went down with his brother Toirdhealbhach "to the cell of the poor brother." Cormac, after a considerable resistance, obeyed the order of the bishop and the advice of Mael-maedhog, "and going forth, dispersed the bands of robbers, and was brought home, to the great joy of his subjects, and re-established on his throne." Henceforward he was so devoted a friend of St. Mael-maedhog and of his monks, that when an invasion of the enemy had compelled them to fly from their own country, he received St. Mael-maedhog with open arms in Munster, and having supplied abundantly all their wants, "founded for them the monastery of Ibracen."[c] A large stock of cattle was instantly presented for the use of the brethren, and gold and silver in royal profusion for the expense of the buildings. The king himself often associated with the monks, like one of themselves, ever attentive and solicitous for their interests; a king in dress and bearing, but at heart a disciple of St. Maelmaedhog. For Mael-maedhog's sake God blessed that place; in a short time it became great in treasures, in possessions, and in illustrious men.

According to the illustrious Ware, this was the monastery founded in the county of Cork by Cormac, "for the canons regular of St. Augustine, about the year 1134, in honor of St. John the Baptist; it was afterwards richly endowed by Diarmuid, son of the same Cormac, in 1172. For many years the old name, monastery of the Grotto of St. Finnbharr, has been obsolete, and it is now known as Gilla Abbey, so called from Gilla Æda, a celebrated abbot of that place, who died

the county of Kilkenny, part of which formerly belonged to the kingdom of Munster.

dicitur, à Gil-Æda nimirum magni ibi nominis Abbate, et postea Episcopo Corcagiensi qui obiit anno 1173." Dermitius autem ille Cormaci filius fundasse anno Dom. 1172 fertur monasterium Maurense sive de fonte vivo,[5] quod "Monachis Cistersiensibus repletum est ex cœnobio Baltinglassensi."

Cæterum Cormacus "duodecimo regni," et Christi anno 1138, a sicariis propinquorum quorundam operâ immissis occisus est;[6] malevolorum invidia virtutum ejus splendorem non ferente. Id tamen improbi homines assequi non potuerunt quin in sanctorum album relatus, fuerit.

Non possum nobilissimo viro Donato Macchartio dignissimo Muscriæ Vicecomiti non multum gratulari, quod genus ab hoc Cormaco recta serie ducat; ipse namque filius est Cormaci, nepos Dermicii, pronepos Tadæi, abnepos Cormaci junioris, abnepos Cormaci, trinepos Tadæi, qui patrem habuit Cormacum, avum Dermicium magnum, proavum S. Cormacum. Ut huic familiæ rebus gestis longè clarissimæ non possim omnia fausta non ominari quæ à tam præclara radice propagata fuit.

Non erit abs re fortassis hic advertere "Dermicium" illum S. Cormaci filium,[7] et successorem à Cambrensi "Corcagiæ" et "Duvenaldem" O'Brien "Limbrici" regem appellari; cum hic Aquilonaris Momoniæ, ille Australis rex certo certius fuerit. Utrique nimirum illudere homo insolens voluit, dum vastiora regnorum utriusque spatia ad arctas duarum urbium angustias insultando contraxerit.[8] Facem Anglis in irrisionibus hujusmodi præferens, quorum "productum ad Ligerim in Francia imperium tantum fastum genti à naturâ suâ superbæ attulerat, ut Carolum VII. Biturigum, id est unius civitatis regulum per deridiculum vocitarent."

Quinquaginta circiter annos ante Momoniæ regnum à S. Cormaco initum, Terdelachum O'Brien Hiberniæ regem S. Lanfrancus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus his effert elogiis, in literis ad ipsum datis sic eum compellans: "Tot tantaque bona de magnitudinis vestræ erga bonos pia humilitate, contra pravos districta severitate,[9] circa omne hominum

[5] Ibid. p. 19. [6] Catalogus Reg. Momon per Oduv. Catolog. SS. Hiber. patrii. Filzfinon. [7] Hibernia expug. lib. 1, c. 53. [8] Florus Franci, lib. 3, c. 42. [9] Apud Vahærum in Sylloge, p. 71.

bishop of Cork, A.D. 1173."[d] Diarmuid, son of Cormac, is also said to have founded the monastery of Maur, or de fonte vivo, "which was supplied with Cistersian monks from the monastery of Baltinglass."[e]

I cannot but congratulate the most noble and worthy Donnchadh Mac Carthaigh, Viscount Muskerry, that he is descended in a direct line from Cormac; he is son of Cormac, grandson of Diarmuid, great grandson of Taidhg, grandchild's grandson of Cormac the younger, grandchild's grandson of Cormac, great, great grandchild of Taidhg, who was son of Cormac, grandson of Diarmuid Mor, and great grandson of St. Cormac. When I reflect on the noble deeds of this, the most illustrious of all our families, I cannot but augur the most promising fruit from the scion of so noble a stock.[f]

It may be useful to observe here that Diarmuid, son and successor of St. Cormac, is called by Cambrensis king of Cork, and Domhnall O'Brian king of Limerick; though it is certain the former was king of South, the latter of North Munster. The impudent man intended to insult them, by contemptuously confining the wide boundaries of their kingdoms to the narrow circuit of two cities. To him the English are indebted for their talent in dispensing such disparaging titles, "thus when they had pushed their conquests to the Loire, in France, their natural pride was swollen to such a degree that they contemptuously styled Charles VII. king of Bourges, or petty king of one city."

About fifty years before the accession of St. Cormac to the throne of Munster, St. Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to Toirdhealbhadh O'Briain, king of Ireland, addresses him in the following complimentary terms: "We have learned from Patrick, our brother and fellow

[d] For some remarks on this abbey, and on the rule adopted by its monks, see Dr. Lanigan, vol. iv., p. 92, 106, 126.

[e] The site of the monastery of Maur (Magh ur) is not identified by our ordinary authorities.

[f] One generation is left out here by our author, for the person whom he addresses was Donnchadh Mac Carthaigh Viscount Muskerry, General of the Catholics of Munster in 1641, who was created Earl of Clancarthy in 1658, and died in 1665, was son of Cormac Og, who was created Baron of Blarney and Viscount Muskerry in 1628, (from whose brother, Domhnall Spaineach Mac Carthaigh of Carrignavar is descended,) who was son of Cormac, chief of Muskerry, son of Taighd, &c. The title was attainted in 1691. See Pedigree of Count Mac

genus discretissimâ equitate frater et coepiscopus noster Patricius narravit, ut quamvis vos nunquam viderimus, tanquam visos tamen vos diligamus, ut tanquam visis, et bene cognitis salubriter consulere, et sincerissimè servire cupiamus."

Murchertachum et O'Brien, qui Terdelachum patrem in regno proxime secutus est, his verbis S. Anselmus alloquitur. "Gratias ago Deo de bonis multis, quæ de vestra celsitudine audio.[10] Inter quæ est hoc, quia gentem regni vestri, in tanta pace facitis vivere, et omnes boni qui hoc audiunt, Deo agunt gratias, et vitæ vestræ diuturnitatem desiderant."

Reverendus admodum ac felicis memoriæ pater Stephanus Vitus è societate Jesu, sacræ Theologiæ Doctor, et ejusdem professor emeritus, utpote quam in scholis Ingolstadii, Dilingæ, et Mussipoti, aliisque Germaniæ locis quindecem annos docuit, vir omni penè eruditionis genere impensè cumulatus aliquandiu penes se habuit vetustum cœnobii Scotorum Ratisbonensis Chronicon; et ex eo quæ è sua fore censebat
[163] excerpsit. | Quæ Chronicon illud prolixius et verbosius, Vitus contractius narravit, luxuriem ejus resecans, et quæ supervacanea erant missa faciens; ita tamen ut à sensu ne latum unguem abscesserit: et eadem omnino locorum, et personarum nomina quæ in autographo erant usurpaverit. Nunquam ego scriptum vidi anachronismis magis inquinatum, attamen è patris Viti apographo ea desumam quæ regum Hibernorum pietatem, et liberalitatem luculenter aperiant. Hoc solummodo præfatus Patrem Vitum asserere plagiarium aliquem scalpello adhibito ubi hæc verba "ex Scotia seu Hibernia Insula" offendisset, posteriores voces, "seu Hibernia Insula" protinus abrasisse, non ita tamen penitus delevisse quin abrasarum vocum vestigia adhuc visantur, nimirum ut hoc fuco lectorem ad credendum adduceret, de Scotia Britanniæ sermonem in eo monumento non de Hibernia institui.

[10] Ibidem.

Carthy by Monsr. Laine, p. 72 to 79, and the Pedigree of Mac Carthy of Carrignavar, given in the *Circuit of Muircheartach Mac Neill*, printed for the Irish Archæological Society, p. 64. (J. O'D.)

[g] And not without gaining something more than empty glory for his country; for before the middle of the 17th century, the Scots of North Britain had succeeded in recovering exclusive possession of several

bishop, so many and so signal proofs of the pious humility of your greatness towards the good, and of your inexorable severity towards the wicked, and your most prudent justice to all classes of persons, that though we have never seen you, our love for you is not therefore the less, and we desire to offer you salutary counsel and to serve you most sincerely, as if you had been our familiar and well-tried friend."

St. Anselm, also, addresses in the following words Muircheartach O'Briain, son and immediate successor of Toirbheabhach: "I give thanks to God for the many good things which I hear of your Highness, and especially for the profound peace which the subjects of your realm enjoy. All good men who hear this give thanks to God, and pray that he may grant you length of days."

The Reverend Father Stephen White, of happy memory, member of the Society of Jesus, doctor and professor *emeritus* of theology, who taught during fifteen years in the colleges of Ingolstad, Dilingen, Wurburgh, and other places in Germany, a man of profound and almost universal erudition, had in his possession for some years an old chronicle of the monastery of the Scots at Ratisbon, and extracts from it what he thought might suit his subject. He briefly gives the substance of the verbose and diffuse document, lopping off its exuberance, and discarding all irrelevant topics, but still adhering strictly to the sense, and retaining the identical names of places and persons which occur in the autograph. I never met a document so full of anachronisms, but it contains the following evident proofs of the piety and munificence of the kings of Ireland. Be it observed, however, by way of preface, that Father White says, some plagiarist, meeting the words "from Scotia or the island of Ireland," erased with a knife the latter words, "or the island of Ireland," but not so perfectly that traces of the erasure were not distinctly perceptible. The object of the plagiarist was to appropriate to the Scotia of Britain, what the document attributes to Ireland.[g]

of the German monasteries originally founded by the Irish. About the period of the Reformation, almost all those houses had, in Catholic as well as Protestant states, been either suppressed or otherwise ruined, or appropriated to the use of the Germans. See in the Bollandists, Feb. 9, a most interesting history of the origin of those monasteries by a contemporary.

Nunc subjungo Apographi verba: "Isaacus, et Gervasius qui[h] nati erant in Hibernia stirpe nobiliore, atque egregie à pietate, literis, eloquentia instructi, quibus conjuncti sunt alii duo Scotigenæ Hiberni, Conradus Carpentarius, et Guillelmus ad Hiberniam pervenerunt, et salutato Hiberniæ rege Conchur O'Brien cognomento Slaparsalach, causam ei adventus sui exposuerunt; qui eos humaniter excepit, atque post aliquot dies in Germaniam honorifice remisit onustos ingenti vi auri, argenti, et pretiosorum aliorum donorum. Alii principes Hiberniæ amplissima in Germaniam revertentibus munera varii generis contulerunt. Isaacus autem, et Gervasius missi erant in Hiberniam tanquam legati à Dionisio Scoto consecrati Petri Ratisbonæ Abbate petituri subsidium, et eleemosinam à regibus et principibus sui soli natalis. His pecuniis ex Hibernia submissis emit Abbas aream novo monasterio extruendo commodam ad Occidentalem partem Ratisbonæ, quod" opus politum evasisse apographum his verbis exprimit: "Sciendum est quod nec ante nec post tam magnum claustrum tam nobili structura in turribus, parietibus, columnis, testudinibus tam cito erectum et paratum ad plenum sicut istud claustrum, quia abundantia divitiarum, et pecuniæ regis Hiberniæ, et aliorum Principum erat sine mensura."

Porro Conchaurus ille O'Brien, qui sumptus ad Ratisbonense S. Jacobi cœnobium suppeditavit, Momoniæ tantum, non universæ Hiberniæ rex erat, cui Slaparsalach tanquam agnomen adhæsisse libellus etiam O'Brienorum stirpem in familiarum quasi ramos diducens edocet. Titulum regis Hiberniæ ab hujus Chronici scriptore fortassis ideo retulit, quod legati eum in illa ditione ad quam appulerunt latè dominantem conspicati, titulis quam honorificentissimis ornaverint, ob illius magnificentiam, totius Hiberniæ regionibus potestatem ejus definitam esse rati.

Conchaurus autem ille in Annalibus nostris initium regnandi anno post partum virginis 1127 fecisse, et peregrinationem Kildariæ anno

[h] This was the first monastery of the Irish at Ratisbon, erected about the year 1068. It was governed successively by six abbots, countrymen of the founder Marianus from the north of Ireland; Denis, or as the name is written by others, Domnus or Dominicus, was from the south, and of the family of the Mac Carthaighs.

The following are the words of the transcript: "Isaac and Gervase, who were born in Ireland of noble families, and were eminent for piety, learning and eloquence, came to Ireland in company with two other Irish Scots, Conrad Carpenter and William, and having paid their respects to Conchobhar O'Briain, king of Ireland, surnamed Slaparsa lach, explained to him the object of their journey. They were kindly welcomed, and after a few days were honorably sent back to Germany, loaded with rich presents of gold and silver, and other precious gifts. They received also from other Irish princes, on their way, abundant presents of different kinds. Now Isaac and Gervase had been commissioned to make this journey to Ireland, by Dionisius the Irishman, Abbot of St. Peters[h] at Ratisbon, to beg alms and assistance from the kings and princes of his native land. The money sent from Ireland purchased for him a commodious site for a monastery on the western side of Ratisbon;" and what a noble construction it was the copy tells in the following words: "Now be it known, that neither before nor since was there a more noble monastery, such magnificent towers, walls, pillars, and roofs, so rapidly erected, so perfectly finished, as in this monastery, because there was no bound to the wealth and the money sent by the king and the princes of Ireland."[i]

Now this Conchobhar O'Briain, by whose munificence the monastery of St. James at Ratisbon was built, was not king of Ireland, but of Munster only, and the same was surnamed Slaparsalach, as is proved from the book of pedigrees, which traces all the branches of the O'Briain family. The author of the chronicle probably gave him the title of king of Ireland, because when the deputies landed and travelled through the extensive territory that obeyed his sceptre, they gave him the most exalted title, supposing from his extraordinary magnificence, that he must have ruled over the whole kingdom of Ireland.

This Conchobhar began his reign, according to our annals, in the year 1127, and died on a pilgrimage to Killdara in 1142. He sent, says

[i] Aid was sent from other quarters also. One of the monks penetrated so far as Kiow in Russia, and brought home to Ratisbon as a gift from the king 100 marks worth of skins or furs, the price of which completed the cloister and roofed the church. Bollandists, Feb. 9, p. 369, c. iv.

Domini 1142 obeuntem vita excessisse dicitur, quem scriptor hic "per magnæ nobilitatis, ac potentiæ comites cruce signatos, et Hierosolimam petituros, ad Lotharium regem Romanorum ingentia munera misisse tradit:" Qui non potuit alius esse, quam Lotharius secundus Imperator fato functus anno Christi nati 1138. Ut eam Conchauri largitionem in ea tempora incidisse oportuerit, quibus ille in regno Momoniæ S. Cormaci collegam egit.

Sed author meus prosequitur dicens: "Christianus Abbas monasterii Scotorum S. Jacobi Ratisbonæ vir nobilis, ex stirpe primaria familiæ Maccarthi in Hibernia, jam exhaustis thesauris olim Ratisbonæ submissis à rege Hiberniæ, videns suos inopia laborare subsidii humani, rogatu fratrum suorum ut novum repeteret levamen egestatis, concessit in patriam suam Hiberniam, ut à rege ejusdem Christianissimo, ac devoto Donato O'Brien dicto, (jam enim vita functus fundator consecrati Petri, et monasterii S. Jacobi Scotorum rex Conchor O'Brien) et ab aliis Hiberniæ magnatibus impetraret eleemosinas. Quem rex Donatus cum regina uxore et principibus Hiberniæ, feliciter expeditis suis negotiis reditum in Germaniam parantem oneravit ingentibus thesauris. Sed Christianus in Hibernia spiritum Deo reddidit, et honorifice sepultus est ante altare S. Patricii Ecclesiæ metropolitantæ Cassellensis."

Verum nullus per ea tempora Donatus O'Brien, aut Hiberniæ, aut Momoniæ rex fuit. Donatum Maccarthium Desmoniæ tum rex fuisse fortè hinc elici potest, quod anno post Christum natum 1127 Australis
[164] Momoniæ rex à | Terdelvaco O Connor Hiberniæ rege renuntiatus, post Cormacum è medio sublatum, Desmoniam fortasse sibi vendicaverit, cum eâ, superstite Cormaco excluderetur. Tadæo autem Maccarthio, et Terdelvaco O'Brien in Momoniæ regno, post Conchaurum è vivis ablatum collegis, Donatus Maccarthius, anno post deiparæ partum 1144, in vinculis apud Tadæum fratrum obiit. Qui Tadæus regnum adeptus emulum etsi fratrem vinculis coercuit. Ut videas authorem vel in nomine, vel in cognomine allucinatum fuisse: cum debuerit vel Donatum Maccarthium dicere, vel Terdelvachum Obrien,

[k] The tract published by the Bollandists, c. 4, intimates apparently, that he returned to Germany after one visit to Ireland, but in c. 6, it

this writer, presents of immense value to Lothaire, king of the Romans, "by some lords of great rank and power, who had taken the cross and were on their way to Jerusalem." This must have been the emperor Lothaire the Second, who died in the year 1138, and the presents must have been sent by Conchobhar, while he was colleague with St. Cormac in the throne of Munster.

But to continue the narrative of our author, "Christian, Abbot of the Irish monastery of St. James at Ratisbon, being of a noble family, descended from the princely stock of the Mac Carthaighs in Ireland, finding that all the treasures sent by the king of Ireland to Ratisbon were exhausted, and not being able to get any aid from mortal for his brethren, resolved at their request to make a journey to Ireland, his own country, to get relief once more in his distress, and charitable help from the most Christian and pious king Donnchadh O'Briain, and the other great lords of Ireland, as king Conchobhar O'Briain, the founder of the consecrated monastery of St. Peter, and the Irish monastery of St. James, was already dead. King Donnchadh and his queen, and the lords of Ireland, instantly gave a gracious ear to his petition, and were preparing to send him back to Germany with enormous treasures, but Christian yielded up his soul to God in his native land,[k] and was honorably buried before the altar of St. Patrick, in the metropolitan church of Caiseal."

But at this period there was no Donnchadh O'Briain, king either of Ireland or of Munster. Donnchadh Mac Carthaigh was then probably king of Deas-Mhumha because in the year 1127, the king of Deas-Mhumha, whohad been appointed by Toirbhealbhach O'Conchobhair, after the death of Cormac, perhaps took possession of Deas-Mhumha, from which he had been excluded during the life of Cormac. But after the death of Conchobhar, when Taidhg Mac Carthaigh and Toirdhealbhach O'Briain were colleagues on the throne of Munster, Donnchadh Mac Carthaigh died in 1144, a prisoner to his brother Taidhg, who would not spare a rival from prison, though he was his brother. Our author therefore must have mistaken either the name or the surname. He should have said either Donnchadh Mac Carthaigh, or Toirdhealbhach

records his death as given in our text. Eccles. Hist. vol. iv., p. 156. The monastery of St. Peter's was called in German "weiken," i.e. consecrated.

quorum postremus citra dubium Momoniæ regem tum egit, ut proinde ab illo munera Christianus proculdubio retulerit. In Momoniæ regum albo Terdelvachus ille Tadæum Maccarthium quadriennem regni collegam habuisse, et in Annalibus, vitam ad annum Domini 1165 protraxisse traditur, tum denique Dalgassiæ regno in Murchertachum filium collato, Kildaluam se cessisse, ut ibi peregrinationem obiens, animæ saluti prospiceret; sequenti tamen anno regnum denuo capessivisse legitur.

Hunc autem anno Domini 1150, aut multo secus à memorato Christiano aditum fuisse quæ dehinc è Chronico Ratisbonensi subjicio insinuare videntur: "Vir magnæ virtutis genere Hibernus nomine Gregorius ex ordine Regularium Canonicorum S. Augustini impetravit à Christiano admitti in ordinem S. Benedicti, qui Christiano extincto apud Jacobi Ratisbonæ in Abbatis munere suffectus, Romam ab Adriano Papa consecrandus petiit." Interim monachis se aggregavit "egregius clericus Hibernensis nomine Marianus, vir doctissimus, qui multo tempore Parisiis publice septem artes liberales, aliasque professus fuit. Et erat ibidem præceptor ejus Adriani, qui tunc sedi Apostolicæ præerat. Romæ cum Gregorius admissus esset ad audientiam Adriani, qui inter alia illum interrogavit de Mariano suo quondam Parisiis præceptore. Magister Marianus, inquit Gregorius, bene valet, et apud nos Ratisbonæ seculo derelicto vivit Monachus. Adjecit Papa, gratias Deo. Neque enim novimus esse in Ecclesia Catholica sub Abbate talem, qui excellat sapientia, prudentia, ingenio, eloquentia, bonis moribus, humanitate, dexteritate agendi, aliis divinis donis sicut magister meus Marianus etc. Gregorius Ratisbonam reversus à monachis urgetur, ut pro recuperandâ pecuniâ quæ apud Hiberniæ regem mansit in deposito proficiscatur. Qui in Hiberniam appulsus, cum cognovisset vita functum Donatum, accessit ad ejus successorem Murchertachum O'Brien, cui Abbas exhibuit literas Conradi regis Romanorum. Rex Hiberniæ gavisus de adventu Abbatis, habuit ipsum honorifice, tradiditque eidem totam, quæ deposita

[1] Dr. Lanigan adopts the opinion, that this Toirdhealbhach O'Briain was the king intended by the writer, and proposes a few solid suggestions in support of that opinion. Ecc. History, vol. iv., p. 156.

O'Briain, the latter having been at that time, certainly king of Munster,[1] and no doubt the person from whom Christian received the presents. The catalogue of the kings of Munster states that Toirdhealbhach reigned jointly with Tadhg Mac Carthaigh, during four years; our annalists record his death at 1165; he resigned the kingdom of the Dalgais to his son Muircheartach, and went on a pilgrimage to Kill-dalua for the good of his soul, but on the following year returned and resumed the sceptre.

The subjoined extract from the chronicle of Ratisbon, probably proves that he must have been visited by Christian in or near the year 1150. "An Irishman, named Gregorius, a man of great virtue, and of the order of the canons regular of St. Augustine, was received by Christian into the order of St. Benedict, and being elected abbot of St. James at Ratisbon, after the death of Christian, went to Rome to be consecrated by Pope Adrian." In the mean time, "a distinguished Irish ecclesiastic, named Marianus, had entered the monastery, a most learned man, who had given lectures at Paris on the seven liberal arts and other subjects, and had among his pupils this Adrian, who then was sitting in the apostolical chair." When Gregorius was admitted to an audience at Rome, Pope Adrian asked him, among other things, for some news of Marianus, his old preceptor at Paris. "Professor Marianus," answered Gregorius, "is well, and has abandoned the world, and is now living with us a monk at Ratisbon." "God be praised," answered the Pope. "I know not in the Catholic church an abbot who has such a man under him, so eminent for wisdom, prudence, genius, eloquence, good morals, humanity, tact, and other divine gifts, as my master Marianus, &c." When Gregorius returned to Ratisbon, he was pressed by his monks to go to Ireland for the money which lay in the hands of the king. Accordingly he sailed to Ireland, and having learned that the king was dead, he applied to his successor Muircheartach O'Briain, to whom he showed the letters of Conrad king of the Romans. The king of Ireland was delighted at the visit of the abbot, and after receiving him with honor, gave him all the money which had been deposited in the hands of the archbishop of Caiseal, and which was still more considerably augmented by the munificence of the other princes of Ireland. With this money the abbot bought many farms, towns and

fuit apud Casselensem Archiepiscopum pecuniam, quæ adhuc valdè augebatur liberalitate reliquorum Hiberniæ Magnatum. Quibus pecuniis emit Abbas plurima prædia, oppida, villas, et in ipsa urbe Ratisbona multas areas, domos, et sumptuosa ædificia. Et super hæc omnia supererat ingens copia pecuniæ regis Hiberniæ; et cogitavit Abbas Gregorius abundè prospicere templo de sacra suppellectile, et construxit novum ex lapide polito magnificum, et vastæ capacitatis cœnobium, diruto antiquo quod ruinam minabatur."

Cæpti semel erroris luto author continenter inhærens, Murchertachum hunc ad regis Hiberniæ dignitatem effert. Cum tantum Momoniæ regno, patri suffectus regnum ad annum Christi 1167 in Annalibus nostris produxisse dicatur. Nisi malis Murchertachum Maclochlin hic innui, qui anno Domini 1157 rex Hiberniæ renuntiatus, anno Dom. 1166 regnare, et vivere desiit: temporis certè ratio postremum hic insinuari admittit, si cætera in eum quadrarent. Adrianus enim Pontifex ultimum spiritum, anno post virginis partum 1159, emisit. Itaque has in Hiberniam itiones in Adriani quarti tempora incidisse, et domi reges nostros virtuti, peregre Hibernos naviter incubuisse cernimus.

[m] The diploma of Frederic II., A.D. 1212, confirms the privileges already conferred on the monasteries of St. James's and St. Peter at Ratisbon, by his predecessors, Henry III., Henry IV., Clothaire and Frederic I.: it mentions expressly about seventy different properties held by those monasteries, exclusive of eight vineyards, seven mills, four dependant chapels, three fisheries, and some forests and rights of pasturage. None but "Scoti" were entitled to enter those monasteries, "ibidem solummodo Scoti inhabitantes et nulli alii," and again, "Solis Scotis tantummodo de bonis suis prout melius et utilius poterint disponere liceat," See Ward's Vita S. Rumoldi, p. 295. A diploma of the Emperor Sigismund, dated 1422, recites and confirms the act of Frederic "in omnibus et singulis suis tenoribus punctis, clausulis, etc. etc. prout scripta, seu scriptæ sunt." But in the preamble he describes the monastery as "conventus monasterii Scotorum et Hibernicorum de Majori Scotia," whence it is inferred by some that the Scotch as well as the Irish were then entitled to the monastery. Irish writers deny the inference, because the diploma confirms that of Frederic, which certainly referred to Irish alone; because the particle "et" might be taken not as a copulative, but as explanatory; and finally, because the Irish being certainly called Scots in the fifteenth century, especially in Germany, the clause "de Majori

villages, and many plots of ground, and houses, and sumptuous buildings in the city of Ratisbon itself.[m] But as there still remained a large quantity of the money of the king of Ireland, the abbot Gregorius resolved to provide abundantly for the furnishing of the temple, and built a new cloister of polished stone, and a monastery of immense proportions, after throwing down the old one,[n] which was falling to ruin."

Still adhering to his original error, our author here gives Muircheartach the title of king of Ireland, though our annalists make him only successor to his father on the throne of Munster, and assign his death to 1167. Perhaps it may be Muircheartach Mac Lochlinn, who was proclaimed king of Ireland in the year of our Lord 1157, and reigned to his death in 1166. If all other circumstances concurred, we may consistently with chronology, maintain that he was the king referred to in the chronicle; for Pope Adrian breathed his last in 1159. Now, as these journeys which took place in his day evidently prove that Irish kings at home and Irish ecclesiastics abroad were zealous in good works, is it not impossible to believe that pope Adrian would solemnly have charged the Irish with depravity of morals? Would not the fear alone of being denounced as ungrateful have deterred him from

Scotia" may very well qualify both the preceding words, the sense being that no Scots but those of Scotia Major, were intended. It is much more probable, however, that Scotch and Irish held some of those monasteries in common in the 15th and 16th centuries. Lesley, bishop of Ross, in his work published, A.D. 1578, says of those establishments, "quorum multis nostra memoria Scoti præfuerunt, uti et nonnullis adhuc præsunt" De moribus, etc., Scotorum, p. 177. But Hargrave an Englishman (apud Pitseum, A.D. 1484) speaking of Ireland, says, "nonnulla quoque famosa cœnobia in Alemania construxit, quæ usque in hodiernum diem solos Hibernicos, ut fertur admittunt."

[n] The new building at Ratisbon was on a most respectable scale; the old one except the towers (præter turres) was thrown down, and rebuilt anew from top to bottom with square blocks of cut stone; it was roofed with lead; the pavement was of polished stone, diamond shaped, &c., "quadris et politis lapidibus construens plumbo contexit; pavimento quadris etiam lapidibus superficie tenus lævigatis ornato, nec minus claustro capitellis sculptis ac basibus * * * insuper aquæductis ornavit." Bollandists, Feb. 9, p. 372. At Eichstadt the Irish had a round church "formæ cyclicæ et rotundæ, quod a Dominico sepulcro nomen habet." *Ibid*, p. 371.

Ut non credibile sit Adrianum Pontificem testimonium exhibuisse, quod Hiberni morum fœditate tum laboraverint; quem potius ingratitudinis subeundæ timor ab injuria Hibernis irrogandâ coercere debuit. Rationi enim adversatur ut institutionis à Mariano Hiberno perceptæ beneficio, non aliam gratitudinis vicem summus Pontifex rependeret, quam præ-
[165] ceptoris sui nationi ignominiam, | mansuro scripto infigere. Cum præsertim Hibernos in peregrinis regionibus virtute ac literis ita excultos viderit, ut in aliis eruditione ac virtute imbuendis operam viriliter posuerint.

Nemo est in Christianæ religionis arcanis vel mediocriter versatus, qui non religioni ducat è patriâ suâ se tum efferre, cum in ea fidei rudimentorum ignoratione, morumque feritate passim laboraretur, et uberem virtutum, religionis, ac morum sementem in alieno solo facere, cum in natali solo earum rerum ariditas, ac sterilitas latè dominaretur. Nec credendum est quos reliquæ virtutes ornarunt, charitatem defecisse; cujus justum exercitium in eo versatur, ut quis à seipso ac suis ante incipiat, quam ad remotiores beneficentiam extendat.[11] S. Paulus "optabat anathema esse pro fratribus suis qui erant cognati sui secundum carnem." Profecto Hiberni non è patria, "turmatim" ut meus author loquitur, in exteras regiones ad virtutes, et literas peregrè disseminandas sese effunderent, nisi ea idoneis institutoribus redundaret.

Non est dubium quin summus Pontifex rem hanc suis ponderibus apud animum debitè librans decreverit nostrates non potuisse alibi docere quod domi non didicerint. Nec nescire potuit, ipso Pontificatum gerente, vel paulo ante, Dionisium, Isaacum, Gervasium, Conradum, Guillelmum, Marianum præceptorem suum, Christianum, et Gregorium Ratisbonæ, Maurum cum duodenis aliis Monachis in Maniuggbensi

[11] Ad Rom. cap. 9.

[e] The historian of this monastery, the mother, as it was called, of most of the Irish monasteries in Germany, proudly writes "dignum admiratione judico, quod sic procul a patria, solius Dei juvamine, sine alicujus terreni principis, sine alicujus antistitis adjutorio, sancti viri et simplices pere-

maligning them? It is utterly abhorrent to reason, that the only mark of his gratitude for the service of his Irish preceptor Marianus should be to transmit to posterity a defamatory character of that preceptor's native country; especially when he must have seen Irishmen rising in foreign countries to such eminence in learning and piety, as to be selected for the arduous honor of instructing others.

Every person who has even a slight knowledge of the Christian religion, is very well aware that it would be a crime to desert one's country, when it is plunged in savage depravity and universal ignorance of the rudiments of faith, and to go plant an abundant harvest of virtue and religion on a foreign soil, while barrenness and aridity wastes the whole extent of his native land. The men who were so eminent for all other virtues, assuredly cannot be supposed deficient in charity, which requires that its fruits should begin at home, with ourselves and our friends, before it extends its beneficence to others. St. Paul desired to become an anathema for his brethren according to the flesh, nor would those Irish have gone out in "crowds," as our author says, "to instruct foreign nations in virtue and learning, if there was not abundance of public instructors left after them at home."

The pope, after duly weighing those facts, would certainly have come to the conclusion that the Irish could not teach abroad what they had not learned at home. He must have known, that either immediately before or during his pontificate, Dionysius, Isaac, Gervas, Conrad, his preceptor Marianus, Christian and Gregorius at Ratisbon,[o] Maurus and twelve other monks, in the monastery of Maniurgghen, and

grini de finibus Hiberniæ, in suburbio Ratisponensi ad honorem Dei Jacob provide et prudenter ecclesiam constituerant atque adjutorio Dei viventis, concilio et auxilio Calixti Papæ, ac pii imperatoris Henrici Majoris, ita liberam fecerunt ut neque imperator, neque Ratisponensis episcopus neque Dun Bavariæ, nec urbis ejusdem præfectus nec unquam aliquis hominum præter Scotos veraciter dicere potest; hæc est mea plantatis, hæc est mea institutio; jure hæreditario hanc domum Dei, hoc sanctuarium possum possidere," cap. 29, see the diploma of Frederic II. for the confirmation of the singular privileges enjoyed from the beginning by these monasteries.

cœnobio, Macarium, ac duodecem socios Herbipoli sanctimonia, literarumque scientiâ floruisse.

In ipsâ Hiberniâ Diœcesis nulla Episcopum, nec Parochi a curionem desiderabat; cœnobia monachis cumulate instructa, et vetera restaurata, novaque excitata fuerunt. Continuata Episcoporum ac monasteriorum series in libris relata fidem facit nullo tempore, vel Episcopos, vel monachos defecisse.[12] Quanta vero sacerdotum copia Hiberniæ suppetierit, vel hinc conjecturâ quis assequi potest, quod anno Dom. 1143 quingenti Presbyteri in cœtum coierunt, præter duodecem Episcopos, et Muredachum O'Dubhtaich Tuamensem Antistitem. Catholicum autem Tuamensem Archiepiscopum,[13] "virum gravem, et (ut illa ferebant tempora) eruditum," ad concilium Lateranense anno post Christum natum 1179 Romæ habitum comitati sunt ex Hibernia proficiscentem Laurentius Dublinensis[14] Archiepiscopus, Constantinus Laonensis, Bricius Limbricensis, Augustinus Waterfordiensis, Felix Lismorensis, Episcopus. Qui si greges habuissent efferatis moribus quales Hibernis universis aliqui affingunt, non erant digni qui ad tam dissita loca evocati in concilium de arduis orbis terrarum negotiis adhiberentur. Cum paucos quorum instituendorum curam susceperant, cicurare vel ignorarunt, vel noluerunt. Nec saltem eos Pontifex ille acciret, qui Henrico secundo Hiberniæ sibi vendicandæ, ad illius incolas cultioribus moribus imbuendos, potestatem fecisse dicitur: ut vel hinc suspicio mihi non levis oboriatur Alexandri tertii Bullam æque fictitiam esse, aut saltem subreptitiam, ac illam, quam ab Adriano quarto Alexandri decessore

[12] Cont. Tigernaci. [13] Warræus. [14] Notæ Picardi in Neubrig. p. 752.

[p] The principal Irish monasteries in Germany besides the two at Ratisbon, were at Nuremberg, Vienna, Erfort, Eichstacht, Wurtsburgh. The Scotch obtained exclusive possession of Wurtsburgh about the year 1595. Nurembergh according to Gaspar Bruschius, was held 278 years by the Irish from 1140 to 1418. The Emperor Conrad III.

Tradidit Hibernis patribus qui sorte beata
Cæperunt sanctum religionis iter.
Ducentis decies septem, bis quatuor annis
Hoc tenuere suo jure monasterium
Frigus at Hibernum, præcordia frigida tandem
Arguit, inque dies crevit in hisce tepor.

There is, as far as the editor is aware, no proof that any monastery in Ireland was subject to the German

Macarius, with his twelve associates at Wurzburg, were celebrated for their sanctity and learning.[p]

At home in Ireland every diocese had its bishop, every parish its priest, old monasteries were repaired, new ones were built, and all abundantly supplied with monks. The written catalogues of sees and monasteries prove the uninterrupted succession of bishops and monks. So great was the number of priests in Ireland, that 500 of them assembled in council in 1143, with twelve bishops and Muireadach O'Dubhthaich, archbishop of Tuam. Catholicus, archbishop of the same see, a prudent, and a learned man (for his age) was accompanied to the council of Lateran, 1179, by Lorcan, archbishop of Dublin, Conn of Kill-dalua, Bric of Limerick, Augustine of Waterford, and Felix of Lismor.[q] If their flocks were plunged in that hideous barbarism charged against all the Irish by some writers, how could they be worthy of being called to a distant place to sit in council on the important interests of the Catholic world, men who either could not or would not heal the infirmities of those whom they were bound by duty to protect? That pope, at all events, would not summon them,[r] who is said to have made over the dominion of Ireland to king Henry to improve the morality of the Irish. This fact alone justifies a strong suspicion that the Bull attributed to pope Alexander is as spurious or at least as surreptitious,[s]

houses except a Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Ross, which was visited by the abbot of St. James, (Wursburgh) in 1378; if a MSS. in my possession can be depended on. The history of these monasteries founded by the Irish in Germany is a very interesting subject.

[q] According to some accounts more than six Irish bishops attended that council, see Lanigan, vol. iv., p. 238, 240.

[r] If that argument were good, general councils could never be held, at the precise time when according to our author's own Catholic principles such councils are most required, namely, in times of general disorder, because then according to him no bishops could leave their dioceses. The very disorders of Ireland would be on the contrary a reason why some of her bishops should attend a general council, to state them and enact a remedy. Moreover, *all* Catholic bishops are and must be summoned to general councils.

[s] There is no reason for assuming that either bull is spurious; and it is quite clear that of Alexander III. at least, was not surreptitious.

idem Henricus de Hiberniâ suæ ditioni adjungendâ retulisse perhibetur.[15] "Nec S. Laurentius Dublinensis Archiepiscopus privilegia quædam contra regiæ dignitatis honorem zelo suæ gentis ab Alexandro impetrasse ferretur," si idem Alexander Henricum ad Hiberniam sibi antea subjugandam sua authoritate armasset. Nec Laurentium ad legati dignitatem eveheret, quem scivit arma tulisse contra Henricum in "obsidione Dublinensi;"[16] et alios ad bellum ei movendum incitasse. Nec facta tam pugnantia in summum Pontificem caderent. Nec S. Laurentius vir sanctitate tam eminens, et supremo Ecclesiæ rectori summe obsequiosus, Pontificum diplomatibus si talia tum in rerum natura extitissent, unquam literis, consilio, et armis, tam apertè obtineretur. Itaque plurimæ mihi sentiendi causæ sunt infra memorandæ, Bullas ejusmodi nunquam à summis Pontificibus emanasse.

[15] Cambr. Hib. exp. lib. 1, c. 22. [16] Ibid. c. 22.

[t] Dr. Lanigan, vol. iv., p. 248, appears to doubt the concession of any such privileges; but it is quite clear that the bull cited by himself, ibid. p. 243, contains a clause which would annoy the irascible and tyrannical Henry; after taking under his protection the church of Dublin, &c. &c. the Pope adds: "si quæ igitur in futurum ecclesiastica, secularisve persona hanc nostræ constitutionis paginam sciens, contra eam temere venire

as that by which pope Adrian is said to have annexed Ireland to the dominions of king Henry. Neither could it ever be reported that St. Lorcan, archbishop of Dublin, had, in his patriotic zeal, obtained some privileges from pope Alexander, derogatory to the dignity of the crown,[t] if the authority of the same Alexander had already armed Henry for the conquest of Ireland. The pope would never have made St. Lorcan his legate, who he knew had taken the field against Henry at the siege of Dublin, and encouraged others to take arms.[u] The pope could not have been guilty of such inconsistencies. Nor could St. Lorcan himself, a prelate so eminent for his piety, and so obedient to the supreme Pastor of the church, ever have so openly resisted by his letters, his council, and his arms, those bulls of the Pope, had they really existed.[v] There are most abundant reasons, therefore, for believing that those bulls, which I am about to produce, were never issued by the popes.[w]

attemptet, secundo, tertiove commonita, nisi reatum suum digna satisfactione correxerit, *potestatis honorisque dignitate careat*."

[u] That was in 1171 a year before Alexander issued his bull, and before the bull of Adrian was published, see next note.

[v] He would not resist the just use of the power sanctioned by those bulls, but he should and did resist the abuse of such power, and the evils consequent thereon.

[w] No solid reason whatsoever has been adduced against the authenticity of those bulls.

[166]

CAPUT XXII.

NULLUM MALIDICENTIÆ SUBSIDIUM ADRIANI QUARTI, AUT ALEXANDRI TERTII BULLÆ GIRALDO PRÆBENT.

Bulla Adriani quarti. [167] Hibernia a legatis reformata, Gelasius primas, Christianus legatus, Giraldus legatus.—Malchus Lismorensis. [168] S. Imarus.—Michael vir Sanctus.—Gilbertus legatus.—S. Christianus.—Edanus episcopus.—Gillædha Corcagiensis episcopus. —Mater S. Malachiæ.—Soror S. Malachiæ. [169] Avunculus S. Malachiæ.—Conganus abbas.—Mores Hibernorum ex vita S. Malachiæ, et S. Laurentii.—Academia Armachana; episcopi laici Armachani, licet uxorati, litterati. [170] Legati in Hibernia.—Ratisbonenses ab Hibernis instituti. [171] Num summi pontificis sint insularum domini.—Romani eheu! nunquam Hiberniam vicerunt. [172] Nulla mentio solutionis pensionis pro Hibernia.—Nec annus nec dies est in bulla.—Diu suppressa.—Bulla contra legem naturæ et jus gentium. [173] Varii bullæ errores.—Nuntii solemnes non impetrarunt bullam.—Nec Sarisberiensis impetrasse videtur. [174] Sarisberiensis cum pontifice colloquia, imperatores alii et reges pontificum censuris confixi, nunquam tamen Hiberni.—Sarisberiensis ad pontificem non missus. [175] Petrus Blesensis tacet bullas istas—Alienum erat a probitate Sarisberiensis bullam extorquere.—Gulielmus II. Henricus I. decessores Henrici II. in ecclesiam injuriæ. [176] Stephani regis in ecclesiam injuriæ.—Reges Hiberniæ officiosi erga summos pontifices et episcopos.—Investituræ ratio—Westmonasteriensis errores deteguntur. [177] Est lex naturæ se defendere—ratio convertendarum nationum a pontifice usitata—Damna belli.—Fides bello non est inducenda. [171] Monitis, minis, et censuris nationes ad bonam frugem revocantur non armis—pravæ consuetudines paulatim amovendæ.

Adriani quarti, et Alexandri tertii Bullas uberem convitiandi segetem Giraldo subministrasse nonnulli autumant. Ego vero compertum habeo plurimis eas vitiis laborare, ac plerasque, illarum narrationes veritate destitui: earum autem nævos sigillatim exhibebimus, quo facilius evellantur. Ac primum Adriani quarti Bullam sub lectoris oculos ponimus.

"Adrianus Episcopus servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio Illustri Anglorum regi salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

"Laudabiliter et satis fructuosè de glorioso nomine propagando in terris, et æternæ felicitatis premio cumulando in cœlis, tua magnificentia cogitat, dum ad dilatandos Ecclesiæ terminos, ad declarandam indoctis, et rudibus populis Christianæ fidei veritatem, et vitiorum

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CALUMNIES OF GIRALDUS, NOT SUSTAINED BY THE BULLS OF ADRIAN THE FOURTH AND ALEXANDER THE THIRD.

[166] Bull of Adrian IV. [167] Ireland reformed by the legates.—Primate Gelasius.—Christian, a legate.—Giraldus, a legate.—Malchus of Lismor. [168] S. Imar.—Michael a holy man.—Gilbert a legate.—St. Christian.—Bishop Edan.—Gillhædha Bishop of Cork.—Mother and sister of St. Mael-maedhog. [169] Uncle of St. Mael-maedhog.—Congan abbot.—Morals of the Irish from the lives of SS. Mael-maedhog and Lorcan.—College of Ardmacha.—Lay bishops of Ardmacha—learned, though married. [170] Legates in Ireland —Ratisbon instructed by the Irish. [171] Are the popes lords of the islands?—The Romans never conquered Ireland. [172] The payment of Peter pence for Ireland not mentioned in history.—No date of day or year to the bull of Adrian—it was long suppressed—it is against the law of nature and the law of nations. [173] Various errors of that bull; it was not obtained by a solemn embassy; John of Salisbury it would appear did not obtain it. [174] Conversations of John of Salisbury with the pope; other kings and emperors, but not the Irish, punished by the censures of the pope.—John of Salisbury not sent to the pope. [175] Peter of Blois does not mention those bulls —Inconsistent with the honesty of John of Salisbury to extort such a bull.—William II. and Henry I. predecessors of Henry II. oppressors of the church. [176] King Stephen an oppressor of the church.—The kings of Ireland docile to the popes and bishops.—Manner of the investiture of Ireland.—Errors of Matthew of Westminster refuted. [177] Self-defence a law of nature.—Mode of converting nations followed by the popes.—Horrors of war.—The faith ought not to be propagated by war. [178] Nations are recalled to the paths of duty, not by arms, but by admonitions, threats and censures.—Bad customs should be abolished gradually.

SOME persons think that the bulls of Adrian IV. and of Alexander III., supplied abundant grounds for the invectives of Giraldus. But I am confident that these bulls are full of errors, and that most of their statements are utterly groundless, an assertion which can be more easily substantiated by examining their blunders in detail. But first, I present Adrian's bull to my readers.

"Adrian, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious king of the English, greeting and Apostolical [a] benediction."

"The design of your greatness is praiseworthy and most useful, to extend the glory of your name on earth, and to increase the reward of your eternal happiness in heaven, for as becomes a catholic prince you intend to extend the limits of the church, to announce the truth of the

plantaria de agro Dominico extirpanda, sicut Catholicus princeps intendis, et ad id convenientius exequendum, consilium Apostolicæ sedis exigis, et favorem, in quo facto quanto altiori consilio, et majori discretione procedis, tanto in eo feliciorem progressum te (præstante Domino) confidimus habiturum, eo quod ad bonum exitum semper, et finem solent attingere, quæ de ardore fidei, et religionis amore principium acceperunt. Sane Hiberniam, et omnes Insulas, quibus sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ ceperunt, ad jus beati Petri, et sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ (quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit) non est dubium pertinere. Unde tanto in eis libentius plantationem fidelem, et germen gratum Deo inserimus, quanto id à nobis interno examine districtius prospicimus exigendum. Significasti quidem nobis (fili in Christo charissime) te Hiberniæ Insulam, ad subdendum illum populum legibus, et vitiorum plantaria inde extirpanda, velle intrare: et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii Beato Petro velle solvere pensionem; et jura Ecclesiarum illius terra illibata, et integra conservare. Nos itaque pium et laudabile desiderium tuum cum favore congruo prosequentes, et petitioni tuæ benignum impendentes assensum, gratum, et acceptum habemus, ut (pro dilatandis Ecclesiæ terminis, pro vitiorum restringendo decursu, pro corrigendis moribus, et virtutibus inserendis, pro Christianæ religionis augmento) Insulam illam ingrediaris, et quæ ad honorem Dei, et salutem illius terræ spectaverint exequaris; et illius terræ populus honorifice te recipiat, et sicut dominum veneretur: jure nimirum Ecclesiarum illibato, et integro permanente, et salva Beato Petro, et sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ de singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione. Si ergo quod concepisti animo effectu duxeris prosequente complendum; stude gentem illam bonis moribus informare: et agas (tam per te quam per illos, quos ad hoc fide, verbo, et vita idoneos esse perspexeris) ut

[a] The copy of this bull in Fordun's Scotichronicon, reads here, "in extremo examine," i.e. the last judgment. The sense in that case would be, "that the dread of the strict account to be rendered at the last day, made the pope more anxious to reform barbarous countries," &c. &c. The words in the Vatican copy given by our author, refer to the pope's self-examination on his duties.

christian religion to an ignorant and barbarous people, and to pluck up the seeds of vice from the field of the Lord, while to accomplish your design more effectually, you implore the council and aid of the Apostolic See. The more exalted your views and the greater your discretion in this matter, the more confident are our hopes, that with the help of God, the result will be more favorable to you; because whatever has its origin in ardent faith and in love of religion, always has a prosperous end and issue. Certainly it is beyond a doubt (and thy nobility itself has recognised the truth of it), that Ireland, and all the islands upon which Christ the sun of justice has shone, and which have embraced the doctrines of the christian faith, belong of right to St. Peter and the Holy Roman church. We therefore the more willingly plant them, with a faithful plantation and a seed pleasing to the Lord, as we know by internal examination, [a] that a very rigorous account must be rendered of them. Thou hast communicated to us, our very dear son in Christ, that thou wouldst enter the island of Ireland to subject its people to obedience of laws, to eradicate the seeds of vice and also to make every house pay the annual tribute of one penny to the blessed Peter, and preserve the rights of the church of that land whole and entire. Receiving your laudable and pious desire, with the favor it merits, and granting our kind consent to your petition, it is our wish and desire that for the extension of the limits of the church, the checking of the torrent of vice, the correction of morals, the sowing of the seeds of virtue, and the propagation of the religion of Christ, thou shouldest enter that island, and there execute whatever thou shalt think conducive to the honor of God, and the salvation of that land, and let the people of that land receive thee with honor, and venerate thee as their Lord, saving the right of the church which must remain untouched and entire, and the annual payment of one penny from each house to St. Peter and the Holy Church of Rome. If then thou wishest to carry into execution, what thou hast conceived in thy mind; endeavour to form that people to good morals, and both by thyself and those men whom thou hast proved duly qualified in faith, in words and in life; let the church of that country be adorned, let the religion of the faith of Christ be planted and increased, and all that concerns the glory of God

decoretur ibi Ecclesia, plantetur, et crescat fidei Christianæ religio, et ad honorem Dei, et salutem pertinet animarum, per te taliter ordinentur ut à Deo sempiternæ mercedis cumulum consequi merearis, et in terris gloriosum nomen valeas in seculis obtinere. Datum Romæ etc."

Quis non videt aliquem vel supina inscitia, vel non ferenda malitia infectum Adriani Pontificis auribus ista insusurrasse? aut potius Adriani nomen accusationibus à se maligne fictis tanquam velum obtendisse? sed et verba Adriano afficta mendaciorum accessione cumulat Mathæus Westmonasteriensis dicens:[1] "per id tempus rex Anglorum Henricus nuntios solemnes Romam mittens Papam Adrianum adhuc novum, cujus gratiam confidenter obtinere speravit, utpote Anglum, ut liceret ei Hiberniam hostiliter intrare, et eam sibi subjugare, atque homines illos bestiales ad fidem Christi decentius revocare, Ecclesiæque Romanæ fidelius inclinare."

Nunc quid ponderis delationes istæ Pontificibus obstrusæ habeant excutiamus. Verba quæ Adrianus protulisse fingitur innuunt in Hiberniâ desideratam quam maximè tum fuisse Ecclesiasticam disciplinam,
[167] rectam | Reipub. administrationem, et morum probitatem. Imo vitiis in eâ passim indultum, et omni morum dissolutioni fræna ubique laxata fuisse. Verum ante jam evici, si de populi cujuspiam moribus è regum vivendi ratione conjectura fieri, aut sententia ferri debeat, plurimos in Hibernia reges fuisse quam optimos, plerumque scriptoribus ad id monstrandum productis; regibus etiam iis de industriâ prætermissis, quorum laudes domestici Annales prædicant. Quod autem Principum suorum moribus nationes quæque se accommodent docet illud Claudiani carmen:

"Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis."

Prætereà è divi Bernardi de S. Malachiâ scriptis ostendi tantum abfuisse ut Hiberni per ea tempora vitiorum volutabro impliciti fuerint,

[b] It is now generally admitted by Irish historians, that however great the efforts of the Irish clergy to reform their distracted country in the 11th and 12th centuries undoubtedly were, the picture of anarchy drawn by Pope Adrian is hardly overcharged: all that can be said is, that those disorders

and the salvation of souls, be so ordained by thee, that thou mayest deserve to obtain from God an increase of your everlasting reward, and a glorious name on earth in all ages. Given at Rome, &c., &c."

Is it not evident to every one, that the person, who whispered such things into Adrian's ear, must have been either grossly ignorant, or intolerably malignant? or rather that he used Adrian's name as a cover for his malignant and calumnious fabrications? [b] but the words attributed to Adrian are varnished with a blacker hue of falsehood by Matthew of Westminster. "At that time," says he, "Henry king of the English, sent a solemn embassy to Rome, confidently hoping that Pope Adrian, an Englishman, who had been lately elected, would favor his design, and permit him to invade Ireland by force of arms, and subdue it to his sceptre, and bring back that bestial people to a more correct faith in Christ and a more faithful obedience to the Roman Church,"

Let us examine now the respect due to the information palmed on those Popes. Adrian is made to say that ecclesiastical discipline, and civil government and morality were then at a frightfully low ebb in Ireland; nay that vice prevailed universally, and no check was put on the wide-spread dissolution of morals. But if an estimate or conjecture can be formed of the morals of a nation, from the character of its kings, I have already proved on the authority of writers, that a great number of the Irish kings were most virtuous men; I deliberately abstained from mentioning those kings whose fame is recorded only in our native annalists. Now that the people do conform to the character of their sovereign, Claudianus teaches us in his poem:—

"The king's example sways the wills of all."

Moreover, I have shown from the St. Bernard's life of St. Mael-maedh-og, that so far from being plunged in the abyss of vice, the Irish at that

were by no means confined to Ireland, though from the peculiar civil and political institutions of the country (which would in themselves appear barbarism to a foreigner), Irish disorders must have been considered more outrageous and revolting. See *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 242, 250, &c. &c.

ut potius omnis sexus, ætas, et ordo ex iis emergens ad virtutes obviis ulnis amplectendas se converterit. Insuper Episcopos quibus populorum saluti prospicere incubuit suo officio præclarè functos vel hinc elicere licet, quod promptissimè ad capita, et concilia conferenda, ut leges emendandis moribus accommodatas conderent crebrius accurrerint. Nec dubito quin curiones etiam egregiè suas partes adimpleverint, cum in similibus etiam officiis se gnavos præbuisse videantur. Nam Annales nostri memorant, præter Antistites, tria Ecclesiasticorum millia, Presbyterorum scilicet, Monachorum, et Canonicorum Concilio à Cardinale Papyrone anno salutis 1152 indicto interfuisse. Et quis crederet tam numerosum clerum curionibus in eum numerum non relatis Hiberniæ suppetere potuisse?

Sanè plures è clero sic meritis tum claruerunt, ut eorum commendatio scriptorum industria ad posteritatem transmissa sit. SS. Celsus, Malachias, et Laurentius in Martyrologium Romanum relati sunt. Gelasii Archiepiscopi Armachani vita redolens sanctitatem à patre Colgano actis sanctorum Hiberniæ inserta est, ad 28 Martii.[2] Ille silicernio, et jejuniis fractus "vulgi opinione" (Cambrensem audis) "vir sacer vaccam candidam cujus solum lacte vescebatur secum quocunque venerat circumduxit." Christiani quoque Lismorensis Episcopi virtutes adeo collucebant, ut Wion et Menardus eum suis Martyrologiis adscripserint, qui in ætatis flore Cistersiensibus se aggregans, fuit "æmulus virtutum quas viderat à S. Patre suo Bernardo, summoque Pontifice viro venerabili Eugenio, cum quo fuit in probatorio apud Clarevallem."[3] Is postquam legati Apostolici munus viginti annos et amplius egregie obvisset, "ad Odornense Cistersiensis ordinis cœnobium in Kierrensi comitatu situm se terrena aversatus contulit: cum aliquot ante obitum annos Episcopatu se abdicasset. Ibique sepultus est 1186. Illo enim adhuc superstite,[4] Felix Lismorensis Episcopus (ut jam ante monui) ad Lateranense concilium concessit. Non etiam dubito quin legatinæ

[2] Hibern. expug. lib. 1, c. 30. [3] Warræus de cœnob. Cisters. pag. 67. [4] Idem. in antiquit. p. 211.

[c] For the exertions of St. Celsus to suppress the turbulence of the Irish kings, see Annals of Ulster, A.D. 1107, 1109, 1113, 1126. All the sa-

period, of every age, sex and condition, had risen from their vices and embraced with their whole heart the opposite virtues. One fact alone, the alacrity with which the bishops frequently met to consult together for the enactment of laws for the reformation of morals, proves that they, who were in duty bound by their office to watch over the salvation of the people, did worthily discharge that duty, and when we find the inferior clergy zealously engaged in the same good work, they must beyond a doubt have punctually fulfilled their more immediate obligations. Our annals record for instance, that besides the bishops, three thousand ecclesiastics, that is Priests, Monks, and Canons, attended at the council held by Cardinal Paparo in 1152. Now the whole Irish church, evidently, could not supply so large a number of ecclesiastics, exclusive of the parochial clergy.

In truth, many of the clergy were so eminent in those times, that their fame has been diligently transmitted to posterity by historical records. SS. Ceallach,[c] Mael-maedhog and Lorcan are in the Roman Martyrology. The life of Gelasius Archbishop of Ardmacha, a most holy man, is given in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum at the 28th of March. Emaciated by fasting and vigils, he was reputed a saint by the people, (according to Cambrensis) and never used any food but the milk of a white cow, which accompanied him wherever he went. Christian, bishop of Lismor, was also so remarkable for his piety, that Wion and Menard have placed him in their Martyrologies. He embraced the Cistercian order in the flower of his youth, and zealously emulated the virtues which he had seen practised by his spiritual father St. Bernard and the venerable Pope Eugene, with whom he had lived in the noviciate of Clairvaux. Having faithfully discharged the duties of Apostolic Legate during more than twenty eight years, he renounced the world and retired to the Cistercian monastery of Odorney situate in the county of Kerry, where abdicating his episcopal functions some years before his death, he died and was buried in the year 1186. He was still alive (as I have already remarked) when Felix bishop of Lismor, assisted at the council of Lateran. I look upon it as certain that Chris-

cred relics in Ireland were employed continually to adjure the princes to live in peace and give their unfortunate country rest.

quoque potestati Christianus cesserit, cum ad ejusmodi recessum se receperit, ac proinde se legati negotiis subduxerit.[5] Præsertim cum designatus ei successor esse videatur quidam "Giraldus Ecclesiæ Romanæ clericus, ad Hiberniam legationis cujusdam vice transmissus anno Dom. 1185," quo Cambrensis Hiberniam adiverat.

Frater etiam hujus Christiani Malchus nomine vir memorabilis fuit, ut qui Malachiæ beneficio liberationem à morbo, et dæmone adeptus, rebus mundi caducis nuncium remittens, Cistersiensem ordinem iniverit. Malchum etiam alium (quem annales nostri Moelmonachum O'Loingsigh appellatum, anno Domini 1159 obiisse referunt) Episcopum Lismorensem multis ornat encomiis divus Bernardus. Ait enim, "quod senex erat plenus dierum, et virtutum," et quod "sapientia erat in illo," quodque "illi tanta collata sit gratia, ut non modo vita, et doctrina, sed et signis claruerit."[6] Quorum aliqua S. Bernardus recenset. Hunc Waterfordienses Episcopum sibi præfici flagitantes, in suâ ad S. Anselmum Cantuariensem Episcopum epistolâ laudabili commendatione prosequuntur, dicentes:[7] "Eum esse natalibus et moribus nobilem, Apostolicâ, et Ecclesiasticâ disciplina imbutum, vita castum, sobrium, humilem, literatum, in lege Dei instructum, in scripturarum sensibus cautum, modestum etc." Causa vero Waterfordiensibus Episcopi pos-
[168] cendi fuit, quod ut inquit Edmerus, jam secula | multa transierint,[8] in quibus eadem civitas absque providentia, et cura Pontificali consistens, per diversa tentationum pericula jactabatur.

S. Bernardus author est Imarium S. Malachiæ institutorem "sanctum fuisse hominem, et austeræ admodum vitæ, inexorabilem castigatorem corporis sui, cellam habentem juxta Ecclesiam in qua manebat jejuniis, et obsecrationibus serviens die ac nocte."[9] Eundem Colganus appellat "beatum Imarum Huahædhagain, qui construxit Basilicam SS. Petri et Pauli Armachæ: et Romæ in sancta peregrinatione animam salu-

[5] Cambr. Top. d. 3, c, 32. [6] Ibid. c. 3, [7] Sylloge epist. Hiber. p. 92. [8] Ib. p. 141. [9] Vita S. Malach. c. 2.

[d] The fact of there having been a succession of papal legates in Ireland before the English invasion, tells against our author's assertion, that Adrian and Alexander issued their bulls in ignorance of the real state of

tian also resigned his legatine authority[d] before his retreat, and relieved himself thereby from the onerous duties of legate; especially as we find one Giraldus, apparently appointed his successor, a cleric of the church of Rome, coming to Ireland as Apostolical Legate in 1185, the year in which Cambrensis came over.

Malchus, brother to Christian, was also a man of distinguished merits. Being cured of a disease and freed from the power of the devil by the good offices of St. Mael-maedhog, he renounced the fleeting goods of this life, and embraced the Cistercian order. There was another Malchus bishop of Lismor who is praised in the highest terms by St. Bernard. He is the same as the Moelmonach O'Loingsigh, of our annals, who died in the year 1159. Of him St. Bernard says, "that he was an old man full of years and virtues, and that wisdom was in him, and that so signal were the graces bestowed on him, that he was famed not only for his life and doctrine, but also for miracles," some of which are related by St. Bernard. The people of Waterford wished to have him as their bishop, and in their letter to St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, describe him in the following highly laudatory terms, "that he was noble both by birth and virtue, deeply versed in Apostolical and ecclesiastical discipline, in morals, chaste, sober, humble, learned and instructed in the law of God, cautious in his interpretation of scripture, modest, &c., &c." The motive of the people of Waterford in asking him for their bishop, was according to Eadmer, that their city had now during many centuries been exposed to various perils of temptation, owing to the want of the residence and paternal care of a Bishop.

St. Bernard gives the following character of St. Imar, preceptor of St. Mael-maedhog, "he was a holy man, of most austere life, inexorably severe towards his own body, and living in a cell near the church, where he spent day and night in prayer and fasting." Colgan calls him "the blessed Imar h-Uaedhagain, who built the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Ardmacha, and had made a pilgrimage to Rome for the salvation of his soul in the year 1134.

Ireland. Assuredly the legates would not have concealed those evils which they were commissioned by the pope to eradicate.

tari, anno post Christum natum 1134." Michaëli cuidam S. Malachiæ precationes, semel ac iterum sanitatem impetrarunt.[10] Quare "is illico adhæsit Deo, et Malachiæ servo ejus timens ne deterius aliquid sibi contingeret si denuo ingratus tanto inveniretur, et beneficio et miraculo. Et nunc ut audimus præest cuidam monasterio suo in partibus Scotiæ. Et hoc novissimum omnium quod ille (scilicet Malachias) fundavit.

Gilbertus Limbricensis Episcopus, et in Hibernia Legatus Apostolicus, convocatis Episcopis,[11] et principibus terræ (nimirum Hiberniæ) "vim erat facturus S. Malachiæ" ut Armachanum Archiepiscopatum capesseret. Et posteà, "Innocentio secundo significavit, quod jam non posset præ senio, et debilitate villicare." Ut proinde summus pontifex Malachiæ "commiserit vices suas,[12] per universam Hiberniam, Legatum illum constituens." Gilbertus ille ut suæ sedulitatis in legati munere obeundo specimen ederet,[13] opusculum edidit Epistolis Hibernicis ab Ushero insertum ad omnes Hiberniæ tam sacros quam profanos ordines, sui officii monendos accommodatissimum.

S. Malachias "germanum habuit Christianum nomine virum bonum,[14] plenum gratiæ et virtutis. Episcopus erat, illi quidem secundus in celebri opinione, sed vitæ sanctimonia, et justitiæ zelo forte non impar." De quo ad annum Domini 1138 quatuor magistri apud Colganum. "S. Christianus Hua Morgair Episcopus Clocherensis, Doctor eximius in sapientia, et religione, lucerna lucens suis prædicationibus,[15] et sanctis operibus populum clerumque illuminans servus Dei devotus, et pastor fidelis Ecclesiæ, obiit 12 Junii, et sepultus est Armachæ in monasterio divorum Petri et Pauli."

Nec dedecet ut inter viros celebres illorum temporum referatur Edanus ille quem Christiano fratri S. Malachias in Episcopatu suffecit "à Deo enim designatus erat, quia annulum aureum quo desponsandus erat prævidit in ejus digito Malachias."[16] Nec ab horum Episcopus ille consortio excludendus est qui quosdam dissidio avulsos, pace inter eos initâ conciliavit; aut alter Episcopus Corcagiensis, "quem Malachias hominem pauperem, sanctum tamen, et doctum misit in Cathedram, clero, et populo collaudante."[17] Hunc existimo Gill-Ædam

[10] Trias Thaum. p. 303. [11] Ibid. c. 7. [12] Ibid. c. 11. [13] Sylloge, p. 78. [14] Vita Malach. c. 10. [15] Trias Thaum. p. 482. [16] Vita S. Malach. c. 10. [17] Ib. p. 1930 in fine.

Another person, named Michael, being several times cured by the prayers of St. Mael-maedhog, "at length devoted himself to God and his servant St. Mael-maedhog, fearing that something worse might happen to him, if he should prove ungrateful again, of so great a favor and miracle. At present, we hear he is superior of a monastery in some part of Scotia, the last of the foundations of St. Mael-maedhog."

Gilbert Bishop of Limerick, and apostolical legate in Ireland, convoked an assembly of the bishops and princes of the land, and was about to force St. Mael-maedhog to accept the archbishopric of Ardmacha. He afterwards signified to Innocent II., that age and infirmity compelled him to resign his stewardship; and therefore the pope delegated his authority over all Ireland to St. Mael-maedhog, and appointed him his legate. Gillibert, has left us, as a monument of his zeal in discharging his legatine functions, a little work, highly instructive for all orders, lay and ecclesiastical in Ireland in the discharge of their duties. It is printed by Ussher in his collection of Irish letters.

"There was a brother of St. Mael-maedhog named Christian, a good man, full of grace and virtue, a bishop too, not so high in public estimation as his brother, but in holiness of life and zeal for justice, perhaps not his inferior." Colgan gives the following character of him from the Four Masters:—"St. Christian Ua Morgair[e] bishop of Clogher, a renowned doctor in learning and holiness; a shining light in his preaching, a beacon to priests and people by his holy life, a devout servant of God, and faithful pastor of the church, he died on the 12th of June, and was buried in the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Ardmacha."

Edan, who was appointed by St. Mael-maedhog, successor to his brother Christian, also deserves to be classed among the celebrated men of that age; "he was predestined for that dignity by God, because St. Mael-maedhog foresaw on his finger the gold ring with which his troth was to be plighted." We may also rank amongst these, that bishop who had the gift of reconciling all enemies, and the bishop of Cork, who though so poor, was learned and holy, and was raised to the episcopacy by Mael-maedhog to the great joy of clergy and people. "I think, he must

[e] Our author sometimes gives the title of saint to holy men, whose name is found in some only of the Irish calendars.

fuisse, qui primum "magni nominis Abbas, postea Corcagiensis Episcopus obiit anno Dom. 1173."[18]

Æquum est ut viris tam claris tres illos Episcopos adsociem S. Malachiam "in villam Fochart, quem dicunt locum nativitatis Brigidæ virginis comitatos."[19]

Nec ab iis segregetur juvenis ille quem "Zachæum alterum" S. Bernardus appellat, "et primum conversum laicum Suriensis monasterii fuisse,[20] testimonium habentem ab omnibus, quod sancte conversatus fuerit inter fratres, secundum ordinem Cisterciensem" asserit.

Sed et ex hoc numero S. Malachiæ mater non est amovenda, quæ tametsi "fuit genere magna, mente tamen quam sanguine generosior,[21] satagebat in ipso initio viarum suarum notas parvulo facere vias vitæ, hanc pluris illi existimans, ventosa scientia literaturæ secularis. Bibebat ille pro lacte de pectore materno aquas sapientiæ salutaris." Quæ cum sollicitudine simili ei qua S. Monica filii sui S. Augustini saluti invigilabat Malachiæ institutionem prosecuta sit, non absimili commendatione afficienda esse mihi videtur. Nec etiam soror S. Malachiæ, suâ hic laude privanda est, quæ licet fratrem instar uxoris Tobiæ objurgaverit, quod vili mortuorum sepeliendorum officio fungeretur, tamen à fratre increpita resipuisse videtur et ad bonam se frugem recepisse:[22] quando quidem iteratæ sæpius à fratre precationes non modo immunitatem illæ à pœnis quas post mortem passa est, sed etiam ut cœlitum cætui aggregaretur, impetravit.

Et quia in iis memorandis qui S. Malachiæ sanguine juncti erant
[169] sermo | noster versatur, non tacitum prætereamus ejus "avunculum virum divitem, et potentem, qui locum Benchor, et possessiones ejus tenebat, et inspiratus à Deo confestim in manu Malachiæ omnia dedit et se quoque:"[23] opibusque sapienter spretis, vitam arctiorem in nepotis consortio et obsequio lubens amplexus est, pietati deindè vacans.

Conganus etiam Abbas non modicum Hiberniæ lumen, non debet hic silentio præteriri, S. Bernardi (ut ipse loquitur) "reverendus frater, et

[18] Ibid. p. 1947. [19] Warræus de antiq. p. 147. [20] Vita Malach. p. 1950 in fine. [21] Ibid. p. 1954. [22] Ibid. c. 4. [23] Ibidem.

[f] Many truly honest and holy men there undoubtedly were in Ireland in those times, as there have been in all other Christion countries in

have been Gillhæda, who was first" an abbot of great character, and afterwards died bishop of Cork, A.D. 1173.

With these illustrious men, we may also name the three bishops who accompanied St. Mael-maedhog to the town called Fochart, said to be the birth-place of the virgin St. Brighid, and also that other young man, whom St. Bernard calls "another Zachæus," and who according to the same saint, " was first a lay brother in the monastery of Surium, and had the universal character of having lived an edifying life among the brethren according to the Cistercian rule."

St. Mael-maedhog's mother must not be omitted, "who, though of noble descent, was nobler in mind than by blood, and took care to teach her infant son in the beginning of his ways, the ways of life, believing that this was of more importance, than the empty knowledge of secular literature. He drank as milk from his mother's breast, the unction of salutary wisdom." Her solicitude for the education of her son being like that of St. Monica for St. Augustine's salvation, she is in my opinion entitled to a similar eulogy. The sister of St. Mael-maedhog also must not be deprived of her fame, for though like the wife of Tobias, she reproved her brother for undertaking the humble duty of burying the dead, yet, she appears to have profited by his rebuke and to have repented ; since his earnest prayers after her death not only liberated her from the pains she was suffering, but also brought her into the choir of the blessed.

As I have mentioned so many members of St. Mael-maedhog's family, I may add his uncle, a wealthy aud powerful man, who held the glebelands of Bangor and all its possessions, but under the inspiration of God, instantly gave up all and himself too into the hands of St. Mael-maedhog," thus wisely despising wealth and embracing a more austere life under the rule and in the company of his nephew, and devoting himself to piety.[f]

Congan, the abbot, must not be omitted among the great lights of Ireland. He was " the reverend brother and devout friend," at whose request, St. Bernard undertook to write the life of St. Mael-maedhog. I

the most disordered times. Ireland, however, was not one but many kingdoms; and the virtue of individuals could not, perhaps, have the extensive influence which it would exercise if there was but one government.

devotus amicus,"[24] cujus maximè hortatu vitam S. Malachiæ scriptis mandare aggressus est. Eum puto Abbatem monasterii Suriensis fuisse. S. Bernardus enim narrat, quod S. Malachias supra memoratum alterum Zachæum "apprehensum manu tradidit Abbati Congano, et ille fratribus" dicti scilicet monasterii, ut ex verbis ibi proxime sequentibus facile percipitur.[25] Quod monasterium ubi situm fuerit nondum comperi. Monasterium quidem de Shrowl ad Enium flumen in Comitatu Longfordiæ Warræus collocat, quod licet Suriensi vocum similitudine,[26] magis quam quodvis aliud Hiberniæ monasterium appropinquet, quominus tamen hæc duo nomina in idem monasterium cadere censeam hinc impedior, quod idem Warræus è Chronographis Cisterciensibus illud monasterium dictum de "Benedictione fundatum fuisse" 1150 aut 1152 tradat.[27] Quamvis alibi ante dixerit anno Domini 1200 "Monasterium" de flumine Dei "fundatum fuisse."[28] Et monasterium Suriense ante S. Malachiam anno Dom. 1148 mortuum, conditum, et Abbate monachisque instructum fuerit. Cæterum Conganus fertur à Warræo vitam S. Malachiæ, epistolas quasdam ad S. Bernardum, et gesta divi Bernardi scripsisse.[29]

Quid multis? sola S. Malachiæ vita quam scripsit S. Bernardus, tam multos in Hibernia utriusque sexus. et ordinis cujusvis nominatim suppeditat, qui non solum honestatem, et probitatem, sed etiam pietatem impensè coluerunt, ut documento sint, nationem Hibernicam non adeo morum cultura tum vacasse, ut illius cultioribus tantum moribus imbuendæ causa, patria et avitis possessionibus per vim ab advenis, quocunque authoritatem, indictâ causâ conferente spoliari debuerint.

Percurrenti quoque S. Laurentii Dubliniensis Archiepiscopi vitam liquido patebit mores hominum in Hibernia per ea tempora non usque adeo culta institutione abhorruisse. Quod si non pertimescerem tædium lectori creare, possem è domesticis Annalibus seriem satis prolixam eorum sigillatim texere, qui vitâ recte institutâ, insignem sibi commendationem à posteritate compararunt, et quæ hactenus è peregrinis authoribus producta sunt meo quidem judicio confirmare, ac Hibernos perversæ institutionis infamiâ purgare potuerunt.[30] Præsertim cum

[24] Præfat. vitæ S. Malachœ. p. 1929. [25] Warræus scriptor. p. 36. [26] Antiquit. Hib. p. 172. [27] Ibiidem. [28] Cœnobit. Cist. p. 77. [29] De scrip. Hib. p. 36. [30] Trias Thaum. p. 632.

think, he must have been abbot of the monastery of Surium. For, St. Bernard states that St. Mael-maedhog took that "second Zachæus" of whom we have spoken above, and leading him by the hand, gave him up the abbot Congan and he to his brethren of the said monastery, as is clearly perceptible from the words immediately following. Where the monastery was situate I have not been able to discover. Ware places the monastery of Shroul on the River Inny, in the county Longford, but though that name resembles Surium, more than any other monastery in Ireland, they cannot be identical, in my opinion, because Ware on the authority of the Cistercian annalists assigns the foundation of Shroul, which was called "de Benedictione" to the year 1150 or 1152; though he had stated in another place that the monastery "de Flumine Dei," was founded in the year 1200; and the monastery of Surium,[g] was founded before the death of St. Mael-maedhog in 1148, and tenanted by monks and an abbot. Congan is said by Ware to have written a life of St. Mael-maedhog, some epistles to St. Bernard, and the life of St. Bernard.

But why dwell on this point? St. Bernard's life of St. Mael-maedhog alone gives the names of many persons of all ranks and sexes, who were not only correct and moral but remarkably pious, evidently proving that the Irish nation was not so devoid of morality as that the sole pretence of their moral reformation could justify a band of foreigners in robbing them violently of their country and paternal estates, no matter what authority sanctioned it, if the cause was not previously examined.

A cursory glance at the life of St. Lorcan, Archbishop of Dublin, clearly shows that the morals of the Irish people at that period, were not so removed from refined civilization. And, if I were not afraid of tiring my readers, I could produce from our native annalists a long list of characters, whose regular and holy lives acquired for them a high reputation with posterity and which would confirm, I am satisfied, the authorities already adduced from foreign writers, and vindicate the Irish from the foul stain of demoralization, especially as at that period, letters were zealously taught and learned in the cathedral churches, colleges and monasteries, each of which was provided with at least one professor.

[g] See Lanigan's conjectures on the site of this monastery, Ecc. Hist. iv. p. 130.

literis ediscendis, et docendis, in Cathedralibus Ecclesiis, Academiis, et cœnobiis tum passim indulgeretur, uno saltem prælectore in singulis jam memoratis locis constituto. Quorum nomenclaturam Annales nostri sparsim, Colganus conjunctim edit. Armacham studiis tunc floruisse vel hinc ediscas, quod in concilio quinque supra viginti Episcoporum, Abbatum plurium aliorumque de clero, Gelasio primate præsidente,[31] "communibus suffragiis sanciretur ne ullus in posterum per totam Hiberniam, in aliqua Ecclesia ad sacræ paginæ professionem, sive ad Theologiam publicè docendam admittatur, qui non prius Armachanum Scholam, sive Academiam frequentaverit." Nec de literarum progressu in hac Academia promovendo magis erant solliciti præsules quam principes. Nam Rodericus Hiberniæ rex "summoperé cupiens in Academia Armachana studia promovere, honorariâ, annuâque decem bovum pensione stipendium Archimagistri illius scholæ adauxit, et dato diplomate, suos successores ad eandem pensionem quotannis solvendam obstrixit,[32] ea conditione, ut studium generale pro scholaribus, tam ex Hibernia undequaque, quam ex Albania adventantibus Armachæ continuaretur."

In Hiberniâ profecto tanta tum habita fuit literaturæ ratio, ut licet in sede Armachana,[33] "octo extiterint ante Celsum viri uxorati, literati tamen fuerint." Ac proinde illos, qui Episcopatum legitimè inierunt,
[170] apprimè literis | excultos fuisse oportuit. Sanctus Bernardus quendam fuisse ait Armachæ, "magistrum famosum in disciplinis quas dicunt liberales."[34] Mauritium Archiepiscopum Cassellensem Cambrensis "virum literatum, et discretum vocat." Nunquam ad literas addiscendas SS. Malachias, Gelasius,[35] Laurentius, ac cæteri Episcopi à me hactenus sparsim nominati, præter Malchum Lismorensem è patriæ finibus pedem extulerunt: domi ad eruditionis, et sanctimoniæ fas-

[31] Trias Thaum. p. 309, an. 1162. [32] Ib. p. 310, an. 1169- [33] Vita S. Malach. c. 7. [34] Ibid. c. 1. [35] Top. d. 3, c. 32.

[h] This canon was made in the synod of Clane, A.D. 1162. That was the last national synod held before the English invasion, nor does there appear to have been afterwards any national synod strictly so called until the synod of Thurles, in 1850.

[j] St. Bernard states expressly that they were not ordained: they were laymen who made the lands and revenues of the see their family possession. This disorder continued long in Ireland, as elsewhere. It is important to remark here, that many laymen seized upon the lands appropriated to Bishoprics, Preceptories,

The annalists give in different places, the succession of the professors, but all are catalogued by Colgan. Ardmacha must have been a great seat of learning, since a council of twenty-five bishops, together with many abbots and other ecclesiastics, under Gelasius, the primate, "unanimously decreed, that thenceforward no person should be allowed to give public lectures on sacred scriptures or theology in any part of Ireland, who had not previously studied in the school or university of Ardmacha."[h] The kings were not less zealous for the advancement of learning in that university, than the prelates themselves. Thus Ruaidhri king of Ireland, being most solicitous for the encouragement of learning in the university of Ardmacha, increased the salary of the chief professor by a noble gift every year of ten oxen, and bound his successor, by his royal letters, to pay the same pension yearly, on this condition, that a university should be maintained at Ardmacha open to scholars from all parts of Ireland and Albania."

So great was the estimation in which learning was then held in Ireland, "that though eight married men had occupied the see of Ardmacha[i] before Ceallach, they were all learned," and of course, those who were legitimate bishops must have been eminently versed in literature. St. Bernard says, that there was a certain person in Ardmacha who was a celebrated teacher of the liberal arts, as they are called. He also praises Maurice, archbishop of Caiseal as a learned and prudent man." SS. Mael-maedhog and Lorcan and Gelasius and the other bishops whom I have mentioned, with the exception of Malchus of Lismor, were educated at home: it was at home that the former, toiled to the summit of

abbey and parish churches, and employed priests to do the eccclesiastical duties, and that these laymen had generally the title of Bishops, Masters, Parsons, Officials, Coarbs or Erenachs. Good, as cited by Camden, states, that in the sixteenth century "the priests (so called) have their children to succeed them in their churches, for whose illegitimation they are dispensed with. These will not take the order of priesthood, but commit the charge to the curates without any stipend, that they may live by the book, that is, upon some small gift or oblation at the baptism, unction and burial, wherewith God wot, they live most bare and miserable." This, however, he says was the case only among the wild Irish. See the complaint of an Irish bishop in the Council of Trent on this subject, O'Sullevani Historiæ Catholicæ, pp. 109, 119, Dublin, 1850.

tigium illi: domi ad summum scientiæ probitatisque[36] gradum hi eluctati sunt, perinde ac si ipsis diceretur: "Bibe aquam de cisterna tua, et fluenta putei tui."

Nimirum verè dixit scriptor vetus, quod "in Armach summum studium literale manet semper."[37] Nam studia literarum ita continenter in illa Academia floruerunt, ut ne rabies quidem Danorum per sacra et profana cædibus, et incendiis furiosissimè grassantium cursum eorum interruperit, Annalibus nostris eorum nomina sigillatim referentibus, qui per illa etiam funestissima tempora, erudiendis mortalibus ibi præficiebantur.[38] Ita ut cum Hibernos à studiis tenaciter consectandis bella non averterint, animos ad ea rebus pacatis imbibenda acrius adjecisse nemo dubitaturus sit.

Summi Pontifices paterno quodam studio in Hibernos tum affecti ad eos assiduè rectâ institutione informandos, Gilbertum Limbricensem Episcopum, S. Malachiam, S. Christianum Episcopum Lismorensem, S. Laurentium Dublinensem, et Mathæum Henæum Cassellensem Archiepiscopum, omnes Hibernos, legati dignitate insigniverunt. Quos si dotibus ad id munus idoneisornatos fuisse compertum non haberent, profectò in tam ardua re illos authoritate sibi non pene exæquarent.

Quid quod Henricus ipse rex, ad rudiores mores Hibernis excutiendos, non alios adhibuerit, quam præsules Hibernos Cassiliam (ut è Cambrensi jam protuli) in cœtum coalescentes; paucis è suis tanquam procuratoribus eorum contubernio adjunctis? Itaque Hiberni qui morum spurcitiem à suis dedocebantur, alienis institutoribus ad eam dediscendam non indigebant.

Colganus author est Murchertachum, Marianum,[39] Clementem, Joannem, Isaacum, Candidum, Magnoaldum, et alios plures sub id tempus Ratisbonam commigrasse; et illius incolas, accolasque virtutum, et doctrinæ rore irrigasse. Nemini autem in mentem venire debet

[36] Prover. 5. [37] Vita S. Patr. nondum edita. [38] Usherus de prim. 861. [39] In indice. Chronol. actorum SS. Hiber. an. 1152.

[k] This argument proves clearly enough, perhaps, that the pope believed there were in Ireland ecclesiastics well qualified by zeal and learning to reform the land; but it does not prove they had the power to carry their designs into effect against the wishes of their turbulent flocks. The pope clearly saw that nothing but a strong monarchial government could reform the Irish: he thought that this could have been effected by appointing

learning and holiness, and that the latter won their high character for virtue and erudition; so that we may say of them, "drink water from thy cistern and the streams of thy well."

An ancient writer has stated with perfect truth, that "the chief literary establishment was always at Ardmacha." Colleges were maintained there so constantly, that even the havoc of the Danes, on everything sacred and profane, their burnings and massacres, and furious incursions never interrupted them. Even in the very worst of times, the names of the head professors of that establishment, are chronicled by our annals. And if the Irish manifested such zeal for learning even in the tumult of war, can any man doubt, that in times of peace, they cultivated it much more vigorously?

The popes, with a paternal zeal for the Irish of those days, appointed as legates, to perfect their ecclesiastical system, Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, St. Mael-maedhog, St. Gillachrist, bishop of Lismor, St. Lorcan, of Dublin, and Matthew O'h-Enni, archbishop of Caiseal. Now if the popes believed those men devoid of the qualities required in the arduous honor of legate, would they have ever conferred on them a power almost equal to their own?

Besides, who were the prelates chosen by king Henry himself to reform the demoralized Irish? The council of Irish bishops assembled at Caiseal! (as I have already stated from Cambrensis), a few English delegates alone having taken a part in the proceedings. If Irishmen were to be raised from their filth by Irishmen, what need of foreign teachers to purify and enlighten them?[k]

We know from Colgan that Muircheartach, Marian, Clement, John, Isaac, Candidus, Magnoald, and many others went over to Ratisbon about this period,[l] and refreshed the inhabitants of the city and its environs with the salutary waters of piety and learning. No person can imagine for a moment that these holy men were so lost to the feelings of humanity as to renounce that love which all men bear to the land of their birth; if they had not well known that Ireland was abundantly

Henry II. as monarch of the Irish. In this he was mistaken, but he was not to blame. (J. O'D).

[l] Not precisely at this period, but nearly a century before.

humanitatem illos adeo excussisse, ut innatum generi humano erga patriam studium sibi ultra exuerent: cui si non abunde prospectum fuisse scivissent de doctoribus qui ad salutis, et concinnæ institutionis viam ducatum illi præberent; non essent charitatis bene ordinatæ tam expertes, ut potius operam suam in alienis quam in suis erudiendis collocarent. Salvator enim ipse noster, Judæos suos primum, deinde gentes ex ignorantiæ tenebris educere adorsus est. Quis enim alienos unquam irrigavit agros suis sitientibus? imo jura dicunt:[40] durum esse, et crudelitati proximum ex tuis prædiis aquæ agmen sitientibus agris tuis, ad aliorum usum, vicinorum injuria propagare.

Ponat obsecro ante oculos qui ista legit, quot reges, et Hiberniæ totius, et provinciarum à me jam producti suo officio exteris etiam scriptoribus testimonium perhibentibus præclarè functi fuerunt? quot cœnobia tanquam totidem scientiarum, ac virtutum gymnasia etiam tum erecta fuerunt? quot etiam anachoretarum asceteria tum extiterunt, quam facilis ubique aditus ad eruditionem tum hauriendam patuit, institutoribus ad quoscunque literis imbuendos, per Academias, Episcoporum sedes, et monasteria ut ita dicam prostitutis? ut vel prostitutæ conscientiæ, vel à mente non parum alienus esse ille consendus sit, qui populi tam benè instituti, habenas eâ tantum de causâ ut rectioribus imbuerentur moribus alieno principi moderandos traderet.

Itaque plagiarii nescio cujus commentum ista Bulla, non Adriani Pontificis decretum est, qui ab Eugenii tertii, ipsius in Cardinalium numerum co-optatoris integerrimo legato Joanne Papyrone, quem in
[171] Epistolis | S. Bernardus multis laudibus prosequitur, suo in Cardinalitia dignitate contubernali doceri potuit omnia quæ in Hibernia distorta erant ipso curante ad rectum ordinem redacta fuisse. Res etiam à S. Malachia præclare gestas si non pene oculis, auditione proculdubio compererat. Par enim est existimare, cum uterque ejusdem Canonicorum Regularium instituti societate jungerentur, ut superstes recenter extincti gesta percontationibus rescire niteretur.

Dæmunculi Angelos ad homines circumveniendos ementiti aut fœdiore ungulâ, aut indicio quopiam alio vel inviti dignoscuntur. Ita

[40] Cap. præser.

[m] That laws had been made to reform them; but with what success?

supplied with teachers, to conduct her in the ways of salvation, and civilized institutions, they would have been more mindful of the duties of well-regulated charity, and devoted themselves to the instruction of their countrymen at home, rather than of strangers abroad. Our Savior himself first began by instructing his own countrymen, the Jews, and then proceeded to conduct the Gentiles from the darkness of ignorance. Who ever watered another man's field, when his own was parched with drought? Do not the laws themselves declare, that it is severe and akin to cruelty to turn a water-course from your own estate, for the use of others, to the injury of your neighbours, and while your own fields are parched? I beg of any person who reads this to consider for a moment, how many kings of Ireland and princes as I have proved, by the testimony even of foreign writers, nobly discharged their duties as kings? how many monasteries were erected as great nurseries of literature and piety? how many retreats of anchorites? how many facilities were afforded for the acquisition of learning? masters in all branches of science being ready to instruct all comers in the cathedrals, the colleges, and the monasteries. The man must either have no conscience, or not be in his right senses, who would hand over the government of such a people to a foreign prince, on the sole grounds of reforming their morals.

This bull, therefore, must be a forgery of some unknown impostor, and not the decree of Adrian. He was raised to the purple by Eugene the Third, and was colleague in that great dignity with Eugene's legate, John Papyro, a man of the strictest integrity, and praised in the highest terms by St. Bernard in his Epistles. Adrian could have easily ascertained that during the legatine mission of his colleague, Papyro, all the disorders of Ireland had been rectified.[m] Moreover, he must have heard, if he had not actually seen with his eyes, the great works accomplished by St. Mael-maedhog; for it is natural to suppose that as both were members of the same order of canons regular, the surviving brother would make some inquiries into the life of one who had but recently departed.

When the devils appear in the form of angels of light, to deceive men, they are always betrayed, by the cloven foot or some other mark. The forgers of documents, in the same way, let something unwittingly

scriptorum adulteratores aliquid sibi excidere nescii patiuntur, quo dolum produnt. Cujus rei unum jam documentum exhibui. Cui mox Bullæ figulus aliud annectit.

Contendit enim summum Pontificem omnium Insularum dominum Constantini magni dono sibi jure vendicare. Cum profanam Pontificis potestatem certis in Italia, et Gallia limitibus circumscribi vulgo notum sit, et eam ad ditiones aliorum Principum imperiis obnoxias extendi Theologi negent.

Quis unquam dixit Britanniæ majoris quæ Insula est reges à summo Pontifice suspensas regendi rationes habuisse, ante Joannem regem, qui jus omne suum in Pontificem contulit? ac proinde si nihil aliud Pontifici quam quod suum erat elargitus, quam ille gratiam ab hoc referre debuerat? nullam planè quam nulla novi muneris, aut officii accessione promeruit. Nec ullus scriptor antiquus, vel semel insinuavit supremam Angliæ temporalem potestatem penes Pontificem fuisse. Imo Thomas Morus Joanni regi licuisse negavit proceribus regni assensum non præbentibus, summum regni imperium ab indigenis alienare, aut in alium quemcunque transferre.

Quod si quis Hiberniam summo Pontifici tanquam supremo Insulæ domino unquam obtemperasse contenderit, scriptores nostros reclamantes habebit, qui sic regum Hiberniæ seriem contexunt, et res gestas enarrant, ut alium Hiberniæ cum imperio præfuisse ne innuant quidem. Certè Sandero summam Hiberniæ potestatem ad Pontificem deferenti, Ketingus multis obsistit.[41]

Sed eam inquies Constantinus Pontifici elargitus est. Quibus id

[41] Lib. 2, initio.

[n] The bull does not expressly mention the supposed donation of Constantine the Great; it claims a right to all the islands on which Christ the the sun of justice had shone, whether they had belonged to Constantine's empire or not. Yet it must be observed, that John of Salisbury, who obtained the bull, does use the words cited by our author, "*omnes* insulæ de jure antiquo, ex donatione Constantini dicuntur ad ecclesiam Romanam pertinere." Metalog. iv. 42.

[o] A good argument, if the critics of pope Adrian's time had not admitted the authenticity of the donation of Constantine, and if the constitutional law of Catholic states had not gene-

escape them, which reveals the fraud. I have already given one instance. Here follows another, given by the concoctor of the bull.

The pope, he maintains, claims the dominion of all the islands, by virtue of the donation of Constantine the Great.[n] Now it is generally known that the temporal power of the pope is confined[o] to certain territories in Italy and France, and theologians deny that it extends to countries subject to the dominion of other princes.

Who ever asserted that the kings of the island of Great Britain held their sovereign power from the pope, before the days of king John,[p] who conferred all his own power on the pope? If, then, all that he granted to the pope was his own, what obligation was he under to the pope? None, certainly, arising from any new gift or office. No ancient author has ever hinted that the temporal sovereignty of England was vested in the pope.[q] Nay, Thomas More denied that king John had a right, without the consent of his barons, to alienate the supreme authority of his kingdom, from the natives, or to grant it to any other person whatsoever.

Should any man assert that Ireland ever acknowledged the pope as

rally invested the pope in the days of Adrian, and for centuries before and and after, with a temporal power entirely independent of the supposed donation of Constantine. See on this subject, "Pouvoir du Pape, sur les Souverains, au Moyen age," &c., par un Directeur au Seminaire Saint Sulpice. Paris, 1839.

[p] Before the reign of John, England was not, some say, a *fief* of the pope: but in the reign of Henry II., John's father, the pope had temporal power of some kind over England, unless the bull of Adrian IV. be (as our author groundlessly maintains) a forgery. That bull expressly recites Henry's own admission that all the islands on which Christ the sun of justice had shone, belonged to the Roman Church, "ad jus Beati Petri et sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ Romanæ (*quod tua et nobilitas recognoscit*) non est dubium pertinere." Henry it must be presumed knew that Britain was an island, and a Christian island, as well as Ireland.

[q] No ancient law hinted that England had been strictly a fief of the pope: an ancient law of St. Edward's, and published by William the Conqueror, did provide that in certain cases a king, not discharging his duty to his subjects and the church, should forfeit his title of king. "Rex autem qui vicarius summi regis est, ad hoc est constitutus, ut regnum terrenum et populum Domini, et super omnia

suades tabulis? nullis profecto. Si retorseris "Hiberniam cum Britannia, et Thule Constantino, Constantini Maximi filio in Imperii divisione obvenisse,"[42] non ergo Hiberniam à Constantino Pontifex sed suus filius retulit. Quem tamen possessionem illius adiisse, vel in ejus administratione vices suas alii demandasse nunquam legimus. Si autem adhuc pugnes è Panegyri Constantino Chloro, dictam "Britanniam ita recuperatam esse,[43] ut illæ quoque nationes terminis ejusdem Insulæ cohærentes Chlori nutibus obsequantur." Quorum gratiam adulatores ambiunt, eorum laudes ultra veri fines longe attollunt. Itaque assentanti non assentior. Obscurius enim Panegyricus innuit, non nominatim annuit Hibernos officiosum obsequium Chloro detulisse, non tamen ejus potestati obnoxios fuisse. Non enim in eo regno dominari poterat, cujus ab eo vel hæreditate, vel armis acquisiti nullum vestigium in ullo alio scriptore unquam deprehendimus.

Adeo fuit iniquum (proh dolor) Hiberniæ fatum, ut arma Romanorum audiverit, non senserit, ac proinde nunquam in eorum potestatem devenerit: quorum armis si devicta foret, eorum quoque culturam perciperet. Nam quocunque illi arma, eodem cultiorem institutionem intulerunt. Et quibus libertatem ademerunt, iis cultus, et elegantiæ beneficium impertierunt. Ita ut quæ loca illi victores non peragrarunt, non nisi tardius cultiorem illam humanitatem imbiberint.

[42] Camden. pag. 729. [43] Ibidem.

sanctam veneretur ecclesiam ejus, et regat et ab injuriosis defendet et maleficos ab ea evellat et destruat et penitus disperdat. *Quod nisi fecerit nec nomen regis in eo constabit, verum testante papa Johanne, nomen regis perdit.*" Leges Edvardi regis, Art. 17, (alias 15,) apud Wilkin's "Leges Anglo-Saxoniæ." London, A.D. 1721.

[r] There is no solid reason to believe that the Irish kings had been *vassals* of the pope, in the same sense as the kings of Naples, Hungary, and Spain certainly were, for instance, in the days of Gregorius VII.; but there is some reason to believe that the constitutional law, subjecting the temporal to the spiritual power in certain cases, in almost all Catholic states of Europe during the middle ages, was not rejected in Ireland. St. Gregorius VII. addressed a letter to Toirbhealbhach O'Briain, one of Ireland's greatest kings, in 1085, and claims therein the same unlimited power, which he certainly exercised in other Catholic states. Ussher's Sylloge., p. 76. Lanigan Eccles. Hist. vol. iii. p. 484. There is no evidence of any reclama-

her supreme temporal lord,[r] he contradicts the unanimous voice of our annalists, who record the succession and the reigns of our kings in such a strain as never supposes the existence of any other temporal sovereigns. When Sanders claimed for the pope the dominion of Ireland, Keating refuted him with many arguments.[s]

Still you may say, Constantine granted it to the pope. But where are your proofs? None whatever. If you rejoin that Hibernia and Britain and Thule fell to the lot of Constantine, son of Constantine the Great, in the partition of the empire, therefore it was not from Constantine, but from his son, that the pope received Ireland. But there is not the slightest proof that Constantine ever exercised authority in Ireland either personally or by his representatives. Should you still insist that the panegyric of Constantine Chlorus asserts "Britain was so perfectly recovered that all the nations adjacent to her borders bowed to the nod of Chlorus." Flatterers when they wish to secure the fame of a person generally carry his panegyric far beyond the limits of truth. Therefore I do not agree with the flatterer. The panegyrist obscurely hints, but does not openly assert that the Irish proffered their allegiance to Chlorus. It is not said that they were subject to his authority; and what power could he have in a kingdom where we cannot discover the least trace of his hereditary right or military occupation from any other writer?

Such, alas! was the hapless fate of Ireland: to hear the distant roll of the Roman arms, but not to feel them, and therefore never to come under the sway of the Romans, who, if they conquered, would also civilize her, and grant the blessing of elegance and refinement in exchange for her lost liberty. The lands which never were visited by their conquering arms, advanced but slowly in the paths of civilization.[t]

tion on the part of Toirbhealbhach or of bishops or abbots against those claims.

[s] He refutes the assertion that the dominion of the pope was founded on the donation of Constantine; but he records a story of the Irish nobility having conferred the sovereignty of Ireland on pope Urban II. in the year 1092. For remarks and conjectures on this point, see Lanigan, vol. IV., p. 161. Dr. O'Conor defends the *authenticity* of Keating's story; no one suspects that Keating invented it; but most writers doubt his judgment and historic sagacity.

[t] A clear proof of the author's opinions on the pagan civilization of Ireland, the theme of so many learned disquisitions published at the close of the last and in the commencement of the present century.

Obstitisse quidem Hibernos pro viribus Romanorum in Britannia potentiæ, crebrioribus cladibus quam victoriis Claudianus author est: [172] Et | iisdem Romanis negotium Hibernos facessivisse non obscurè à Tacito innui Camdenus sentit.[44] Dicit utique Tacitus: "Hiberniam valentissimam Imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuisse."[45] Ac si diceret, Hiberniam eos tumultus excitasse, qui molestiam non mediocrem Romanorum negotiis crearent. Itaque hâc de causâ, et ut arma Romana Britannorum in conspectu ubique posita rebellandi potestatem iis adimeret, Julius Agricola Hiberniæ aggrediendæ ansam aliquandiu aucupabatur. Sed eam ab illo armis impetitam scriptores Romani non memorant, alioquin soliti suorum præconia non solum silentio non præterire, sed etiam verbosius attollere.

Quare Constantinus Hiberniam nec à majoribus sibi traditam, nec armis, aut alia ratione per se comparatam alii dono dare non potuit. Ut quam rectissime Neubrigensis dixerit: "Hiberniam Romanis etiam Orcadum Insularum dominium tenentibus inaccessam, nunquam externæ subjacuisse ditioni."[46] Ut in subsidium mihi Giraldi sententiam non advocem dicentis: "Gentem Hibernicam à primo adventus sui tempore, usque ad Gurmundi, et Turgesii tempora,[47] iterumque ab eorum obitu usque ad hæc nostra tempora, ab omni alienarum gentium incursu liberam permansisse, et inconcussam." Non igitur suprema Hiberniæ potestate peregrinus ullus, nec continuo populus Romanus potitus est.

Sed huic errori Bullæ sarcinator alium assuit nempe "annuum unius Denarii pensionem de singulis Hiberniæ domibus B. Petro solvendum." Cujus rei absurditas vel inde innotescit, quod Joannes in transactionibus cum Cardinale Pandulfo Innocentii tertii Legato sexaginta saltem post annos initis, trecentarum marcarum vectigal pro Hibernia se quotannis persoluturum pactus fuerit. Quis credet Pan-

[44] P. 8. [45] In vita Agric. [46] Lib. 22, c. 6. [47] Top. d. 3, c. 46.

[u] See on this version of the words of Tacitus, note, supra, p. 225, chap. XIV.

[v] It is not probable that the legate would remit the tribute from Ireland. Hence, taking onr author's data as valid, others would deduce quite an opposite conclusion, namely, that the

Claudianus, no doubt, assures us that the Irish fought the Romans in Britain, to the best of their power, but were oftener defeated than victorious; and Camden infers, from a passage in Tacitus, that the Irish must have been very troublesome to the same Romans. The words of Tacitus are, "that Ireland had much communication with the most powerful part of the empire,"[u] meaning that Ireland had incited those tumults, which caused no inconsiderable embarrassment to the Roman affairs, and for that reason, and also to break the spirit of the Britons by the subjugation of all around them to the Roman arms, Julius Agricola was long watching an opportunity of subduing Ireland. But the Romans, though well inclined not only to chronicle, but even to emblazon the deeds of their countrymen, do not say he ever carried his design into execution.

Constantine, therefore, could not make a grant of Ireland, as she was never in his power, either by right of inheritance or arms, or any other right. Newbrigensis has most truly said, "that though the Romans subdued the Orkney Isles, Ireland was never taken by them, nor ever subject to any foreign power;" and shall I cite the authority even of Giraldus himself, "that the Irish nation, from the time of their first arrival down to the time of Turgesius and Gurmund, and again from their death down to those times of ours, remained free from the incursions of all foreign nations, and unmolested." The sovereignty of Ireland was never held by any foreign power, nor, especially, by the Roman people.

To these errors the forger of the bull adds another, namely, "that the tribute of one penny should be paid every year to St. Peter from each house in Ireland. The absurdity of this statement appears from the fact that in the negociations with Cardinal Pandolph, legate of Innocent III., full sixty years later, John covenanted to pay annually the tribute of 300 marks for Ireland. Who can believe that Cardinal Pandolph would be so imprudent and so negligent of his duty as to deprive his master deliberately of at least nine-tenths of his tribute ?[v]

letter of Adrian is not spurious, because it prescribes a tribute whose amount approximates very closely to that exacted by Pandolph. Sir William Petty computes on other data, as we have seen, the population of Ire-

dulfum Cardinalem hominem tam parum frugi, et officii sui tam immemorem fuisse, ut de Domini sui tributo decuplum saltem detrahi sciens pateretur? Triginta Diœceses (plures olim) Hibernia complectitur; harum parrochias animo percurre: deinde domorum in iis positarum numerum ini, tum calculos subducito quot inde nummi proveniant: deprehendes summam non ad trecentas tantum marcas evasuram, sed, ad minus, decies tantundem supergressuram. Quod si rex Joannes illi censui persolvendo se abstrinxerit, ut mulctam sibi ob delictum ultro irrogaret, aut beneficium Pontifici, ad eum sibi conciliandum præstaret; profecto reditus ejus pristinos accessione non mediocri potius augere, quam imminutione aliquâ extenuare aggrederetur, probe noscens ludificationem ejusmodi citius indignationem Pontificis irritaturam, quam ad benignitatem illum allecturam.

Huc accedit quod ad hæc pactainter Innocentium, et Joannem regem peracta, nulla pensionis hujus solutio in scriptoribus Anglicis minutiora quæque scriptis mandare consuetis, in Pontificis ærarium relata fuisse legatur. Sane Lucius III. Urbanus III. et Gregorius VIII. Clemens III. et Cælestinus III. Pontificatu interim functi tam memorabili se defraudari tributo taciti non ferrent. Ut perspicuum sit de hoc vectigali pendendo tum agi cæptum fuisse, cum Joannes rex vincula sibi censurarum eximi ab Innocentio flagitaret. Censeo quidem Hibernos, ut summi cultus, quo sedem Apostolicam, semper prosecuti sunt, documentum aliquod exhiberent, ad censum aliquem eidem sedi persolvendum se obstrinxisse. Cum præsertim, "Carolus magnus unum denarium per singulas domos Galliarum annuatim Romanæ Ecclesiæ

land in 1172 at 300,000, (somewhat less than the present population of the city of Dublin,) who, allowing seven persons to each house, would live in 42,855 houses. A penny per house from these would produce about 270 marks. But the fact is, that the tribute of 1,000 marks which John covenanted to pay for the kingdoms of England and Ireland, was exclusive of the Peter pence. See Lingard, Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 32. Ed. 1837.

[w] 3,000 marks, say 480,000 pence, by 7, the number of inhabitants to each house, would give 3,360,000 inhabitants; about twice the population of England at the same period. The proportion of 300 for Ireland, to 700 for England, in the allotment of the tribute promised by John to the pope, would indicate a very different conclusion, but it hardly affords safe grounds for inference, as the weaker country was,

Ireland now contains thirty dioceses, and formerly had a greater number: consider now the number of parishes in each; then the number of houses in each parish: calculate on this basis the number of pence, and you will find that the amount will not be 300 marks merely, but more than ten times that number.[w] If king John's object, in imposing that tribute on himself, had been to contract a voluntary engagement as an atonement for his crimes, or to recover the good graces of the pope by his liberality, he would certainly not think of diminishing, but would rather considerably increase the pontifical revenues; well knowing that such a deceptive trick must excite the indignation, not conciliate the good will, of the pontiff.

With regard to this covenant between king John and pope Innocent, we may add, that before this time the English writers, who are very minute in historical details, do not mention any tribute as being paid into the pope's treasury. Now Lucius III., Urban III., Gregorius VIII., Clement III., and Celestine III. would not have borne in silence the non payment of so memorable a tribute.[x] Its payment was obviously never required or stipulated until the king applied to pope Innocent for absolution from the censures of the church. I think indeed that the Irish who always held the pontifical see in the highest veneration, must have exhibited some evidence of that feeling by binding themselves to pay tribute to the same see. Particularly because Charlemagne is said to have ordered that one penny for every house throughout Gaul should be paid to the Roman church, and the Gothic kings are said to have possessed Spain by the title of paying tribute to the church of Rome. Truly the Irish, as they did not appear to have

no doubt, assessed to pay more than her proportion. The greater number of diocesses or parishes formerly in Ireland is no test of her population. The piety of former days multiplied churches; the civilization of modern times demolished them. Besides, it is clear, from many indications, that much of the richest part of Ireland was covered with forests in the twelfth century.

[x] A negative argument only, and not a strong one, against the undoubted authenticity of Adrian's letter. It is very probable that the Peter pence were not, and could not be collected in the greater part of Ireland.

persolvendum indixisse" dicatur "et Gothici reges Hispaniam,[48] annuo persoluto tributo, Ecclesiæ Romanæ nomine possedisse" ferantur. Nimirum Hiberni ut earum nationum erga summum Pontificem studio, sic nec benevolentiæ, pro sua facultate, cessisse videntur.[49]

Denique non his solum vitiis Bulla Adriano afficta, sed aliis etiam gravioribus gravida est. Ac primum nec annus ei nec dies, ut è Baronio constat adscriptus est. Quæ sola labes in quocunque diplomate indubitatam adulterationis suspicionem gignit, et rescindendi diplomatis potestatem facit.[50] "Rescriptum" enim (ut ait Masuerus) "si fuerit sine die, et consule, et incarnatione, non valet."

Deinde clandestinis sollicitationibus elicita diu alicubi recondita delituit. Nam à scriptoribus anno Dom. 1155 impetrata, et 1172 evulgata dicitur. Forte ut illius impetrandæ imprudentiam, suppressæ prudentia resarciret. Nam secundæ cogitationes sunt prudentiores. Nec male parta quis in lucem tam cito producit. Sed celandæ Bullæ causam Nicolaus Trivetus ad an. Dom. 1155 impetratæ aperit his verbis.[51] "Rex Henricus circa festum S. Michaelis, habito Wintonia Parlamento, de conquerenda Hibernia cum suis optimatibus tractavit. Quod quia matri ejus Imperatrici non placuit, ad tempus aliud dilata est illa expeditio." Præstantissima nimirum fœmina tam execrabile consilium exhorruit. Ut mulier una flagitantem regem humanitate, sollicitantem Episcopum justitia, Pontificem conferentem clementiâ superasse videatur. Eâ demum è vivis ablatâ, ubi occasio erupit, redintegratum consilium, et suscepta expeditio est.[52] Cum autem "rescriptum non valeat, nisi impetrans infra annum eo fuerit usus;" quo pacto ad Henricum regem beneficium ab indulto manabit, quod septemdecem annos sopitum ante jacuit, quam ad largitiones in eo concessas obtinendas productum fuit?

[48] Epit. Bar. an 782, nu. 3. [49] Ibidem an. 701, nu. 7 [50] Practica, pag. 365.
[51] Usherus in sylloge pag. 252. [52] Masuerus ubi supra.

[y] But neither Baronius nor his critics consider the omission of the date a valid argument against its authenticity. Its date is A.D. 1155.

[z] Nor is there any, even the slightest authority, for asserting that its existence was known in Ireland before that date, nor for three years later. See in the Macariæ Excidium, p. 271, some *conjectures* tending to prove that it was known. To these conjectures may be opposed Henry's well known character, his unwillingness to receive from the church anything which

been behind these nations in veneration to the chief pontiff, so neither were they in bounty, in proportion to their means.

But there are still more powerful objections against this bull than any of those which have been mentioned. And first, Baronius assures us, that no date either of day or year is given in it, a circumstance which, of itself alone, is a certain ground of suspecting any document as a forgery,[y] and which authorizes us to reject it as such. "A rescript (says Masuerus) which does not give its date, the day, the consul, and the year of our Lord, is invalid."

Moreover, this bull, when obtained by secret solicitations, was for a long time suppressed, for the writers state that it was given in 1155, but not published before the year 1172,[z] as if the imprudence of obtaining it were to be prudently remedied by suppressing it. For second thoughts are best. Stolen goods are not exhibited publicly very soon. But Nicholas Trivetus, A.D. 1155, says that the bull was not produced, because when "king Henry, in a parliament at Windsor, was deliberating with his barons on the conquest of Ireland, his mother, the empress, was opposed to the project, and its execution was therefore deferred to another time." So that it would appear this noble and virtuous lady, more humane than the king who demanded, more just than the bishop who received, more merciful than the pope who granted the bull, abhorred the execrable design; but when an opportunity offered,[a] after her death, the project was revived and the expedition undertaken. But as "a rescript is null, if the petitioner do not avail himself of it within a year," of what service could this grant be to king Henry, who concealed it during seventeen years, without ever availing himself of the rights which it conferred upon him?[b]

he could win by the sword: had he wished to use that brief he would most probably have appealed to it in the letter which he addressed to his subjects in favor of Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, when that prince did him homage in Aquitaine for his kingdom in 1168. Hib. Expug. lib. 1., c. 1.

[a] But for the opportunity, the treason of Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, the letter would have been in all probability, a very harmless document.

[b] i.e. Henry's not having used the letter immediately is no proof that he had not obtained it.

Præterea Bullæ conditor optimum Pontificem legis naturæ, juris gentium, et omnis æquitatis fines transiliisse nesciens comminiscitur. Quid enim aliud est non unum aliquem hominem, sed integram nationem; non re modicâ, sed patriâ, fortunis, et vitâ, etiam indictâ causâ, spoliare, quam omnia legum omnium repagula perstringere? Quis vel infimi subsellii judex litem ad se delatam, nisi altercantium disceptationibus auditis dirimere tentaret? Etenim qui statuit aliquid parte
[173] inaudita altera:[53] "Æquum licet statuerit, haud æquus fuit." |

Qui studio in ferenda sententia, non æquitate ducitur, non modo grandis sibi dedecoris notam apud mortales inuret, sed immortalem etiam salutis jacturam patietur. Dicit enim Deus: "Quod justum est judicate, sive civis sit sive peregrinus."[54] Etenim "quis ponit personam amici, cum induit personam judicis?"[55] Nihil hominibus libertate, gratius est, qui eos illâ privat, et plurium principum, præsulum, ac populorum colla uni jugo per injuriam innectit summe profecto temerarius (ut nihil gravius dicam) et injuriosus dicendus est.

Itaque in istius Bullæ dolatorem omnes execrationes injiciendæ sunt, qui Pontificem nobis tam deformem efformavit. Eum enim honesti viri titulo primum exuit, deinde sui potius studii, quam justitiæ sectatorem, insontium indictâ causâ condemnatorem, Hibernicæ[56] gentis quæ "ante nunquam externæ subjacuit ditioni" eversorem, delationum

[53] Seneca in Herc. [54] Deut. 1. [55] Cic. offic. lib. 3. [56] Neubrig. lib. 2, c. 26.

[c] It is difficult to answer this line of argument against the bull of Adrian, who was an Englishman, and therefore, it is but natural to suppose, anxious to extend his authority as far as possible, to favor Henry II.; the omission (as far as we know) of all the forms of judicial inquiry, which preceded the sentences of deposition pronounced by the popes, makes his letter an exception to similar papal decrees on the temporal concerns of other European states. Some of those decrees deposed princes who were, in the strict sense of the term, vassals of the holy see; others deposed princes who were guilty of heresy, a crime which according to the constitutional laws of many states, entailed the forfeiture of all civil rights, even of the throne; others again deposed princes, who for misgovernment or oppression of the church had been excommunicated, and did not seek and obtain absolution from that censure. The Irish princes were neither

Moreover, the author of the bull unconsciously represents a most virtuous pope as trampling on the law of nature, on the laws of nations, and on all the laws of justice. For is it not a violation of all the dictates of all laws, to rob, not one man, but a whole nation, not of some trifling right, but of their country, their fortunes, and their lives, without hearing one word in their defence?[c] Does the humblest official that administers justice, presume to adjudicate on a case without having heard the statements of both parties? Whoever decides, after hearing one side only, "is unjust, though his judgment should be just."

The judge, who is influenced by favor and not by equity in his judgments, is not only branded among men with the foulest stigma of disgrace, but incurs, moreover, the damnation of his immortal soul. God himself says, "judge that which is just, whether he be one of your country or a foreigner." For who can look upon himself as the friend, when he assumes the character of the judge? Liberty is the dearest right of man; and whoever deprives him of it, and unjustly hands over princes, prelates and people to a foreign yoke, is excessively temerarious,[d] and (to use the mildest phrase) unjust.

The concoctor of this bull, therefore, merits the most hearty execration for representing the character of the pope in so odious a light. He represents him in the first place as having no title to be called an honest man; next, as a man who was swayed by his own interests, not by justice; then as condemning the innocent without a hearing; again as subverting that kingdom of Ireland, which had never before owned any foreign power; moreover, as the credulous dupe of whispering

vassals of the popes, nor heretics, nor as far as it appears, excommunicated; although their "butchering of each other and the consequent anarchy," mentioned in the bull of Alexander III. would certainly in those days draw down that censure on the heads of princes in other states. The fictitious donation of Constantine, insinuated in the bull, appears to be the only ground on which the pope proceeded.

[d] It might be said that Adrian could not but have known, from the reports of the legates who had visited Ireland, the extent of her disorders. Cardinal Paparo had presided at the national council of Keanannus, three years before [in 1152] and must have known the state of the country.

credulum auditorem, quam longissimæ possessionis alienatorem, legum omnium violatorem, religionis nequissimum contemptorem, execrabilis belli facem, et odiorum disseminatorem non ferendum effingit. En quo vile caput ignominiarum cumulo, eum Pontificem qui summæ dignitati virtutes adæquavit obruere connixus est; eum per jura omnia conculcata viam suo Principi ad supremam Hiberniæ potestatem stravisse commentus; ut conflato è mendaciis diplomate, aliquam juris umbram regi Angliæ in Hiberniam assereret, nihil pensi habens vel summi Pontificis famam discerpere, modo ipse voti compos evadat.[57] Immemor etiam jure positivo; "Rescriptum non valere quod suggestâ falsitate, vel contra jus divinum, humanum positivum, aut utilitatem publicam impetratum." Nec etiam "Rescriptum Papale à laico impetratum, super aliqua re, quæ forum seculare contingat valere cum effectu."[58] Imo nec "rescriptum valere; si in alicujus injuriam vel præjudicium fuerit impetratum."[59] Cum autem tam veteratarias istius plagiarii artes quam optimi Pontificis integritatem in medium produxerimus; expedit ut ad alias hominis dolosi technas amoliendas progrediamur.

Fabulam verò hanc ne nuda incederet, novis figmentorum plumis amicuit Mathæus Westmonasteriensis, qui ducentis penè post eam excogitatam annis exortus, "Solemnes nuntios" ad Bullam illam "ab Adriano Pontifice adhuc novo" impetrandam Henrici regis jussu profectos fuisse primus scripsit. Rumusculi semel in vulgus emissi ea indoles est, ut quò longius progreditur, eo majoribus excrescat augmentis. Mathæus Bullam istam tot titulis inanem, tam multum tempus emensam fuisse conspicatus, noluit eam ultra incomitatam procedere. Itaque quod neque in Bulla, neque in scriptore ipsum antegresso re-

[57] Masuerus ubi supra. p. 359. [58] Pag. 560. [59] Pag. 361.

* But what, if it were generally believed at the time, that Ireland did belong to St. Peter and the Roman church by virtue of the donation of Constantine? The famous Irish remonstrance to John xxii. in the 14th century, accuses Adrian of having been influenced by partiality for his countrymen, "Anglicana affectione," and of having acted "indebite, et ordine juris omisso," but did not question his absolute right of disposing of Ireland. However, Dr. Lingard, who believed "that the pope must have

slanderers, the violator of the rights of immemorial possession; the enemy of all laws; the most profligate scoffer at all religion: finally, the firebrand of execrable war, and the most odious propagator of burning hatred. See the load of ignominy which this vile scribe would heap upon the head of a pontiff whose virtues were not a disgrace to his high station; calumniously representing him as trampling upon every principle of justice to make his prince sovereign lord of Ireland. He cared not in what odious colors this lying bull exhibited the pope, if he attained his object, and gave the king of England some shadow of title to the Irish crown. He forgets the maxims of positive law, "That rescripts are invalid, which were either obtained on false grounds, or are opposed to the Divine law, to human positive law, or to the public good;" and also "that a rescript of the pope, obtained by a layman, on any matter regarding the secular forum, can have no effect;" finally, "that a rescript is invalid, if obtained to the injury of a third person."[e] After this exposure of the base arts by which this treacherous villain attempts to blast the character of an excellent pontiff, we proceed to refute all his other quibbling.

But to clothe the nakedness of this story. Matthew of Westminster, who lived about 200 years later, borrowed some false plumage from his own imagination, for he was the first who said that a solemn embassy was dispatched by order of king Henry to pope Adrian, then lately elected, to obtain this bull. Such is the general lot of stories, circulated among the vulgar; the farther they travel, the greater bulk and consistency they acquire. Matthew, seeing that this flagrantly fictitious bull had lived to so respectable an age, could not think of allowing it to go farther on in its journey without giving it a retinue; and accordingly, without any warrant from the bull itself, or any preceding writer, he draws upon his own creative powers. A common courier, bearing the bull from Adrian to Henry, was too vulgar a pic-

smiled at the hypocrisy" of Henry's address soliciting the grant of Ireland, pertinently observes, that when solicited a few years later by the king of France to sanction an invasion of Spain, he dissuaded him from that project, because it was "inconsulta ecclesia et populo terræ illius." History of England, vol. ii., p. 253, Ed. 1837.

pererat, ex ingenio ipse deprompsit. Viderat enim narrationem magis expoliri, si potius "solemnibus nuntiis" quam triviali tabellario ab Henrico literæ ad Pontificem datæ dicerentur. Sed cum bonâ Westmonasteriensis veniâ, res tam longo temporum intervallo diductas facile conjungi, et consui non credimus. Ut illum eorum temporum quibus Bulla prodiisse dicitur, unum aliquem testem ante producere oporteat, quam ejus assertio credulitate excipiatur.

Non ignoro Joannem Saresberiensem Carnotensem Episcopum, librum scripsisse, et eum Polycraticum seu de nugis curialibus inscripsisse, ac libri quarti caput ultimum his verbis clausum esse: "Ad preces meas illustri regi Henrico concessit Adrianus Papa, et dedit Hiberniam hæreditario jure possidendam, sicut literæ ipsius testantur in hodiernam diem. Nam omnes insulæ de jure antiquo ex donatione Constantini Magni imperatoris, qui eam fundavit et dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam Ecclesiam pertinere. Annulum quoque per me transmisit smaragdo optimo decoratum, quo fierit investitura juris in gerenda Hibernia. Idemque adhuc annulus in curiali archivo publico custodiri jussus est." Nec alius præterea quispiam hoc negotium obiisse uspiam legitur, ut primam Mathæi amplificationem hic advertere liceat in plures nuntios unum diffundentis.

Eruditi profecto rem penitus dispicientes fragmentum hoc laciniam esse censent Sarisberiensis operi ab aliquo insulse assutam, ad ita sen-
[174] tiendum | plurimis de causis permoti. Ac primum in Polycrati lib. 6, cap. 24, et lib 8, c. 23, ipse palam profitetur se Adrianum Pontificem Beneventi, virginei partus anno 1156, diversantem convenisse, trium mensium in ejus aula moram fecisse, colloquia cum eo sæpius habuisse de rebus variis, quæ sigillatim ibi prosequitur. Nec verbum tamen interea profert, quo vel minimum insinuaret se, tum de supremâ Hiberniæ potestate in Henricum regem conferendâ cum eo egisse. Hic quoque obiter perspici potest Mathæum à veritate iterum deflexisse, quod hujus negotii confectionem in an. Domini 1155 retulerit. Cui unquam in mentem veniret Sarisberiensem, virum summa prudentia

[f] Three bishops were a very respectable embassy. See Lingard.

[g] That part of the business was transacted, it appears, by John of Salisbury, a learned monk who accompanied the three bishops on the

ture for the page of history, and accordingly Matthew metamorphoses him into a solemn embassy;[f] but with his kind permission, the interval of so many centuries cannot be so easily bridged over by his mere authority, that we must credulously believe his word, without the support of a single writer from his own day, to the supposed date of the bull.

I am aware that John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres, wrote a work, entitled "Polycraticus, or on the curiosities of the Court," and that the last chapter of the fourth book closes with the following words: "Pope Adrian, at my solicitation, granted and confirmed to the illustrious king Henry, the right of annexing Ireland to his hereditary dominions, as his letters testify to the present day. For, by the ancient law, all the islands are said to belong to the Roman church, by the donation of the Emperor Constantine the great, who founded and endowed it. The Pope also sent by my hands a ring, adorned with a most beautiful emerald; by which the investiture of the kingdom of Ireland was to be made. And the said ring was ordered to be deposited in the public archives of the palace." No other person has ever been mentioned[g] as concerned in this transaction; so that Matthew begins his amplification by multiplying one ambassador into many.

In truth, it is the opinion of learned scholars that the extract from John of Salisbury is not authentic, but a clumsy forgery appended to the original book, and there are powerful arguments for their opinion: first, in Polycrat. lib. vi. cap. 24, and lib. xxviii. c. 23, John gives a full account of how he visited pope Adrian, then residing at Beneventum, in the year 1156, spent three months in his palace, and conversed with him on various subjects, of which he gives a full account. But not a word escapes him from which we could even remotely infer that he had spoken on the transferring of the soveteignty of Ireland to king Henry. Here, also, be it observed, in passing, that Matthew, by another blunder, assigns, the conclusion of this business to the year 1156.[h] But seriously, can any man imagine that John of Salisbury, a man of consummate prudence, would

embassy. 1837; Lanigan, vol. iv., p. 159.

[h] See Lingard, vol. 11, p. 193, Ed.

præditum, suos minoris momenti sermones cum Pontifice habitos scriptis mandaturum fuisse, et tam immensi ponderis rem silentio præteriturum? Quid quæ familiarius cum Pontifice contulit penè minutatim prosecutus est, et non nisi tenuem maximè serii negotii mentionem scriptis inseruisset?

Licet autem eo familiarissimè Pontifex uteretur, hic tamen ita gravioribus negotiis proculdubio implicitus tenebatur,[60] ut trium duntaxat mensium spatio, multas horas successivas ad tam varios cum illo sermones ferendos, tantæque molis negotium peragendum seponere non potuerit. Nec enim summus Pontifex tam summè temerarius esse censendus est, ut tam inusitatam causam, et ante illud tempus inauditam, tam levi brachio percurreret. Nunquam enim post homines natos, Pontifex integram gentem, ne quidem pæmonitam, ipsi tum etiam addictissimam, et ejus legatum tunc quoque omni honore, ac obsequio excipientem, patrimoniis amplissimis, possessione quam longissima firmatis spoliare, et alienum principem, etiam "hæreditario jure" iis penes quos suorum erat regum electio præficere aggressus est. Ita ut plus temporis quam tres menses, ad controversiam tot titulis gravem ritè expendendam, eum impendisse oportuerit. Amplius autem quam tres menses Sarisberiensem Pontificis lateri adhæsisse nec ipsius scriptis, nec ex ullo eorum temporum scriptore percipi potest.

Certè nullus unquam Pontifex, ante vel post Adrianum, tam gravi pœna non modo gentem unam, sed ne unum quidem hominem, tam levi de causa, tamvè temerè plexuit. Philippum primum Christianum Imperatorem licentiâ Imperiali peccantem, Fabianus Pontifex Ecclesiæ ingressu prohibuit; Constantium Arianum Felix II. censura perculit, Imperatorem Arcadium itidem cum Eudoxia conjuge delinquentem Innocentius primus fidelium cœtu expunxit. Imperatorem Anastasium Eutychianæ hæresi acriter patrocinantem Anastasius II. fidelium communione amovit. Philippum Iconomachum in Orientis Catholicos

[60] Harpsf. seculo 12, c. 2, p. 282.

[1] But how does it appear that John of Salisbury deemed the annexation of Ireland to the English crown a matter of so very great importance, that it should have been the theme of many conversations with the pope. Are Irish affairs a thing on which English negotiators have loved to dwell? Our author's argument is merely negative, and against a fact, that permission to

have written an account of his conversations with the pope on affairs of comparatively trifling, and omitted altogether one, of so absorbing importance? would he almost overburden his page with his ordinary conferences with the pope, and only cursorily allude to a most serious negociation.[i]

But supposing that the intimacy was of the most familiar kind, the pope must certainly have been so deeply engaged in the pressing duties of his office, that he could not spare, in the space of three months, many successive hours for the discussion of so many topics, and especially of one of such tremendous importance. The pope cannot be supposed to have been so excessively rash as to dispatch so summarily a cause so novel and as yet unprecedented. No pope, in any former age, had ever proceeded to deprive a whole people of their ample patrimonies, confirmed by the peaceful possession of centuries, and delivered them up, without a hearing, to the rule of a foreign prince, by hereditary right,[k] though their own princes were elective; a people, moreover, who were devotedly attached to the pope, and who were at that moment receiving his legate with profound obedience and respect. A subject of such vast importance, entitled on so many grounds to serious consideration, would have been maturely examined; but neither John of Salisbury himself, nor any other writers of that age, say that he spent more than three months with the pope.

No pope, before or after the days of Adrian, inflicted so tremendous punishment on any nation, nor even on any man, on grounds so light and so temerarious. When Philip, the first Christian emperor, abused his imperial power by criminal excesses, pope Fabian interdicted him from the church; Felix II. fulminated his censures against Constantius the Arian; Innocent I. excommunicated the emperor Arcadius, and his wife Eudoxia, the partner of his guilt; Anastasius II. excommunicated also the emperor Anastasius, an ardent supporter of the heresy of Eutyches. Pope Constantine, not only excommunicated Philippus the Iconoclast, the furious persecutor of the Catholics of the

conquer Ireland was asked and obtained.

[k] Alludes apparently to the words of John of Salisbury, "Henrico dedit Hyberniam jure hæreditario possidendam." *Metalog.* iv. 42.

debacchantem Constantinus Papa, non modo excommunicavit, sed etiam ne nummi, aut imago ejus Romæ reciperetur, mandavit. Leonem Isaurum pariter in Imagines insanè furentem Gregorius II. et III. à piorum communione diremerunt, et ab ejus obsequio Italiam totam abstraxerunt. Imperatorem autem Henricum III., et Boleslaum II., Poloniæ regem, Gregorius VII.: Imperatorem Ludovicum IV. Bavarum Benedictus II.; Imperatorem Othonem IV. Lotharium regem, Nicolaus I. Joannem Angliæ regem Innocentius III., ab Imperiali, et regali fastigio depulerunt. Nimirum gravioribus sceleribus pertinaciam adjungentes, debitas pænas meritò dederunt. Nostri ne ad tribunal quidem se sistere jussi, nedum ullius culpæ convicti, gravissimam charissimæ Patriæ jacturam immeritò subierunt.

Sed ut ad Sarisberiensis progressus redeamus: nec tum quidem ille datâ operâ è patria emissus esse videtur, ad sollicitandum Pontificem, ut Hiberniæ gubernacula Hibernis regibus erepta, Henrico traderentur: sed peregrè jampridem profectus est, ad bonas literas, quarum studio inardebat, per extera regna excerpendas: ut visendi sui civis, et obsequii
[175] sui ad | eum deferendi causâ Pontificem convenisse existimandus sit. Quod si hujusmodi legationis sibi delatæ dignitatem ipse laudibus præ verecundia parcius extulerit, Petrus Blesensis magistri sui studiosissimus, et laudum ejus præco impensè sedulus longo elogiorum ejus ordini, quem per suas Epistolas pro re nata texuit, hoc etiam intexere non dubitaret. Idem quoque Blesensis Henrico ab Epistolis erat, cui hujusce facinoris indignitatem, citra dubium exprobaret, si quidpiam ejusmodi ab eo tentatum esse resciret. Vir enim erat integer vitæ, scelerisque purus, qui "non solebat magnates palpare in vitiis, aut laudare peccatorem in desideriis animæ suæ," ut ipse loquitur in Epistola 136 operum ejus à Joanne Busæo societatis Jesu theologo clarissimo Moguntii an. Dom. 1600 evulgatorum. Nec poterant tam arduæ

[1] For an interesting and brief statement of the temporal consequences of excommunication, according to the civil laws of European states, during the middle ages, the reader is referred to the little work already cited, supra, p. 432, note. In the days of Adrian IV. excommunication, if not removed within a certain time, would entail the forfeiture of all civil rights; even of the throne. Such effects could not follow from excommunication as a

East, but even forbade his coin or his image to be received in Rome. Gregorius II. and Gregorius III. excommunicated Leo the Isaurian, the savage patron of the image breakers, and withdrew all Italy from his imperial sceptre. The emperor Henry IV. and Boleslaus II., king of Poland, were deposed by Gregorius VII.; the emperor Louis IV., by Benedict II.; the emperor Otho IV., by Innocent III.; the emperor Frederic II., by Innocent IV.; king Lothaire, by Nicholas I., and John, king of England, by Innocent III. This punishment was deservedly inflicted for contumacious indulgence in most heinous crimes. Our countrymen were never brought to trial, much less convicted of any crime, and yet were condemned, most undeservedly, to forfeit their dearly beloved country![l]

But let us return to the travels of John of Salisbury. It does not appear that he was sent from his country with the express commission of inducing the pope to deprive the Irish kings of their rights and deliver them up to king Henry. As he had travelled to foreign countries before this period, to perfect himself in literature, of which he was a devoted admirer, it is more probable that his visit to the pope was dictated by a desire to see his fellow-countryman and to pay him his obedience.[m] And though possibly his modesty might have prevented him from speaking in high terms of the very important embassy committed to him, Peter of Blois, his most devoted disciple, who omits no opportunity of celebrating his fame, would certainly have introduced this subject in some of those elaborate eulogiums with which his letters abound, whenever the topic admits them. Peter of Blois was, moreover, secretary to Henry, and would certainly have reproached him with this nefarious crime, had he been aware of it. For he was a man "of purest principle and spotless integrity," who would not smile on the rich in their vices, nor flatter the sinner in the desires of his soul, to use his own expression, in the Epistle, 136, of his works, edited at Mayence, A.D. 1600, by John Busæus, an eminent theologian of the

merely spiritual punishment, but from the co-operation of the civil with the ecclesiastical power. The reader may see elsewhere how the Irish Catholics were condemned to feel the civil effects annexed by English law to excommunication. O'Sullivan Bear's "Historiæ Catholicæ," p. 312. Dublin, 1850.

[m] See notes g and f, supra, 444.

conditionis commercia inter Pontificem, et regem ultrò citroque agitata amanuensis cognitionem fugere. Utpote cujus opera melioris notæ negotiis in tabulas referendis præcipue versaretur.

Imò reapse rex eum ad graviores quosque eventus adhibuit. Gratulationem enim quam Adriano Pontificatum ineunti rex exhibuit, à Blesense conscribi curavit, quæ in editas ejus Epistolas est 165. In ea rex Pontifici primum gratulatur quod ad Pontificiæ dignitatis fastigium evectus fuerit. Deinde suggerit ad Cardinalitium honorem neminem esse supra cæteros efferendum, nisi qui cæteris virtute præemineret, nec beneficia Ecclesiastica in eos esse conferenda, qui non eruditione ad docendum, et pietate ad alliciendum suum gregem insigniter imbuantur.[59] Posteà ut terram sanctam invasoribus eripere, ac Imperio Constantinopolitano summè periclitanti subvenire connitatur. Ut videas subjugationem Hiberniæ ne verbulo quidem innui. Quid multis? universa Blesensis opera percurrenti, ne tenuis quidam Hiberniæ mentio nisi semel occurrit, in Epistola nimirum 66, quatuordecem ad minus annis post Adrianum fato functum exarata. Ubi regis Henrici potentiam extollens dicit: "Henricum in fortitudine manus suæ Ducatum Normandiæ, Aquitaniæ, Britanniæ, regnum Angliæ et Hiberniæ etc. paternæ magnificentiæ titulis amplificasse." Ubi vides Hiberniæ consecutionem viribus Henrici, non Pontificis largitioni acceptam referri: Acquis credet regem sua hæc de Hiberniâ sibi vendicandâ molimina celaturum fuisse hominem illum, cui arcana quæque credidit, et è cujus

[59] Bzovius, an. 1154.

[n] A negative argument only, and of not the least value against positive and numerous testimonies to the contrary.

[o] It was by Henry's arms, and not by the grant of the pope, that the English effected their first settlement in Ireland. There was no appeal to that grant in Henry's letter authorizing Mac Murchadha to enlist English subjects, note supra, p. 439; nor does it appear that Henry himself published that bull during his stay in Ireland; though it must be confessed that Cardinal Vivianus published it in Dublin in 1177, and pronounced excommunication against all that should oppose it. The words of Peter of Blois can thus be very well reconciled with the existence of the bull of Adrian. Moreover, if a historian say that William the Conqueror won by his arms the crown of England on the field of Hastings, must we therefore understand

Society of Jesus. Negotiations of so vital a nature could not be carried on between the pope and king without the knowledge of the king's secretary, whose principal occupation was to deposit in the public records, accounts of the more important affairs.[n]

Nay, Henry always employed him in his most weighty business. The congratulatory address from Henry, on Adrian's elevation to the papal throne, was written by Peter. It is the 165th in his printed letters. The king first congratulates the pontiff on his elevation to the papal chair: next he suggests that no person should be raised above others to the dignity of cardinal, but those who were superior to others in virtue, and that ecclesiastical benefices should be conferred on those only who were eminently qualified by their learning to teach, and by their piety to allure their flocks to virtue. Then he recommends the recovery of the Holy Land from the invaders, and the urgent necessity of sending aid to the emperor of Constantinople, but we do not find a single allusion to the conquest of Ireland. In short, Ireland is only once mentioned in all the writings of Peter of Blois, in his letter 66, written fourteen years at least after the death of Adrian. Extolling the power of king Henry, he says, " Henry, by the puissance of his arms, had added to the titles of his paternal magnificence, the Duchy of Normandy, Bretagne, and Aquitaine, and the kingdom of England and Ireland," thus attributing the acquisition of Ireland to Henry's arms, not to the grant of the pope.[o] Can any man believe that the king would conceal the grounds of his claim to the kingdom of Ireland from a man to whom he entrusted many secrets, and by whose pen letters and answers to many princes were composed? who can ever believe

him to deny that the pope co-operated in that victory? that he sent a consecrated banner, and a bull of excommunication against Harold and his adherents? Thierry. Norman Conq. T. 1. liv. iii. pp. 226, 229. Whoever dispassionately considers both conquests, will have no difficulty in pronouncing that the papal power had far more influence on the conquest of England than on the conquest of Ireland; and the world would probably have heard as little complaints of a bull in the latter as in the former case, if the permanent influence of both conquests, on the destinies of the conquered, had not been so very different.

calamo responsa, et literas ad plurimos Principes prodire voluit? Quis inquam crederet regem viro hoc inscio, rem tanti ponderis cum Pontifice gessisse ac transegisse?

Joannes quoque Sarisberiensis acerrimus criminum objurgator sui nominis integritatem eâ maculâ infici non facilè pateretur ut consilii tam populosæ nationi exitialis author haberetur. Malletque litem Hibernis palam intendere, quam clandestinas technas ad eos labefactandos adhibere. Præstitisset enim multò Hiberniæ ruinam, quasi ariete in omnium conspectu, quam actis cuniculis occultè machinari. Non erat ille animi adeo abjecti, ut Hibernos averso potiùs vulnere inscios, quam adverso videntes confodere maluerit. Nec sic erat â doctrina destitutus, ut ignoraret suum nemini eripiendum; nec tam religione vacuus, ut alieni appetens esset, nedum opem ullam ad gentem integram evertendam, et fortunis omnibus, ac patriâ ipsâ exuendam conferret. Quid enim hoc aliud esset, quam in securos latrocinio grassari?

Vir ille recti cultor probè novit reges Angliæ Henricum proxime prægressos de sede Apostolicâ non optimè meritos fuisse. Ut qui Pontificis legatos nisi se prius consultis et probantibus, in Angliam pedem inferre noluerant, multo maximam proventuum Ecclesiasticorum partem in ærarium suum, invitis possessoribus retulerunt, amplissima sacerdotia immeritis Ecclesiâ reclamante contulerunt; antistites Episcopatuum suorum possessionem adire nisi pedo et annulo ab ipsis ornatos, Conciliorum sanctionibus id nominatim inhibentibus vetuerunt. Præsules in cætum ad dissolutiores cleri, ac populi mores legibus coercendos
[176] coalescere renuerunt. | Hæc de Guillelmo II. et Henrico I. præstantissimi scriptores commemorant.[60]

[60] Baronius Harpst. et alii.

[p] Strange reasoning, when John of Salisbury believed that by virtue of the donation of Constantine, Ireland belonged to the pope, and could by him be lawfully granted to the king of England. Note supra, p. 432.

[q] The character of those kings is dark enough in the domestic annals, but is described in far more loathsome colors by continental writers. Yet it must be remembered that writers of the most opposite views on other points

that such a man could be ignorant of so important and successful a negotiation of king Henry with the pope?

John of Salisbury, moreover, intrepidly denounced crime wherever it appeared, and would never sully his fair fame by concocting so dire a conspiracy against a populous nation. He would rather call the Irish publicly to judgment, than set clandestine agencies to work their ruin. His was not that dastardly spirit that would wound the Irish in the back, and not confront them boldly face to face. He was not so ignorant, as not to know the command, "thou shalt not steal,"[p] nor so void of religion, as to covet his neighbour's goods, and to give even the least help to accomplish the ruin of an entire nation, and to deprive them of their properties and their lives. For what is such a course but a robbery of unsuspecting innocents?

He was a man of integrity, and knew perfectly well that the immediate predecessors of Henry in the English throne had no claims to the favor of the apostolic see. Without their permission and approbation, no legate of the pope dare set his foot on English soil; the greater part of the revenues of the church were forcibly wrung from the lawful possessors and poured into the king's treasury; extensive benefices were conferred on undeserving persons, against the protestations of the church; the prelates were not allowed to enter in possession of their sees without the investiture of the ring and pastoral staff, in direct contravention of the canons of councils.[q] These kings would not even tolerate the assemblies of the prelates for the reformation of the morals of the clergy and people. Such is the character of Henry I. and William II., as given by the best authors.

agree in this, that on the whole, the conquest of England effected an improvement in the English church. "On the whole," says Dr. Lingard, "this change of hierarchy, though accompanied with many acts of injustice, was a national benefit. It served to awaken the English clergy from that state of intellectual torpor in which they had so long slumbered, and to raise them gradually to a level with their foreign brethren in point of mental cultivation. The new bishops introduced a stricter discipline, excited thirst for learning, and expended the wealth which they had acquired in works of public magnificence and of public charity." History of England,

Ipsius Sarisberiensis de Stephano rege hæc sunt verba: "Stephano non tam regnante, quam concutiente clerum et populum, provocabantur omnes ad omnia, mensura namque juris vis erat. Et cum multa male, pauca bene, illud quidem pessime egit, quod in contemptum Dei in Christos ejus manus injecit.[61] Non tamen solos etsi primos ad perniciem sui cepit Episcopos. Sed omnibus quos suspectos habuit, proditionis suæ tetendit insidias. At in captione Episcoporum initium malorum fuit. Et facta sunt semper novissima hominis pejora prioribus. Quid multa? in diebus ejus multiplicata sunt mala in terra, ut si quis ea summatim recenseat, historiam Josephi posset excedere."

Quasi vero hominis prudentissimi animum cogitatio non subiit ominari, sicut Henricus secundus hujusmodi decessorum successor fuerat, ita quoque imitatorem futurum. Homines enim rei suæ ac dignitati augendæ addicti præeunti exemplo, quo ipsorum honori et lucro cumulus accedat, plerumque mordicus adhærent, et insistunt. Non sic igitur à prudentiæ legibus Sarisberiensis aberravit, ut quos scivit Pontificum imperia sæpius detrectasse, cum Episcopis crebras de possessionibus, et authoritate digladiationes habuisse, legatos Apostolicos in suam ditionem ægrius admisisse, cleri denique omnis ordinis administrationem sibi arrogasse, eorum Imperiis suaderet subjugari nationem, cujus reges, et Principes jam tum obsequia omnia summo Pontifici detulerunt, ejus legatos in Hibernia iis temporibus assiduè commorantes summis officiis coluerunt, nihil nisi ad illorum nutum gesserunt,[62] in crebris commitiis nihil nisi iis assentientibus sanciverunt. "Regum enim ac principum universitas subjecta fuit Metropolitano" Armachano "et ipse omnibus præfuit."

[61] Polycrat. lib. 6, c. 18. [62] S. Bern. in vita S. Malach.

vol. ii., p. 30, Ed. 1837. If there be not a fallacy in this reasoning, in attributing to the conquest what should be more properly attributed to the religious spirit of the age (then commencing to be eminently creative in every country in Europe,) we may easily conceive how pope Adrian, knowing the good effects of the conquest of England, might have promised himself the same good effects from a conquest of Ireland. The difference, eventually, in the two cases was this, that the horrors of conquest were pro-

John of Salisbury himself gives the following portrait of king Stephen: "During the reign, shall I call it? or desolating scourge of king Stephen over clergy and people, there was an universal grasping of all things; might was truly the only law of right. Many wicked things he did; but, worst of all, his flying in the face of God, and laying violent hands upon his anointed. But the bishops, though the first, were not only victims of his fury. Every man on whom his suspicion fell, was instantly the doomed prey of his treachery. But the imprisonment of the bishops was the beginning of the evils of the land in his day, that even a brief sketch of them would exceed the horrors of Josephus."[r]

Could it be that a man of shrewd penetration never apprehended that as the second Henry succeeded, so he would imitate his predecessors? For men ambitious of extending their power and possessions generally follow and cling with desperate tenacity to the example of those who went before them, if it lead to wealth or honor. John of Salisbury, therefore, could not be so ignorant of all the principles of prudence, as to advise the conquest of Ireland—by kings who, he knew, had often rebelled against the pope's orders; and were constantly at war with their bishops, regarding their authority and possessions; and hardly tolerated apostolical legates in their dominions; and finally arrogated to themselves the government of the clergy of all orders. Could he advise such kings to conquer Ireland, whose kings and princes were at that moment devotedly obedient to the popes, and paid all possible marks of veneration to his legates, then so frequently residing in the country, arranging all matters as they pleased, and swaying with uncontrolled power the deliberations of the various councils? For kings and princes, without exception, were subject to the metropolitan of Ardmacha, and he it was who governed them."[s]

tracted in Ireland for four, some will say for seven hundred years.

[r] Compare the history of Stephen's reign, with the annals of Ireland from the death of Mael-maedhog in 1148, to the year 1169. "Succensere nefas patriæ nec fœdior ulla,—culpa."

[s] If that be true, if the influence of the hierarchy were so powerful, heavy indeed was the responsibility and

Præterea iidem reges, ac principes de Antistitum potestate, ac possessionibus nihil detraxerunt, iis non modo in clerum jus illibatum permiserunt, sed vix etiam quidpiam de populi rebus, iis in consilium non adhibitis statuerunt; et largitionibus in Ecclesiasticos faciendis, ac monasteriis extruendis tum etiam indulserunt, cum in Anglia censibus quos in Episcopatus et cœnobia majores contulerunt surripiendis sedulo incumberetur. Homo æqui observantissimus talia non moliretur, veritus ne injusti consilii justas pœnas fato functus daret, et adhuc superstes illa vulgari objurgatione perstringeretur: "Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbam."

Itaque qui viri hujus integerrimi nomen facinori suo tanquam[63] velum obducunt, non ignominiam illi, sed sibi infamiam pariunt. "Nam infamia injustè irrogata ejus est qui fecit."

Mentientium ea conditio est, ut è verborum quæ proferunt aliquo, illa quæ memorant excogitasse non aliunde accepisse convincantur. Hujus telæ contextus illius qui eam orsus est fraudulentiam aperuit. Non secus ac asinum (ut est in fabulis) qui leonis sibi pelle induta, leonem ementitus est, aurium prominentiæ prodiderunt. Qui segmentum Sarisberiensis operibus intrusit, fucandi artis ignarum se ostendit; cum Pontificem in Hiberniæ investitura Henrico regi tradenda Sarisberiensis

[63] Senec. Epist 77.

dreadful the guilt of the bishops for not having quelled anarchy and given peace to the country. That they did not altogether neglect their duty, nor possess the power which our author attributes to them, is clear from many notices in the Irish annalists of the exertions, especially of the primates, to gain the beatitude of the peacemakers. In the whole range of Irish history, there is hardly an instance of a man who had exerted himself more for the reformation of church and state than Gelasius, the primate, who was doomed to see Ireland invaded. In his first year, the princes of the North "made perfect peace under the staff of Jesus, in presence of the successor of St. Patrick and his clergy," A.D. 1148. He prevented a war between Ulster and Connacht in 1150; "was wounded and violated" by O'Cearbhaill prince of Oirghialla in 1152: made peace the same year under the staff of Jesus and the relics of Columkill, between the king of the north and the king of the south; assisted at the synod of Keanannus; at the synod of Mellifont, with

Moreover, those Irish kings and princes curtailed neither the authority nor the possessions of their bishops: they not only allowed them unrestricted jurisdiction over the clergy, but hardly ever decided even their temporal affairs without consulting them, and were lavishly endowing the clergy, and erecting monasteries at the very moment that the English kings were zealously plundering both clergy and monasteries of the pious munificence of their ancestors.[t] Surely a man so eminently distinguished for his love of justice could not recommend this conquest, lest in the world to come he should suffer the well-merited punishment of pernicious counsel, and be contemptuously scorned during life in the vulgar rebuke "he pardons the crows and punishes the doves."

The men, who endeavour to cloak their own infamy under the character of so virtuous a man, do blast their own fame, but do not defame him; "for infamy, unjustly attributed, recoils on its author."

Such is the fate of all liars, that some of their expressions invariably convict them of having invented what they pretend to record as a faithful narrative. The context of this web of fable, reveals the fraud of its inventor, as the ass in the fable, though dressed in the lion's skin, was discovered by the protrusion of his ears. The man who appended the slip[u] to the work of John of Salisbury was but a poor adept in the arts of deception, when he represents the pope giving to king Henry the investiture of Ireland by the ministry of John, the custom in-

Christian the papal legate, in 1157; at the synod of Ath-Truim in 1158, with the same legate: twenty-five bishops were present; the Connacht bishops going to that synod "*were plundered and beaten*" by the soldiers of the king of Meath: from these and many other notices, especially of the burning and pillaging of churches, it is too plain that the primate or the other prelates of Ireland had not the power which our author attributed to them: their unceasing exertions could not secure more than a partial and temporary success—frequently purchased with risk to their own safety.

[t] See the number of archbishoprics, bishoprics and abbeys held by Henry II. Lingard, vol. ii., p. 217, Ed. 1837; though he and his predecessors invariably swore to protect the liberties of the church.

[u] There is no reason for suspecting this interpolation; confirmed as the pope's letter is by other authorities.

ministerio usum fuisse dixit. Mos enim fuit à Pontificibus continenter usurpatus, non principis investituram poscentis ministrum, sed suos legatos ad investituram ei deferendam adhibere. Cur igitur inversus ordo in hujus investituræ officio Angliæ regi præstando adhibitus fuisse narratur? Cur præter morem uni tantum et non pluribus illius petendæ provincia demandata est? nimirum ut fraus magis dilucidè micaret, et ut indubitata lectori suspicio moveretur narrationem totam esse à veritate quam alienissimam.

Sed ad Westmonasteriensem revertamur qui regis nuntios, "Adrianum Pontificem adhuc novum" convenisse scribit; ut nimirum dum studium ejus erga suæ gentis principem incalesceret, et nondum administrationis tyrocinium egressus rudior videretur, ad insolitam indulgentiam facilius alliceretur. Hibernos præterea "homines bestiales" appellat. Bullæ
[177] voces sunt magis | comes, quæ consuetudinum aliquot ecclesiasticarum observantiam in iis desiderari potius innuit quam indicat, non eorum mores sic extra humani commercii limites excurrisse, ut bestiis ad se moribus informandos institutoribus usi fuerint.

Quod si blaterones isti nominatim instituta exhiberent, quæ nostrates a feris hauserunt, eorum petulantia foret acrius comprimenda. Ego à meis antea bestialitatem amovi: ut jam de hoc dicterio id tantum dixerim, tenuem inconcinnioris Hibernorum cultus mentionem in Bullâ quasi satam Westmonasteriensem latius disseminasse. Ad id enim quod quisque audit, inquit Livius, insitâ hominibus libidine alendi de industria rumores, adjicit aliquid. Fama enim in majus omnia extollit, et parva amplificare, ac facta terribilius narrare solet. Sicut enim pluvia tectis excepta ex una in aliam tegulam imbricemque devoluta in publicas vias demum spargitur; sic quæ aliqui auditione acceperunt aliis communicata mendaciorum augmento semper accedente, in commenta tandem prorumpunt.

Alia tamen figmenta cudere Mathæus pergit dicens: Pontificem Henrico regi potestatem fecisse, "ut liceret ei Hiberniam hostiliter

[v] The pope's letter is not an investiture strictly so called; it permits and approves Henry's design, "gratiam et acceptum habemus ut illius terræ populus honorifice te recipiat, et sicut Dominum veneretur." This, Dr. Lingard remarks, is not the language of a feudal grant.

variably observed by the popes being to entrust the investiture[v] to their own legates, not to the minister of the king who petitioned for it. Why was the contrary course said to be observed in granting this investiture to the king of England ? why, in violation of all precedent, was it applied for by a single individual and not by a numerous deputation ? most certainly, that the fraud might be more transparent, and that no possible doubt could be left on the readers mind that the narrative was one revolting tissue of forgery.

But returning to the words of Matthew of Westminster, we find the king sending ambassadors to Pope Adrian, then newly elected, no doubt with the hope of more easily obtaining this unusual grant, while the pope was still warmly attached to the land of his fathers, and inexperienced in the solemn duties of his office.[w] Matthew, moreover, stigmatizes the Irish as " bestial men." Now, the bull is not so severe; as it rather insinuates than plainly asserts that negligence in some ecclesiastical customs was the chief disorder. It does not charge the Irish with having so far forgotten the common decencies of human life as to imbibe their principles of morality from the teachings of beasts.

If those babblers pointed out the precise moral habits which the Irish are said to have learned from the beasts, their insolence might call for a more severe castigation; but as I have already vindicated my countrymen from the imputation of bestial habits, I will only remark at present that the passing allusion in the bull to the blemishes of Irish character yields under the teeming invention of Matthew, a most plenteous harvest. Men, as Livius remarks, have an irresistible propensity to keep a rumor alive, and add something of their own invention. Fame exaggerates all things, magnifies that which is little, and distends even the hideous features of the terrible. As the rain descending on the roof of a house filters from tile to tile, down to the eve, and then inundates the public streets, so reports, circulated from mouth to mouth, receive in their progress accumulations of fiction, and at length are developed into gigantic proportions.

Still drawing on his imagination, Matthew asserts " that the pope

[w] Henry was crowned the same month, Dec. A.D. 1154, that Adrian was elected pope. The bull was granted next year.

intrare, et eam sibi subjugare," ipsius Bullæ verbis plane refragantibus in qua præcipitur, "ut illius terræ populus Henricum honorificè recipiat et sicut dominum veneretur." Ut egregiè fraudulentum fuisse illum oportuerit, qui Hibernos obedientiam Anglo præbere palam præcipit, et Anglum ad Hibernos jugulandos clam stimulat: Et humanitatis expertem qui Hibernos obviis ulnis vulnus inferentem amplecti mandat: etnimia severitate præditum qui nulli aut saltem modico crimini affines patriæ jactura mulctet, culpamque plurimum scutica dignam horribili flagello sectetur;[64] et legis naturæ prævaricatorem, qui vim vi repellere vetuit. Non enim scripta sed nata lex est, quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus: verum ex natura ipsa arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti sed facti, non instituti sed imbuti sumus. Ut si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vim, in tela aut latronum, aut inimicorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendæ salutis. Quare non ferendum est tot deformibus titulis Pontificem à Mathæo dedecorari, ac Hibernos infra servilem conditionem deturbari. Quis enim servus Manliana illa, et Phalaridis imperia vel à domino ferret? qui si jugulum præbere nullius culpæ reus percussori juberetur, obsequi meherculè pro viribus detrectaret.

Mitiora fuerunt semper imperia Pontificum quorum pii ac docti emissarii ad emolliendos hominum animos non vim, et cohortes, sed comes, et sedulas hortationes admovebant, volentes monitis alliciebant, non armis invitos cogebant. Apostolis iter ad religionem disseminandam adornantibus, nec baculum gestare licuit: et idem officium post eos aggressuris homines jam religione insigniter imbutos, ad nescio quam morum mutationem gladiis adigere licebit? arma potius hominum mores efferant quam excolunt, leges et litteras bellum è medio tollit, urbes evertit, domos incendit, agros vastat, segetes conculcat, cædes, adulteria, incestus, stupra, rapinas edit, omnia denique sursum ac deorsum miscet. Ut quam ineptissimus is esse censendus fuerit, qui tam

[64] Cic. pro Milone.

[x] This reasoning of our author appears by no means conclusive: there are not the least grounds for charging Adrian with treachery, whatever re-

empowered king Henry to enter Ireland by force of arms and subjugate it," though the bull expressly orders the reverse, "that the people of that land should receive Henry with honor, and venerate him as their lord." Thus, with consummate treachery, the pope would publicly command the Irish to obey the Englishman, and encourage him privately to cut their throats.[x] So with heartless barbarity he would order the Irish to embrace with open arms the man who pointed his sword at their heart; with horrible rigor he would rob of their native land a people guilty of none, or at least of trifling offences, and punish with the excruciating scourge a fault that at worst deserved the whip; in fine, he would repeal that law of nature, which tells man to repel force by force. That law is not written, but born with us; we have not learned nor received it from others, nor read it in books; it is the dictate, the impulse, the cry of nature, to which we have not been schooled, but created, not influencrd by others, but inspired: if your life is in danger from treachery, or from violence, whether of robbers or of enemies, all means of defence are justifiable. It is intolerable that Matthew should exhibit the pope in colors of such varied malignity, and deprive Irishmen of the rights even of the slave. What slave could brook those edicts of a Manlius or Phalaris, even from his master? Were he ordered, for no crime, to hold his throat for the murderer, would he not infallibly resist with all his might?

Tyranny of that kind was never known, under the mild government of the popes, whose pious and learned delegates employed gentle and persevering persuasion, not violence and platoons, to civilize the hearts of men, lighting by admonition the path for voluntary obedience, not goading them against their will at the point of the sword. When the apostles went forth to propagate the faith, they were not allowed to carry even a staff; and can it be lawful for their successors in that sacred duty to force by arms[y] some nameless sort of reformation on men eminently instructed in religion? Arms rather barbarize than civilize man; war destroys learning and law; levels cities, burns houses, devastates land, tramples the corn fields, begets murder, adultery, in-

sponsibility may rest on him for the inevitable evils of a war of conquest to which, when consulted, he had given his sanction.

præposteram rationem gentis ullius moribus excolendæ à sede apostolica initam fuisse primus excogitavit.[65] Christus Apostolos compellans dixit: "si non receperint vos, exeuntes excutite pulverem pedum vestrorum in illos." Non dixit: stringite gladios, vibrate sicas, conjicite jacula, bello denique in illos sævite.

S. Bernardus ad Eugenium Papam librum de consideratione scripsit, quem non dubito quin Adrianus accuratè percurrerit, utpote qui quò recentior erat, eò magis ab omnibus expetebatur, ac terebatur. Cum præsertim à tam celebri viro prodierit, et eò spectaverit ut sui officii Pontifex admoneretur de quo debitè adimplendo Adrianum valde sollicitum fuisse Harpsfeldius testatur.[66] Præterea Eugenium Adrianus
[178] summè coluit, ut | qui Episcopatu illum insigniverit, legati munere ornaverit, Cardinalium ordini adscripserit, et decessori suo Anastasio in Pontificatu proxime præiverit. In eo igitur libro, ad quem evolvendum tot titulis Adrianus quasi hamis attrahebatur legit: "Vicariis Christi, non Dominatum in orbem, sed Apostolatum convenire." Et apud S. Leonem, "latius præsidere religione divina, quam dominatione terrena." Et postea extra suæ authoritatis gyrum adeo se abduci pateretur, ut legatis ipsius jam tum in Hibernia muneri suo abeundo non magis operose, quam feliciter incumbentibus, exercitus ad Hibernos delendos immitteret, non secus ac si una manu antidotum, altera venenum illis porrigeret. Optimus ille Pontifex non ita prudentiæ, justiciæque leges aversatus est, ut authoritatem à nullo qui ante vel post illum Pontificatum functus est, usurpatam sibi arrogaverit. Si quæ gentes gravioribus se delictis contaminarunt, ante censuris ecclesiasticis, quam armis feriebantur, ut monitis potius, et minis ad resipiscentiam flecterentur, quam per vim adigerentur. Accusatorum delationes una aure, incusatæ gentis purgationes altera excipiebantur, ambæ non illis patuerunt, et

[65] Mat. 10. [66] Sæcul. 12, c. 2.

[y] Our author appears to forget the intimate union between the temporal and ecclesiastical powers during the middle ages, expressly sanctioned by the constitutional laws and by princes themselves. See the opinions of Pro-

cest, rapes, and rapine ; in a word, throws everything into disorder. A most contemptible fool the man must be, who first invented the story of the adoption by the Apostolic see of so preposterous a mode of reforming the morals of any nation : Christ addressing his Apostles said to them, "if they do not receive you going forth, shake off the dust of your feet" at them. He does not say, gird on your swords, brandish your daggers, cast your javelins, in a word, make war on them.

St. Bernard addressed a work De Consideratione to Pope Eugene, which Adrian no doubt perused attentively; it was then a new book and of course was eagerly sought for and read with avidity, especially as coming from so illustrious a man, and proposing to admonish Pope Eugene of the duties of his office, a point on which Adrian himself, as Harpsfeld informs us, was extremely solicitous. Adrian, moreover, had a singular respect for Eugene, by whom he had been raised to the episcopacy and appointed legate, and elevated to the college of Cardinals ; and moreover, Eugene had occupied the same Apostolic chair, immediately before Anastasius, Adrian's predecessor. Now, in this book, which must have had so many irresistible attractions for Adrian, he could read "that it is not domination, but Apostleship over the world that becomes the vicars of Christ:" and also St. Leo, "that (Rome) held more extensive sway by the Divine religion than by earthly empire." Could he then allow himself to be carried so far from the line of his duty, as to let loose an army for the massacre of the Irish, at the very moment that his legates were laboriously and successfully discharging their duty in Ireland ? would he present an antidote in one hand, and the poisoned cup in the other ? The virtuous pope could not so far contemn the laws of prudence and justice as to arrogate to himself a power never claimed by any of his predecessors. Whenever nations were contaminated with any horrible crimes, the censures of the church were always used before an appeal to arms, that they might be induced to repent by prayers and threats, rather

testant writers on this subject, Leibnitz, Pfeffel, Eichorn, in the work supra, p. 432.

his obturatæ fuerunt. Ad reos ante comminatio quam pœna pervenit, nec leviores notæ labeculæ gentis deletione mulctabantur.[67] Judæus uti suis consuetudinibus per Apostolos licuit, quas iis non nisi sensim sine sensu avulserunt. S. Gregorius ad Augustinum Angliæ Apostolum scripsit "toleranda esse quæ non facile corrigi possunt, et ecclesiam quædam per fervorem corrigere,[68] quædam per mansuetudinem tolerare, quædamper considerationem dissimulare. S. Augustinus quoque author est, ipsam mutationem consuetudinis, etiam quæ adjuvat utilitate, novitate perturbare."[69] Et S. Gregorius ait: "qui fidem asperitatibus propagare volunt, suas magis quam Dei causas probantur attendere." Itaque qui Bullam cusit non obscurè indicat, aut summi Pontificis intellectum eâ ignorantia obscuratum fuisse, ut ista nescierit, aut voluntatem eâ malitiâ imbutam, ut tam nefario facinore nomen suum prudens et sciens dedecoraverit, et conscientiam oneraverit. Quod quam à veritate sit alienum ex historia et ratione liquido constat. Atqui hinc perspicitur Bullæ ob tot causas futilis fidem labare. Ut ad eam labefactandam quæ hactenus dicta sunt sufficere videantur.

[67] Beda, lib. i. hist. c. 17. [68] Epist. lib. 18. [69] Lib. i. epist. 45.

[z] This was generally the case, as can be clearly proved from the history of those popes who took the most prominent part in the political affairs of Europe.

[a] Adrian was the son of an obscure clerk, and had been rejected by the abbot of St. Alban's, on the ground of incapacity. His character is thus described in a contemporary document apud Lingard. "Erat autem vir valde benignus, mitis et patiens; in Græca et Latina lingua peritus, sermone facundus, eloquentia politus, in cantu ecclesiastico præcipuus, prædicator egregius, ad irascendum tardus, ad ignoscendum velox, hilaris dator eleemosynis largus et omni morum compositione præclarus." "Pope Adrian IV., by birth an Englishman, induced by the love of his country, granted the dominion of Ireland to Henry II.," &c. &c. Cardinal Pole, apud Lanigan iv., p. 160.

[b] It has not been considered necessary to adduce in the notes to this chapter any additional proofs of the authenticity of Adrian's letter. Dr. Lanigan, vol. iv., p. 165, and the Macariæ Excidium, p. 242, must satisfy the most sceptical on that point. There is, as we shall see in the next chapter, a very great difference between the letter of Adrian and that of his successor, Alexander, who cites, it is true, the grant of Adrian, and confirms it; but he can hardly be supposed to adopt the principle on which it was made, namely, the donation of Constantine: for in complimenting Henry on his conquest, he alludes to the fact that Ireland was never conquered by

than compelled by the eloquence of the sword.[z] The charges of the accusers were heard in one ear; the defence of the accused in the other; both were not open to the former; both were not closed to the latter. Punishment was invariably preceded by admonition; nor were blemishes of a lighter nature ever punished by the ruin of a whole nation. The apostles permitted the Jews to use those peculiar customs, which were only gradually and insensibly eradicated. St. Gregorius writes to St. Augustinus, the apostle of England, "what cannot be easily reformed must be tolerated; the church must purge away some things by her fervor, tolerate others by her mildness, and overlook others by her prudence." St. Augustinus also asserts "that the very change of a custom, however beneficial in itself, causes disorder by its novelty;" and St. Gregorius tells us "that they, who wish to propagate the faith by severe methods, show that they love their own cause more than the cause of God." The forger of the bull intimates very plainly either that the pope's understanding was wrapped in such a night of ignorance as not to know these things, or that his will was steeled by such depravity, that he knowingly and willingly dishonored his name, and damned his conscience by so execrable a crime.[a] History and common sense clearly attest the falseness of such an inference. And hence, a bull which is vulnerable in so many points evidently cannot have any authority. What has been already said appears of itself sufficient to refute it.[b]

the Roman arms, "de regno illo quod Romani principes orbis triumphatores, suis temporibus inaccessum, sicut accepimus, reliquerunt, triumphasti." He appears too, as I understand him, to assign Henry's victory as the title to some at least of his own temporal rights over Ireland, "et quia *sicut tuæ magnitudinis excellentia*, Romana ecclesia *aliud jus* habet in insula, quam in terra magna et continua." This may possibly refer to the Peter pence, but more probably to the same sort of right over Ireland that the pope acquired from Henry in the same month over England itself. "Præterea ego et major filius meus rex juramus quod a Domino Alexandro Papa et Catholicis ejus successoribus recipiemus et tenebimus regnum Angliæ, et nos et successores nostri in perpetuum non reputabimus nos Angliæ veros reges, donec ipsi nos Catholicos reges tenuerint." See Lingard: History of England, A.D. 1175.

CAPUT XXIII.

BULLÆ QUÆ ALEXANDRO III. ADSCRIBITUR INFIRMITAS OSTENDITUR.

[178] Bulla Alexandri III. [179] Concilium Casselense—Henrici II. in ecclesiam injuriæ. [180] Henrici II. libidines—ejus juramenta et perjuria—ejus iracundia—infidus. [181] Mores principis populus amplectitur.—Qui ad gentium conversionem adhibiti—ægre tulit pontifex mortem S. Thomæ. [182] Præstantia pontificis—episcopi Angliæ non stabant a parte pontificis—Hiberni pontifici parebant—Hiberni damnantur inauditi—testis contra ipsos non est productus—non lege cum iis actum est. [183] Vis vi repellenda—non liceb at Hiberniæ regi alienare supremam potestatem inconsultis incolis—calumniæ in bulla Alexandri. [184] Hiberniæ laus in evangelio—Hiberni profecti peregre ad alias gentes docendas proculdubio copiam docentium domi reliquerunt—clerus bonus ergo populus. [185] Cleri Hibernici elogium—paucorum vitia non debent ascribi omnibus—una virtute præditus aliis non caret—Hibernos Hiberni instituerunt.—Clericorum nonnullorum incontinentia.

Ut quibus vitiis Bulla Alexandri tertii nomine velata laboret benevolus lector intelligat, ipsam hic subjicio.

"Alexandri Episcopus servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio, illustri Anglorum regi, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

"Quoniam ea qua à decessoribus nostris rationabiliter indulta noscuntur, perpetua merentur stabilitate firmari; venerabilis Adriani Papæ vestigiis inhærentes, nostrique desiderii fructum attendentes concessionem ejusdem super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto (Salva Beato Petro, et sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, sicut in Anglia, sic etiam in Hibernia, de singulis domibus annua unius denarii pensione) ratam habemus, et confirmamus quatenus eliminatis terræ ipsius spurcitiis, barbara natio, quæ Christiano censetur nomine, vestrâ indulgentiâ morum induat venustatem, et redactâ in formam hactenus informi finium illorum Ecclesià, gens ea per vos Christianæ professionis nomen cum effectu de cætero consequatur."

Hæc superiori Bullæ superstructa, firmiori mehercule fulcro non in-

CHAPTER XXIII.

SPURIOUSNESS OF THE BULL ATTRIBUTED TO ALEXANDER III. DEMONSTRATED.

[178] Bull of Alexander III. [179] Council of Caiseal.—Injustice of Henry II. to the church. [180] Lust of Henry II.—his oaths and perjuries; his paroxysms of anger; his treachery. [181] The people follow the example of their king; who are employed for the conversion of nations; the pope deeply afflicted at the death of St. Thomas. [182] Great excellence of the pope.—The bishops of England did not defend the pope's cause.—The Irish obedient to the pope.—The Irish condemned without a hearing.—No witness produced against them—the forms of law not observed towards them. [183] Force must be repelled by force.—The king of Ireland could not lawfully alienate the crown without the consent of the inhabitants.—Calumnies in the bulls of Alexander. [184] Ireland's fame for religion.—The Irish visited foreign countries to lead other people, and no doubt left abundance of doctors at home.—A good priesthood, therefore, a good people. [185] Panegyric on the Irish clergy.—The vices of a few ought not to be ascribed to all.—A person gifted with one virtue must have others.—The Irish owed their instruction to Irish clergy.—Incontinence of some of the clergy.

To enable my kind reader to see all the defects of the bull, forged under the name of Alexander III., I here subjoin a copy.

"Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious king of the English, greeting and apostolical benediction.

"Seeing that the grants made by our predecessor for valid causes, ought at all times to be approved and confirmed, we, following the example of the venerable pope Adrian, and looking forward to the realization of our own wishes, do hereby ratify and confirm the grant of the dominion of the kingdom of Ireland, delivered by him to thee, reserving to St. Peter and the Holy Roman church, the annual payment of one penny from each house, as well in Ireland as in England—that by the eradicating of the abominations of that land, a barbarous nation, which is Christian only in name, may, by your indulgent care, put on innocence of morals, and that the disorderly church of those territories being brought into order, the people henceforward become, through you, Christians in fact as well as in name."

nititur. Multa mihi documenta suppetunt, ab eadem incude utramque prodiisse, ac utriusque originem, non secus ac Nili fontes adhuc latitare. Id autem primum moneo nihil ferè ad Bullæ prioris eversionem adhitum fuisse, quod ad hanc quoque demoliendam admoveri non possit; ut si quæ nostræ causæ firmamenta hic desiderari videantur, è superiori
[179] capite illa depromi debeant. |

Quo autem perspicacius Bullæ adulteratio pateat, tempus quo impetrata est sic aperio :[1] " Anno dominicæ incarnationis 1172" (Cambrensem audis) " Christianus Lismorensis Episcopus, et Apostolicæ sedis legatus, Donatus Cassiliensis, Laurentius Dubliniensis, et Catholicus Tuamensis Archiepiscopi cum suffraganeis suis, et coepiscopis, Abbatibus quoque, Archidiaconis, Prioribus, et Decanis, et multis aliis Hiberniensis Ecclesiæ prælatis," ex Henrici " triumphatoris mandato, in civitate Cassiliensi concilium celebrarunt." Ibi vero " requisitæ et auditæ publicè terræ illius, et gentis tam enormitates, quam spurcitiæ, et in scriptum, et sub sigillo legati Lismorensis (qui cæteris ibidem dignitate tunc præerat) ex industria redactæ sunt."[2] Addit vero alibi : " Cum præno-

[1] Hiberniæ expug. lib. 1, c. 34. [2] Ibid. c. 33.

[a] It cites and ratifies the former; but the rights it sanctions had been admitted by many Irish princes, as Alexander knew, before he issued it. On the 20th of September, 1172, he wrote three letters to the king of England, to the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, and " to the kings and princes of Ireland." The letter to the last is to the following effect. " When it became well known to us by common report, and by certain accounts, that you had taken for your king and lord, our very dear son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious king of the English, and that you had sworn fealty to him, we felt so much the greater joy in our hearts, as by the power of the same king, there may be, with God's help, greater peace and tranquillity in your country, and the Irish people (which, by the enormity and filth of its vices, seemed to have so very much retrograded) may be more zealously instructed in the worship of God, and may receive better the discipline of the christian faith. Moreover, for your having, of your own free will, subjected yourselves to so powerful and magnificent a king, and to so devoted a son of the church, we give to your prudence its due meed of praise, as no inconsiderable benefits may thence be hoped for, to you, and

This bull, which is grounded on the former,[a] is, most undoubtedly, equally devoid of authority. I have many reasons for asserting that both were forged by the same hand, though, like the sources of the Nile, their paternity is yet a mystery. Be it observed in the first place, that of all the arguments already advanced against the former bull, there is not one which does not apply with equal force to this, so that if anything appear incomplete in my reasoning here, its defects can be supplied from the preceding chapter.

To demonstrate more clearly the spuriousness of this bull, I shall commence with the date usually assigned for its issue. "In the year of the incarnation of our Lord, 1172," says Cambrensis, "Christian, bishop of Lismor, legate of the apostolic see, Donatus Archbishop of Caiseal, Lorcan Archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus Archbishop of Tuam, and their suffragans and brother bishops, abbots also, archdeacons, priors, and deans, and many other dignitaries[b] of the church of Ireland, held a council in the city of Caiseal, by order of Henry the Victorious.[c] There a public inquiry was made, and a report carefully drawn up on the enormities and abominations of that land and people, and the document was confirmed under the seal of the legate, bishop of

to the church, and to all the people of that land. We, therefore, sedulously admonish your nobility, and we command that you take care to preserve firm and unshaken, in due submission, the fealty which you have promised to so great a king with the solemnity of an oath: and that in humility and mildness you prove yourselves so faithful and devoted to him, that you may receive more abundant favors from him, and be thence entitled to our praise." See the text of this letter in the Macariæ Excidium, p. 504, and in White's "Apologia pro Hibernia." Lingard, vol. ii., p. 260, Ed. 1837. Neither Dr. Lanigan, nor any Irish writer before him, appears to have known the existence of this letter. What princes submitted to Henry, and when? whether before or after the synod of Caiseal shall be discussed in another note, p. 472.

[b] The editor of the Macariæ Excidium, note, p. 264, infers, from these words of Giraldus, that some Ulster prelates were present in this synod of Caiseal: if they were, Giraldus would have mentioned them expressly; his words imply nothing more than that other *classes* of dignitaries (prelates,) besides those which he had mentioned, were present.

[c] Plowden and others state, without

tatis spurcitiarum literis in synodo Cassiliensi per industriam quæsitis, directis ad curiam Romanam nuntiis ab Alexandro tertio tunc præsidente privilegium impetravit,[3] ejusdem authoritate simul et assensu Hibernico populo tam dominandi, quam ipsum in fidei rudimentis incultissimum Ecclesiasticis normis, et disciplinis (juxta Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ mores) informandi." Cætera hic prolata uberius post hac infirmaturus; id in præsentia duntaxat adverto regem Henricum ad decimum octavum regni annum tum progressum, ea impietatis specimina edidisse quæ potius odium Pontificis in illum quam amorem conciliare debuerunt.

[3] Ibid. lib. 2, c. 6, et sylloge Usheri, pag. 153.

a shadow of authority, that Henry was present at this synod of Caiseal, and produced there the bulls of Adrian and Alexander.

[d] That some such document was drawn up, is sufficiently evident, from the letter of Alexander to Christian, bishop of Lismor, and to the four archbishops, dated 20th September, 1172. After stating that from their letters and from other sources the apostolic see had been oftentimes well informed of the disordered state of Ireland, he adds, "Hence it is, that when we learned from your letters, that by the power of our very dear son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious king of the English, (who moved by divine inspiration, with his combined forces subjected to his dominion that barbarous &c. &c. nation,) the acts so unlawfully done in your country, are, with God's help, beginning to cease, we exulted with joy, and we have given great thanks to Him, who has conferred on the aforesaid king so great a victory and triumph," &c.

As the Irish bishops wrote to the pope that Henry had subdued the country, "suo dominio subjugavit," such submission or subjection must of course have preceded their letters, and not have been effected by them or the council, as some writers have pretended. In truth, the synod of Caiseal was not held until 1172, when, as Giraldus states, "the island was silent before the face of the king, Henry,"—"silente igitur insula in conspectu regis, tranquilla pace gaudente—rex—totius cleri Hiberniæ concilium apud Cassiliam convocavit." This account agrees with the Irish annalists, who record the submission of many Irish princes to Henry in 1171. At that year the annals of Innisfallen state that the kings of Tuatha-Mhumha and Deas-Mhumha submitted. "Filius imperatricis venit Hiberniam et terram obtinet apud Waterfordiam et ierunt filius Carthagi (Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh) et filius Tordelbachi (Domhnall O'Briain) in ejus castra ibi, in a theg endrin," that is, "into

Lismor, who presided over the others."[d] He adds in another place, "the preceding letters, which had been drawn up carefully in the council of Caiseal on the enormities of Ireland, being forwarded to Rome by ambassadors to the then reigning pope, Alexander III.; he, by his assent and authority, ratified to Henry the privilege as well of reigning over the Irish people, as of drawing them from the most profound ignorance of the rudiments of faith, and instructing them in ecclesiastical laws and discipline, according to the form of the church of England." I reserve, for another place, a fuller exposure of other parts of this document.[e] For the present, suffice it to say, that king Henry had then sat eighteen years on the throne, and had given such shocking proofs of his impiety as must have procured for him the hatred, not the love of the pope.

Can any man in his senses believe, that the Supreme pastor of the church would entrust the moral regeneration of Ireland, and the amelioration of her ecclesiastical discipline, to a king who surpassed

his house," the usual phrase for submission and fealty. At the same year the annals of Ulster state that "he took pledges from Mounster. He came after to Dublin, and took hostages from Leinster and Meath, from Ibriuin, Argialls and Ulster." O'Donovan's Four Masters, p. 1187, A.D. 1171. Ulster, I suspect, in this passage means Ulidia, that is, Down and Antrim; Argialls is Louth, Monaghan, Armagh; Ibriuin is Cavan, and probably many other adjacent territories of the same name. Henry had therefore received hostages from at least three-fourths of the island before he left Dublin, early in February, 1172. The synod of Caiseal was not held until after that date, as Henry did not assemble it, until the whole island "had been silent in his sight." Hence it appears that the influence of the synod of Caiseal on the conquest of Ireland has been vastly exaggerated by the editor of the Macariæ Excidium. If the bishops in that synod acknowledged the authority of the king of England, they only followed the general example of the Irish princes, not excepting, if we believe Giraldus, even Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair himself. Neither Dr. Lanigan, nor Mr. D'Alton (annals of Boyle, ii. p. 277) appears to have seen the passage cited in this note from the Ulster Annals.

[e] And notes shall also be deferred; for the present it is enough to state that the pope wrote such a letter to Henry. See Macariæ Excidium, p. 502. Apologia pro Hibernia.

Quis amabò sat mentis compos credet summum Pontificem Hiberniam politioribus moribus, et institutis ecclesiæ accommodatioribus informandam ei traditurum fuisse, qui Guillelmum Rufum, Henricum primum, et Stephanum regem (quorum improbos mores paulo ante insinuavi) et cæteros omnes suos decessores,[4] et successores, potentiæ suæ magnitudine intemperanter abutendo, ad ecclesiæ dignitatem infestandam, exterminandam, et deprimendam ferè obscurasse videbatur? qui nominatim summo Pontifici se infestum præbuit ad sedis apostolicæ leges infringendas, et authoritatem convellendam, nullum lapidem non movit; qui sacrum suæ ditionis ordinem, ad profana tribunalia per nefas attrahi præcepit, qui antiquas illius ordinis immunitates penitus antiquare totis viribus contendit.

Et ut nefaria ejus in Ecclesiam facinora sigillatim ac testato percipias. Prima furoris ejus in illam scintilla tum erupit, cum suam in divum Thomam Cantuariensem excandescentiam exercuit: hinc prima mali labes. Ut autem ordine singula recenseam anno salutis 1163 Westmonasterii contentionum fundamenta jacta sunt, rege acriter dimicante ut iniquæ quædam leges, et ordini sacro perquam injuriosæ, quibus avitarum consuetudinum nomen, et authoritatem prætexuit, ferrentur, S. Thoma naviter obnitente. Anno post Christum natum 1164 "Henricus rex" (verba sunt Hovedeni) "fecit grave edictum, et execrabile contra Alexandrum Papam," &c. Tulit enim hoc anno Clarendinæ leges quibus summi Pontificis imperiis obtemperari vetuit, et censuras quascunque ab ipso, aut divo Thoma profectas gravibus pœnis sperni, et irritas esse præcepit. Ut jure merito Baronius ad eundum virum dixerit: "Henricum excitasse fluctus ad obruendum non tantum Cantuariensem Primatem unà cum universa Anglicana Ecclesia, sed ipsam sacrosanctam Catholicam Ecclesiam demergendam, unà cum ejus præsule Alexandro, adversus quem fuit specialiter machinatus insidias."

Nec solum an. Dom. 1159 obedientiam Octaviano Antipapæ præstitit, licet ab ea post resilierit, sed alii etiam Antipapæ Guidoni superiori suffecto faces an. Dom. 1166 submisit. Et an. Dom. 1168, "fecit abjurari in Anglia obedientiam" (ut Westmonasteriensis loquitur)

[4] Harpsf. seculo 12, c. 5.

William Rufus, Henry I., and king Stephen, (immoral men, all, as I have shown,) nay, all his predecessors and successors, by intemperately cherishing his great power, to assail and destroy and disgrace the dignity of the church? a man who stood forth prominently as the enemy of the pope, and strained all his might to nullify the laws and destroy the authority of the Apostolic see; who sacrilegiously ordered the ecclesiastical orders of his kingdom to be dragged before lay tribunals, and exerted all his power to destroy every vestige of the ancient immunities of the ecclesiastical body?

Take up, one by one, his crimes against the church, and with their proofs. The first sparks of his fury against her, burst forth in his burning hatred of St. Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. This was the black source of the evil. Taking the others in order, you have in the year 1163, the foundations of the contests laid at Westminster, the king fiercely insisting on the enactment of some unjust laws, most oppressive to the ecclesiastical order, though introduced under the imposing title of ancient customs, which St. Thomas firmly resisted. In the year 1164, king Henry, according to Hoveden, issued a severe and execrable edict against pope Alexander III., for it was in this year that he carried the constitutions of Clarendon, prohibiting obedience to the commands of the Roman Pontiff, and declaring all censures issued by him or St. Thomas, null and void, and entailing severe penalties. Baronius truly sketches the character of this king: "Henry excited a storm to overwhelm not only the primate of Canterbury and the whole English church, but to destroy the Holy Catholic church herself, with Alexander her chief pastor, who was the special object of his machinations."

In 1159, he not only sent in his adhesion to Octavianus the anti-pope, whom he afterwards deserted; but in 1166, Guido, another anti-pope, raised up to succeed the former, had his cordial support. Again in the year 1166, according to Matthew of Westminster, "he made all persons in England, from the boy twelve years' old, up to the old man, abjure the authority of pope Alexander III.," whence we cannot be surprised at the complaint of the same Alexander in his letter to Roger the archbishop: "when the king ought to have been engaged in reforming the disorders caused by his predecessors, he has on the

"debitam Papæ Alexandro à puero duodeno ad hominem senem."[5] Ut non mirum sit Alexandrum literis ad Rogerum Archiepiscopum datis, conquestum fuisse his verbis: "Cum oportuerit regem de corrigendis his quæ ab antecessoribus malè commissa fuerunt cogitare, ipse potius prævaricationibus prævaricationes adjiciens, tam iniqua constituta sub regiæ dignitatis obtentu, et posuit et firmavit. Sub quibus et libertas perit Ecclesiæ, et Apostolicorum virorum statuta, quantum in eo est suo robore vacuantur." Postea regis pertinaciam carpit his verbis:[6] "Rex ipse sufferentiam multiplice legatorum arte deludens, usque adeo contra monita nostra videtur animum obdurasse, ut nec contra Archiepiscopum deferveat, nec de perversis quicquam minus patiatur." |

[180] Et quem testem summo Pontifice locupletiorem de regis Henrici perversitate nancisci posses? Henricus sedis apostolicæ authoritatem sic despectui habuit, ut Cardinalibus ad eum 1169 ab Alexandro missis dixerit: "Ego nequè vos, neque vestras excommunicationes appretior, aut tanti facio quantum unum ovum." Eo denique ejus amentia progressa est, ut cæsi an. Dom. 1171 divi Thomæ culpa illi adscripta fuerit. Ac proinde Pontifex illum sic aversaretur, "ut legatos quos bis miserat,[7] ad se excusandum ab homicidio Martyris Thomæ Cantuariensis, noluerit Papa, vel videre vel audire: sed curia Romana tota tunc acclamavit legatis, sustinete! sustinete! tanquam domino Papæ abominabile esset audire nomen Henrici, qui eos legaverit. Ita ut immutabiliter disposuerit dominus Papa in regem nominatim, et in terram illius cismarinam, de communi fratrum consilio, interdicti ferre sententiam, et eam quæ in Episcopos lata fuerat confirmare."

Verum Henrici legatis juramentum coram Papa et consistorio regem[8] suum cuicunque Pontificis judicio in hac re obsecuturum præstantibus, Pontifex à nomine regis exprimendo abstinens, adjutores, fautores, et exceptores excommunicationis telo confixit.

Itaque quis existimabit Pontificem excommunicatione regem tacite,

[5] Hoved. p. 518. [6] Ibidem, p. 519. [7] Hoved. p. 526. [8] Epitome Baronii an. 1171, num. 1, 3.

[f] Henry sailed from Wexford on Easter Monday, April 17, 1172, passed through England without any delay, crossed the channel to Normandy, and in the cathedral of Avranches, before the legate, bishops, and barons, swore that he was innocent of the murder of St. Thomas; "but as he could not

contrary added prevarication to prevarications, and enacted and confirmed under the veil of the rights of royalty, constitutions so unjust as to destroy the liberty of the church, and to nullify as far as in his power lay, the canons of Apostolic men." He afterwards rebukes the king's obstinacy: "the king himself, deluding the indulgence of the legates by a thousand arts, seems to have steeled his heart to such a degree against us, that he will relax in no wise his fury against the archbishop, nor depart in the least from his unjust pretensions."

What better witness could you have of the wickedness of king Henry, than the pope himself? He held the authority of the Apostolic see in such sovereign contempt, that he told the cardinals sent to him by Alexander III. in 1169, "I care not for you or your excommunications; I value them no more than a single egg." To such a pitch of frenzy did he ascend at last, that he stands charged with the murder of St. Thomas, A.D. 1171, and became so odious to the pope, "that the pope would neither see nor hear the ambassadors whom he sent twice to clear himself of the murder of the martyr, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. But the whole court of Rome cried out to the ambassadors, 'stop, stop,' as if the very name of king Henry, their master, was an abomination in the ears of our lord the pope. So our lord the pope had immutably made up his mind with the unanimous consent of his brethren to issue a sentence of interdict on king Henry by name, and on his lands at this side of the sea, and to confirm that which had been issued against the bishops."

But the ambassadors having sworn before the pope and the consistory, that the king would submit to whatever he decided in this matter, the pope abstained from mentioning king Henry's name in the sentence, which however excommunicated those who aided, assisted or abetted the assassination.

Can any man imagine that the pope who thus tacitly excommunicates king Henry would publicly load him with his favors?[f] Who could

deny that he had at least given occasion, by passionate expressions to the project of the assassins, he consented to maintain, during twelve months, two hundred knights for the defence of the holy land, to serve in person if the pope required it, for three years against the infidels either in Palestine

palam favore affecisse? quis putabit regem alienam gentem Apostolicæ sedis obsequio subjecturum cui substraxit suam? et alienigenas ad legum observantiam adducturum, quam ipse nuper excusserat? denique virtutesnè peregrè seminabit, qui domi vitiis habenas laxavit? libidinibus enim immodicis innatabat "ut qui genialis thori sacramentum," pellicibus "adscitis stupri consortium, violavit: sed reliquam in hoc genere turpitudinem superat, quod Adellæ Philippi Franci sororis,[9] Richardo filio pactæ uxoris non solum verbis parum castis pudicitiam tentavit, sed etiam (ut ferebatur) expugnavit. Quid quod repudiata justâ uxore, illam sibi in uxorem adsciscendi, et prioris matrimonii liberos, in gratiam Adeleianæ prolis, si forte aliqua extaret abdicandi consilia agitasse credebatur? hoc satis constat, multa illum tergiversando, et causando matrimonium Richardi adeo traxisse, ut bellum ei ob hanc causam Francus denuntiarit, adeoque fuisse postea propter sinistram hanc suspicionem ab Adella aversum Richardum, ut ea rejectâ Berengariam Navarræ regis filiam uxorem sibi adjunxerit."[10]

Huc accedit quod permiserit "Mariam propinquam suam Stephani regis filiam, sacris virginibus Ramesiæ præfectam, in matrimonium cum Mathæo Bolloniæ comite, pernicioso ad posteritatem exemplo coire."[11] Præterea nihil in ore illi frequentius erat quam juramentum; nihil familiarius quam "per oculos Dei jurare." Imo perjurii non semel insimulatur,[12] "quod supremas Galfridi patris sui tabulas jurejurando etiam proprio confirmatas; et aliud, idque triplex etiam de sacrâ expeditione obeundâ juramentum violarit."

[9] Harpsf. seculo 12, c. 5. [10] Ibid. c. 16. [11] Baron. [12] Harpsf. ubi supra c. 5.

or Spain; to restore the lands and possessions belonging to the friends of the archbishop, to allow appeals, &c., &c., and to abolish the customs hostile to the liberty of the church." Lingard ii., p. 264. It was about the time of this promise of Henry's, and after he and his eldest son had sworn feudal subjection to pope Alexander and his succcessors (a domino Alexandro papa —recipiemus et tenebimus regnum Angliæ) that the pope sanctioned his conquest of Ireland, prescribing, at the same time, the reformation of that land as a penance for his sins. "Rogamus itaque regiam excellentiam,

expect a foreign nation to be brought under the authority of the pope, by a king who withdrew his own kingdom from that same authority? that he would make foreigners observe a law against which himself had rebelled? that the seeds of virtue would be planted in a foreign soil by one who profligately abandoned himself to vice at home? In truth, the king indulged in loathsome excesses; "he profaned the holiness of the marriage bed, by intercourse with paramours and abandoned women; but, far beyond all his excesses of this kind, was his unchaste solicitation, some say, his violation of Adela, sister to Philip, king of France, and betrothed wife of his own son Richard. Nay, was it not believed that, after his divorce from his lawful wife, he intended to marry Adelaide, and if he had issue, to bastardize and disinherit the children of the former marriage? Certain it is, that by tergiversation and negociation he deferred so long the marriage of his son Richard, that the Frenchman declared war against him, and that Richard conceived such an aversion for Adela, on account of that sinister suspicion, that he refused her hand, and married Berengaria, daughter to the king of Navarre."

Moreover, he allowed "his kinswoman Mary, daughter to king Stephen, the abbess of the nuns of Ramsey, to live as wife with Matthew, count of Boulogne—a horrible precedent for posterity." Oaths were always on his lips. Nothing more common than to hear him swear "by the eyes of God." He is even charged with perjury more than once, "for having violated the last will of his father, Geoffrey, to which he had sworn, and another oath, thrice repeated, of going to the crusades."

monemus et exhortamur in Domino, *atque in remissionem tibi peccatorum injungimus*, quatenus in eo quod laudabiliter incepisti, tuam propensius animam robores et confortes et gentem illam ad cultum Christianæ fidei per potentiam tuam revoces et confirmes, ut sicut pro tuorum venia peccatorum, adversus eam tantum laborem (ut credimus) assumpsisti, ita etiam de suæ salutis perfectu coronam merearis, suscipere sempiternam," note e, supra. This note may throw some light on the relations between the pope and Henry II., which appear so inexplicable to our author.

In iracundiam quoque adeo effrænè ruebat, ut eâ correptus, è potestate mentis exiisse videretur. Narrat Baronius illum "quadam die adeo ægrè tulisse audire laudes regis Scotiæ,[13] ut laudantem non solum proditorem publicê appellarit, sed et solito furore succensum, pallium et vestes, quibus erat indutus, longius abjecisse, stratum sericum, quod erat supra lectum manu propria removisse, et quasi in sterquilinio sedentem cæpisse straminis manducare festucas."

Quid multis? en ipsius divi Thomæ de Henrico rege testimonium an. Dom. 1170 ad quendam Episcopum scribentis: "Henrici regis tendiculas, nullus unquam evasit, qui cum ipso contraxerit, multiplices illius prodigii fucos non facile est deprehendere. Quidquid dixerit, quamcunque figuram induat, tamen omnia ejus sint vobis suspecta, et fallaciæ plena esse credantur, nisi quorum fidem manifesti operis exhibitio comprobabit. Imprimis jurabit, et pejerabit, ut Proteus mutabitur, et tandem revertetur in se."

Nec mitius eum Cambrensis qui hominem intus, et in cute novit delineat: "non" (inquit) "tam devotioni deditus quam venationi."[14] Publicus legitimi fœderis violator; verbi plerumque spontaneus trangressor, nam quoties in arctum devenerat, de dicto malens quam de facto pænitere, verbumque facilius quam factum irritum habere. Nobilitatis oppressor: detestandis in ea quæ Dei sunt usurpationibus multa præsumens, zeloque justitiæ (sed non ex scientia) regni, sacerdotiique jura conjungens, vel confundens potius, et omnia solus existens. Vacantium proventus Ec-
[181] clesiarum in fiscale ærarium mittens, et modico | fermenti massa cor-

[13] An 1163. [14] Hib. exp. lib. 1, c. 41.

[g] The appropriation of the revenues of the church to secular purposes was too common in Ireland also. "Many churches in Ireland have a lay abbot. From an old and evil custom, influential men in a parish, who had originally been appointed by the clergy as patrons and defenders of the churches, afterwards usurped all rights to themselves, appropriated all the church lands to their own use, leaving nothing to the clergy but the altars with the tithes and offerings, and assigning even these to clerics of their own family and kindred." Giraldus, Itinerarium Cambriæ, p. 863. The last Catholic synod held in Ireland before the reign of Elizabeth, by George

He was the slave of such paroxysms of anger, that when the fit was on him he looked like a man that lost his senses. Baronius relates, "that on a certain day he was so enraged at hearing the king of Scotland praised, that he not only publicly upbraided the panegyrist as a traitor, but blazing out into his usual fury, flung off his robes and clothes; tore away with his own hands the silk coverlet from the couch, and seating himself down as if on a dunghill, began to devour stalks of straw."

If more be necessary, listen to the character given of this king Henry by St. Thomas, writing to a certain bishop in the year 1170. "No man who ever had any connexion with king Henry escaped his meshes; the innumerable cheats of that prodigy cannot be easily detected. Whatever he say, whatever figure he put on, suspect all his movements, believe that they teem with treachery, except where speaking facts compel you to believe his sincerity. Above all things, he will swear, and forswear, and change like a Proteus, but in the end be true to his general character." Cambrensis, who knew every fold and turn of the man's conscience, is not less severe. "He was more given," he says, "to hunting than to holiness. A public violator of lawful covenants, hardly ever faithful to his word, and whenever he was in a difficulty, always preferring to have to regret his words rather than his deeds; to cancel his promises, but not his actions. He was a tyrant to the nobility; pushed his encroachments on the holy things of God to a detestable excess, and by a zeal for justice (but not according to science) combined or rather confounded the rights of the state and church, and would make himself all in all. The revenues of vacant benefices he seized for his treasury,[g] and as a slight leaven corrupteth the whole mass, while

Dowdal, archbishop of Ardmacha, enacted a law against a similar abuse. "Item qualiter procedatur contra episcopos et alios quoscunque conferentes beneficia ecclesiastica quibus incumbit cura animarum, laicis et pueris sub tali fraudulento colore ut aliquis presbiter collatus sit aut institutus fructibus cedentibus ipsi laico aut puero definitum est; quod episcopi conferentes ita beneficia suspendantur a collatione beneficiorum et beneficia sic collata de novo per metropolitanum dignis conferantur." MSS. Acts of a synod held in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, A.D. 1553. See also note supra, p. 427

rupta, dum aufert fiscus quod sibi vendicat Christus, dans impio militi quæ dari debuerant sacerdoti."

Nec structor iste Bullæ sat sanus fuit, dum somniabat summum Pontificem ulli genti moribus instituendæ hominem tot vitiis coopertum præfecisse. Nec enim Pontifex sui tam immemor erat, ut medicinam non ad morbum levandum, sed ad propagandum admoveret, quâ jam obducta cicatrix ore magis patulo hiaret. Ejusmodi morum magister non nævos eorum qui sibi traderentur in disciplinam abstergeret, sed suis maculis discipulos oblinirct. Ut perindè fuerit alios ad bonam frugem revocandi provinciam illi demandare, ac bovi clitellas adaptare.

" Nonne grex totus in agris
Unius scabie perit, et porrigine porci?"

Maxime si vir ille cæteris emineat, et in excelso dignitatis loco collocatus, omnium oculis objiciatur? magnitudo enim vitia occulta esse non patitur. Nam ferit oculos splendor ille, nec patitur in lucido corpore nævum esse absconditum. Nimirum quis in candida veste, aut nive picem celaverit? idem de iis cogita quos in excelso fortuna locavit, eos obtutibus omnium patere, nihilque tam esse in illis leve, tamque reconditum quod dies non detegat, et palam prospectandum non designet. Quod populus oculis haurit in animos facile demittit, et in mores abire permittit.[15] Rectè Cicero dixit: "Quacunque mutatio morum in Principibus extiterit, eadem in populo sequitur." Eodem spectat Isocratis sententia dicentis: "totius civitatis mores ad exemplum magistratuum conformari:" His Cassiodorus assentitur, cujus verba sunt:[16] "facilius est errare naturam quam dissimilem sui Princeps possit formare Rempub." In horum sententiam Justinus Martyr abit aiens: "ut homo corpore constat et animo, ita regnum ex rege et iis qui reguntur; et ut vitia ab anima in corpus derivantur, ita à rege in populum." Quibus accinit Claudianus dicens:

" Componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus
Humanos edicta valent,[17] ut vita regentis:
Mobile mutatur semper cum Principe vulgus."

[15] Lib. 3, de legibus. [16] Ad Nico Clem. lib. 3, ep. 12, qu. 138. [17] 4 Cosul. Honer.

the treasury plunders the rights of Christ, the impious soldier receives what was due to the priest."

The forger of this bull must have been deranged when he represented the pope entrusting the moral reformation of any nation to a man blasted with such vices. The pope could not so far forget himself as to give a remedy which would propagate rather than cure the disease, and make the cicatrized wounds gape afresh more hideously. A master of that character, instead of cleansing the blemishes of those placed under his tuition, would blacken them with his own hues. As well might you entrust him with the office of moral reformer as fit a saddle on an ox.

"The healthful herds that o'er the pastures range,
One tainted hog infects with filth and mange."

Especially when the man is placed above others, and is exposed to the observation of all by the great dignity of his station? for greatness can have no secret vices. Its splendor flashes upon the eye; every dark spot is visible in a lucid body. If pitch taint the white robe or snow, who must not perceive it? Such is the fate of those whom fortune has elevated to high places; they are scanned by the eyes of all; they can have no fault, however slight or secret, which will not appear in the blaze of day, and be exposed to the public gaze. But what the people see sinks easily into their hearts and influences their morals. Cicero has remarked most truly, "that the changes in the morals of a prince are followed by the people." Isocrates speaks to the same effect, "the morals of the whole state are moulded according to the character of the magistrates." Cassiodorus is of the same opinion, "it is easier to change the course of nature, than that a prince can mould a state which will not resemble himself." Justinus, the martyr, likewise affirms, "that as man is composed of body and soul, so is a kingdom of kings and subjects; and as vices are propagated from the soul to the body, so from the king to the people." The poetry of Claudianus sings the same moral.

"The king's example
Moulds the hearts of all; nor any laws
So potent as their ruler's lives for men,
The fickle mobs change ever with their king."

Et Martialis:

> "Nemo suos, hæc est aulæ natura potentis
> Sed domini mores Cæsarianus habet."[18]

Ptolemæus "luxuriæ se tradidit regisque mores" (verba sunt Justini) "tota secuta regia."[19] Simile de Vitellio Tacitus lib 2, hist. de Pleminio, Livius Dec. 4, lib. 9: de Antiocho, Valerius Maximus lib. 9, c. 1; de Valentiniano, Ammianus lib. 30; de Theodosio, Palatus in Panegyr.; de Marco Antonino Philosopho, Herodianus lib. 1, narrat.

An non Henricus ad Hibernos à Pontifice alienandos, et ab ejus legibus amplectendis avertendos, quam ad eosdem Pontifici conciliandos, aut ejus imperio subjiciendos magis aptus erat? ut qui Pontificem aversatus fuerat, et sacratiora ejus scita convulserat? An inusitatæ contumaciæ, diuturnæque pertinaciæ premium potius à Pontifice, quam pœnas ferre debuit? ut in eum hujusmodi ministerio se honestari expetentem illud Horatii merito quadret:

> "Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus."

Dignus præterea, cui quis exprobret ex Ovidio:

> "Magna petis Phæton, et quæ non viribus istis
> Munera conveniunt."

Nunquam ante viris dignitate solum regia fulgentibus, nisi etiam literis, et virtute conspicuis, feros hominum mores expoliendi curam Pontifices injunxerunt. Qui autem onus ejusmodi suscipiebant non armis ad gentem cujus instituendæ causa iter ingressi sunt domandam, sed hortationibus ad conciliandam usi sunt. Nec Henrici merita in Ecclesiam sic eminebant, ut ad novam aliquam et inusitatam ei gratiam conferendam Pontificem stimulaverint. Imo injuriæ sæpius Ecclesiæ
[182] ab illo irrogatæ | Pontificem ad gravissimas de illo pœnas exigendas potius irritarunt. Quarum nullam æquè moleste Pontifex tulit, ac

[18] Lib. 9, ep. 81. [19] Lib. 30.

And Martialis,

> " The manners of the court with potent sway
> Make Cæsar's subjects all his tastes obey."

Ptolemæus " abandoned himself to luxury, and the whole palace (Justinus tells us) followed the example of the king." Tacitus relates the same of Vitellius, L 2, Hist. Livius of Pleminius Dec. 4, Lib. 9. Valerius Maximus of Antiochus, Lib. 9, c. 1. Ammianus, Lib. 30, of Valentianus; Palatus in his Panegyric, of Theodosius; and Herodianus, Lib. 1, of Marcus Antoninus the Philosopher. Would not Henry be a fitter instrument for alienating the Irish from the pontiff, and preventing them from embracing his laws, than for winning them over to the pope, and subduing them to his authority ? Had not himself rebelled against the pope, and trampled on his most solemn decisions ? Were his unparalleled contumacy and dogged obstinacy to be rewarded, not punished, by the pope ? When the king applied for the honor of such an office, well may we address him in the words of Horatius,

> " The courser asks a plough, the ox a saddle."

Or reproach him with Ovidius,

> " Phaeton, great thy desires, and far beyond
> Thy strength, the office which you seek."

The popes never before commissioned, even persons who wore the royal diadem, to reform the savage morals of men, if they were not eminent for piety and virtue as well as for rank. And whoever undertook the responsibility, did not trust to an army to subdue the people whom they were to instruct, but used persuasion to conciliate them. Henry's services to the church were not so signal as to excite the pontiff to grant him a novel and unprecedented favor. On the contrary, the most rigorous ecclesiastical penalties were inflicted on him for his injuries to the church, and especially for shedding the innocent blood

innoxium divi Thomæ sanguinem illo authore profusum.[20] "Cædis enim illius semel auditæ, dolor tam alte, et tam acerbe Pontificis pectori insedit, ut ne domestici quidem ipsius ad octo dies colloquio potirentur; disertéque mandatum est, ne quisquam Anglus in ipsius præsentiam veniret."

Henricum quidem hujus patratæ cædis maxima deinde penitentia cepit: non tamen tantam cum Pontifice gratiam inivisse videtur, ut tanti ponderis authoritatem ab eo retulerit.[21] Pontifex enim "vir prudens, eloquens, disertus, sacrarum literarum, divini, humanique juris consultissimus: ad cujus doctrinam paucos ex prædecessoribus suis attigisse suorum temporum author testatur," bene gnarus quotidiano pene deliquendi usu, propensionem ad male agendum illum contraxisse, non committeret ut integræ genti erudiendæ illum præficeret.

Nullus etiam ex Episcopis Angliæ præter solum S. Thomam à Pontifice stabat; nemo regi ad iniquas istas leges contra Ecclesiæ immunitatem latas assensum vel tacitum vel expressum non præbebat.[22] "Omnes enim Episcopi eo prolapsi sunt, ut seposito Archiepiscopo nemo se palam opponeret."[23] Itaque neminem ex illis Pontifex nancisci poterat aptum ad nationem aliquam Ecclesiæ capiti nectendam à quo ipsi divulsi erant.

Conatus etiam omnis ad Hibernos Pontifici firmius astringendos omnino supervacaneus erat, ut qui ab eo neutiquam dissidebant. Imo universæ Hiberniæ ordines, tam sacri quam profani, ad obsequium ei ritè deferendum, unanimi consensu conspirabant, et ab ejus nutu toti pendebant, ejus legato in omni re parebant, Ecclesiæ immunitates legibus firmabant, et amplificabant; atque ut summo Pontifici sua

[20] Harpsf. seculo 12, cap. 23. [21] Ciaccon. pag. 566.

[h] The pope, who knew well the state of Ireland, did expect that there would be at least greater peace under Henry's government. "Major pax erit et tranquillitas." Moreover, the Irish bishops had informed him that Henry had already suppressed some evils of the church, as appears from his letter to them: "Ut sicut præfatus rex tanquam Catholicus et Christianissimus vos, tam in decimis et aliis justitiis ecclesiasticis, vobis restituendis, et in omnibus quæ ad ecclesiasticam pertinent libertatem, pie ac

of St. Thomas, which excited the indignation of the pope more than all the others. "For the first announcement of that murder struck such deep and bitter grief into the pope's heart, that for eight days he never spoke even to his domestics; and strictly ordered that no Englishman should be admitted to his presence."

Henry, no doubt, most bitterly repented the perpetration of this murder, but he does not appear to have ever so far recovered the good graces of the pope as to get a grant of such extraordinary importance. The pope "was a prudent man, eloquent, subtle, and profoundly learned in the sacred scriptures, and in Divine and human laws. Very few of his predecessors were equal to him in learning, according to a contemporary author." Such a man, knowing well that the king's daily delinquencies must have engendered a propensity to evil, would never confide to him the moral reformation of a whole nation.[h]

Of all the bishops of England, Thomas alone adhered to the pope; all consented publicly or tacitly to the iniquitous constitutions of Henry against the liberty of the church. "So low were they fallen, that with the exception of the archbishop, none openly opposed." How could the pope find among such prelates a person fit to bring any nation to that head of the church, from which they were themselves cut off?

But any attempt to bind the Irish more firmly to the pope was superfluous, because they never separated from him. All orders in Ireland, lay and ecclesiastical, were unanimous in their zealous protestations of obedience, and in all things submissive to his will; his legates were promptly, unreservedly obeyed; the liberties of the church were extended and confirmed by law,[i] and the preservation of all the rights of the pope, whole and entire, was the chief concern of the nation. Therefore, "they that are in health need not a physician but they that are ill."

If a lawsuit arise regarding some little estate, or any property, how-

benigne dicitur exaudisse, ita vos ei, ea quæ ad regiam respiciunt dignitatem, conservetis firmiter et quantum ex vobis est faciatis ab aliis conservari."

[i] This is by no means a true picture of the real state of Ireland: good laws, &c., &c., were certainly made, but not observed.

potestas sarta tecta permaneret magnopere cavebant.[23] Quare "non erat opus valentibus medicus sed male habentibus." Ut liceat mihi structorem Bullæ, isto Horatii hemistichio compellare; "à tribus Antyciris caput insanabile," quod à quopiam rationis compote rem ita præpostere geri putavit, ut ad rectam valetudinem sanis comparandam, peste correptos; obsequiosos ad obedientiam præstandam revocandos, contumaces; iis qui legibus morem gerebant ad legum observantiam adducendis, legum violatores adhiberet.

Cum de prædiolis, aut quibuscunque levioris momenti reculis controversia oritur, de illâ nunquam ante judicium statuitur quam disceptantium uterque vel præsens, quæ è re sua fore arbitratur promat, vel accersitus sistere se negligat. Et hæc conditio in minutioribus quibuscunque rebus adhiberi solita, Hibernis in gravissimo negotio denegabitur? nihil pluris à mortalibus habetur quam libertas "quæ res inæstimabilis est."[24] Tam enim hominibus chara est, ut nullo quamvis magno pretio ejus jacturam pati velint. At vero de Hibernorum libertate, ipsis non solum insciis, sed ne accitis quidem, hoc judicio actum est. Et vel servitutem in patria ferre ante jussi, quam ad objecti criminis purgationem acciti sunt. Mitius inter hostes agitur qui bellum non inferunt nisi hoste prius belli denuntiatione præmonito, et præmunito, dedecoris notam se concepturos rati si hostis cædes, incendia, vastationes, ac cætera belli mala prius ex improviso senserit quam bellum in se parari audierit.

Quid quod Hiberni nullis testibus ad hoc judicium adhibitis causa ceciderint. Adversarius enim testis, et accusatoris partes, divino, humanoque jure refragante solus egit. "In ore duorum vel trium testium stat omne verbum."[25] Ac proinde, unius perinde ac nullius testimonium, leges ejusdem esse ponderis volunt. Si testis erga partium alteram studio ferri constet, eum à testimonio ferendo arceri jura volunt. Conditorem autem Bullæ et suorum studio, et nostratium odio accensum fuisse nemo non videt, qui oculos ultro non claudit.

Denique omnis legitima judiciorum forma ab hoc decreto exulabat, quo imperium, libertas, et fortunæ per summam injuriam Hibernis

[23] Math. 9, v. 12. [24] Regula Juris 106. [25] Math. 18, v. 16. Vide Masueri Pract. pag. 441.

ever trifling, a judgment is never pronounced until both the claimants come forward and state their arguments, or, at least, through their own fault do not appear. This rule, invariably followed in matters of minor interest, should it be denied to the Irish in the most momentous of all? Liberty is "a thing beyond all price," the dearest treasure of man; so dear, that there is no evil, however great, which they would not encounter to preserve it. Yet this judgment annihilates the liberty of Irishmen, who are not aware of their trial, nor even summoned. They are doomed to be slaves on their own soil, before they are afforded an opportunity of confronting and refuting their accusers. War itself is more just in its rules; for an enemy sends a declaration of war before he draws the sword, and would deem himself disgraced if slaughter, burnings, devastation, and the other evils of war, were the first notification he sent to his surprised antagonist to meet him in the field.

In this judicial proceeding the Irish were condemned without evidence.[k] For, contrary to the law of God and man, the enemy was sole witness and accuser. "In the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word may stand;" and therefore the laws decide that one witness is to be valued as if there were no witness. The laws also exclude from giving evidence a person of known partiality for one party. But all, save the wilfully blind, must perceive that the author of the bull was a partizan of his own countrymen, and a furious enemy to ours.

Finally, every form and principle of law is violated by this judgment, which, by a heinous injustice, deprives the Irish of their kingdom, their liberty, and their property. In their case the maxims of law and right were set aside; their ruin was doomed to be consummated by force, and could they be blamed, if they strained all the energies of body and soul to resist it? "This has reason prescribed to the learned, and necessity to the barbarians, and custom to nations, and nature herself to the wild beast, that they should at all times, by all means, repel all violence

[k] Most decidedly not by pope Alexander III., who only sanctioned a sovereignty already admitted by the great majority of the Irish princes, and who denounced ecclesiastical abuses of which he had been informed by the clergy of at least three provinces of the island.

eripiebantur. Ut videas non jam ex legum, ac jurium scitis cum iis
[183] actum, sed | ad eos perdendos vim planè adornatam fuisse. Ad quam repellendam, quis iis vitio vertet, si omnes ingenii ac virium nervos intenderint. "Hoc" enim "et ratio doctis et necessitas barbaris,[26] et mos gentibus, et feris natura ipsa præscripsit, ut omnem semper vim, quacunque ope possent, à corpore, à capite, à vita sua propulsarent." Cum enim in se defendendo disceptationi locus non sit, ad arma citra injuriam concurritur, Cicerone disertis verbis id asserente:[27] "Cum sint (inquit) duo genera decertandi, unum per disceptationem, alterum per vim, cumque illud proprium sit hominis, hoc belluarum, confugiendum est ad posterius, si uti non licet superiore." Et Ulpianus ex Cassio dicit:[28] vi invi repellere licere, idque jus naturâ comparari. Cui rei Ovidius accinit:

"Armaque in armatos sumere jura sinunt."

Nulla vis igitur iis Bullis inerit, quandoquidem,[29] "quæ contra jus fiunt pro irritis haberi debeant."

Nascendi è certa familia sors Hibernis, et ipsorum optio regem dabant, cui sicut eam dignitatem ultra vitæ metam producere, sic et ad suam sobolem transmittere, aut quavis ratione alienare non licuit: successorem illi designare non in illius, sed in Hibernorum potestate situm erat. Quamdiu hæc imperandi obtemperandique conditio, tamdiu libertas Hibernos mansit; obsequium enim regibus deferre, et libertate frui nemo non poterit. Etenim

"Fallitur egregie quisquis sub Principe credit[30]
Servitium, nunquam libertas gratior extat."

Quod si vir regiâ dignitate, ac supremâ potestate præditus indigenarum libertatem servitute permutet, et sua duntaxat authoritate fretus alieni-

[26] Cicero. pro Mil. [27] Offic. lib. 3. [28] Lib. 1, § vim. vi. [29] Regula Juris 54.
[30] Clau. de Laudibus Stilli. lib. 3.

from their body, from their head, from their life." For when argument is not a sufficient protection, there can be no injustice to appeal to arms. Such is the express doctrine of Cicero. "As there are two kinds of dispute, one by argument, another by force, and as the former is peculiar to man, the latter to beasts, we must appeal to the latter if we cannot use the former." Ulpianus also approves the maxim of Cassius, "that it is lawful to repel force by force, and that the right is founded in nature." The same is expressed by Ovidius:

> "Arms against arms to take all laws allow."

These bulls, therefore, have no authority, because "whatever is done, contrary to law, ought to be regarded as null."

The monarchs of Ireland were always freely chosen by the Irish from among the members of a certain family. Their king could no more transmit his crown to his children than he could enjoy it himself after his own death. He could not alienate it in any manner; the power of electing a successor being vested not in him, but in the people of Ireland.[1] So long as the reciprocal obligations of king and subject rested on this basis, the liberties of Ireland were secure; for obedience to a king and the enjoyment of liberty are perfectly compatible.

> "He errs egregiously who thinks all subjects
> Slaves; never is freedom more delightful."

If a person vested with the power of king and sovereign authority should reduce the free natives to slavery, and by his own mere authority, contrary to their will, voluntarily abdicate the sovereignty in favor of some foreigner, they have a right, according to many, to resist such

[1] That was the theory of Irish government, undoubtedly. Alexander, in his letter to the Irish princes, states that they had submitted "of their own free will." Vos voluntate libera subdidistis.

genam ipsis assensum non præbentibus administrationis clavo, magistratu se ultro abdicans admoverit: hanc injuriam illos justo bello persequi posse à nonnullis asseritur.[31] Nullum enim obsequium eo religiosius est, quod parenti filius deferre obstringitur; ejus tamen officii exhibendi vinculo tum solvitur, cum parentis conditionem parenti malitia excusserit, dicente Senecâ, "Etsi parendum in omni re patri, in eo non parendum quo efficitur ut pater non sit."

Quare Bullæ structori mens læva proculdubio tum fuit, cum hoc edicto tanquam classico ad furorem, rapinas, incendia, vastationes, cædes, ac cæteras belli injurias homines accendit, et "ad dolum, asperitatem, injustitiam propria belli negotia," ut ait Tertullianus inflammat. Nam est perinde bello leges aliquò invehere velle, ac contendere ut inhumanitate humanitas, et feritate mansuetudo genti alicui inferatur. Leges enim inter arma silent; Antigonus senex irrisit hominem qui sibi urbes alienas oppugnanti de justitiâ commentarium adferebat; et Marius negabat præ armorum strepitu, leges à se posse exaudiri. Ipse ille oris tam verecundi Pompeius ausus est dicere: "Armatus leges ut cogitem."

Ad virtutem, et cultiores mores cuivis populo adferendos, apta (si diis placet) instrumenta sunt Henricus secundus homo flagitiis coopertus, ac armati milites, et insitâ sævitiâ, et imperatoris exemplo efferati.

> "Scilicet in vulgus manant exempla regentum[32]
> Utque ducum lituos sic mores castra sequuntur."

Si quæ spurcitiæ surculi Hibernis inhæserunt, eruditionis potius sarculo evelli, quam istorum Martis pullorum asciis exscindi debebant.

Fabulator iste in Bulla Alexandri Pontificis nomine velata, mores

[31] Grotius de jure belli et pacis, c. 4, n. 10. [32] Claud. de laudibus Stilli, lib. 1.

[m] In the very year 1171, the same that brought Henry to the island, the Four Masters record about twenty predatory incursions, or battles among the Irish princes themselves, exclusive of the contests with the invaders. Hence the pope said, "gens se interimit mutua cæde."

transfer by force of arms. No obedience is more sacred than what the son is bound to pay to the father; yet he is absolved from the obligation of that obedience when the wickedness of the parent destroys the character of a parent; for, as Seneca says, though the father must be obeyed in all things, he must not be obeyed in those things which make him cease to be father.

The author of the bull must therefore have been under some malignant influence when he sent forth this document as a trumpet blast to inflame men to rage, rapine, conflagration, devastation, murder, and the other ills of war;[m] and to stimulate them, as Tertullianus says, "to treachery, savageness, injustice, the peculiar business of war." To make war on a people in order to give them laws, is the same as to use inhumanity and ferocity to produce humanity and gentleness. Law is silenced by the clash of arms.[n] Antigonus senior, when storming some cities, laughed at a man who presented to him a treatise on justice, and Marius protested that, amidst the din of war, he could not hear the voice of law. Even Pompeius himself, generally so modest, dared to say, "How can I think of law while I am in arms?"

Noble instruments, truly, for introducing virtue and more refined manners among any nation. Henry II., a man black with crime, and his armed followers, ferocious by nature, and by the example of their leader!

> "The morals of our king infect us all,
> Pliant as soldiers at the trumpet's call."

If rank shoots of immorality disfigured the Irish character, they should be lopped off by the pruning knife of erudition, not cloven down with the battleaxes of those savage sons of Mars.

The forger of this bull, which has been put forth under the name of pope Alexander, represents the character of the Irish in a more horrid

[n] Our author cannot deny that conquests do sometimes civilize the conquered. Did he not, in the last chapter, regret that the Romans never conquered Ireland? and assign that as one of the causes why she was not more civilized?

horridiores, quam in superiori Bulla Pontificis Adriani nomen præferente Hibernis affingit. Hæc Hibernos aliqua morum fœditate tinctos fuisse magis insinuat quam asserit: "Illa Christianos nomine, cæterum barbaros appellat." Cum constet per ea tempora operam fere magis gnavam ad eos morum venustate imbuendos navatam fuisse quam unquam ante. Quo magis sedulo ager quisque colitur, eo magis fecunditatem non maciem contrahit: Ita quò accuratius Hibernis cultior institutio tum ingerebatur, eò illam altius ab iis imbibitam fuisse credi
[184] debet. Ad verum igitur iste non collimavit, sed | sicut nemo repente fit turpissimus, sic neque mendacissimus, et minus mendacium gradus est ad majus. Commentum semel evulgatum accessionibus cumulari proclive est. Quam sæpè contigit ut quod sole oriente culex erat, vicinorum garrulitate rem latius diffundente, divite incremento camelus in meridie, sole occidente Pyrenæi saltus fuerit. Noxia ut plurimum fecundius crescunt, avariores medici morbos quandoque diutius protrahi de industria patiuntur, uberius ipsi salarium expungant: sic iste vulneris gravitatem ultra veri fines extulit, ut in Hibernorum fortunas grassandi licentia facilius extorqueretur.

Quæ etenim morum concinnitas in iis desiderari poterat, apud quos (ut hic semel ob oculos ponam quod crebrius per anteriora sparseram) nullus erat terræ spatiosior tractus, pluribus cœnobiis non insignitus? in omni melioris notæ cœnobio, è literatioribus aliquis docendi munus obibat. In Ecclesiis quibusque Cathedralibus ludus literarius cuicunque in disciplinam excipiendo aperiebatur;[33] è cujusmodi Ecclesiis Hibernia nunc unam supra triginta, olim multo plures habebat. Præterea ad Armachanam Academiam discentium multitudo indies confluebat, ita ut una vice numero scholarium inito, à plusquam septem millibus frequentatam fuisse Florentius Carthæus asseruerit.

Ut ullam Hiberniæ gloriam è vetusti temporis memoria non arcessam,

[33] Warræus de script. Hiberniæ, p. 94.

[o] This is, to a great extent, true: there were noble aspirations, and numerous projects and attempts at reformation, but the want of any strong controlling power rendered the good effected, partial and transitory.

[p] See in the Four Masters, A.D. 1170, the fate of the monastery at Saul, in the county of Down. "Woe and woe the doing! and woe to

light than they appear in the bull attributed to pope Adrian. The latter rather insinuates than directly asserts that some Irish customs were barbarous; the former styles them "Christians in name, but barbarians in reality," though it is a most undoubted fact that at this very period the efforts to reclaim and civilize them were never more zealous and successful.[o] The more carefully the field is tilled, the more fertile it becomes, not more barren; and therefore the more diligently the moral reformation of the Irish was attended to at that time, the more deeply it must have penetrated into the heart of society. The pen of that man was not guided by truth; but no person suddenly plunges to the depths of falsehood, no more than any other vice: a lesser falsehood is a step to a greater. A lie once circulated naturally accumulates. How often does it not happen that what was a knat when the sun was rising, becomes, by the lavish additions of garrulous neighbours, who circulate it, a camel at noon; and a peak of the Pyrenees before sunset. Evil reports generally vegetate with more luxuriance; money-loving physicians sometimes protract the disease of their patient, in order to swell their salaries; thus has this man exaggerated the danger of the wounds of Ireland, that he might secure more unreserved liberty in plundering them of their property.

But now, to set before my reader what I have already frequently proved, in various places, how, I ask, could that nation be deficient in refinement of manners, where there was not a single extensive territory that had not several monasteries, and where every respectable monastery had at least one learned man publicly dispensing the treasures of his knowledge?[p] Each cathedral had its school open to all who wished to avail themselves of it; at this day there are thirty-one such churches in Ireland, and formerly the number was much greater. Moreover, there was at all times an immense concourse of scholars to the University of Ardmacha, and so great was it at one period, according to Florence Carthy, that they reached the number of 7,000.[q]

Thus we need not found the glory of Ireland exclusively on her

the country where this act was committed." Annals of Ulster.

[q] For notices of the great school of Ardmacha and others the reader is re-

quo Hibernia "Rus" fuit "discentium opulens vernansque (ut ita dixerim) pascua, a numerositate lectorum, quemadmodum poli cardines astriferis micantium ornentur vibraminibus siderum." Unde "ambrosiam" Eadfridus hausit, "ubi ter bino circiter annorum circulo uber sophiæ sugens metabatur, et Scoticorum gemmato dogmatum favo usus est: nam in Hiberniam catervatim ex Britannia lectores classibus advecti confluebant," ut vult Adelmus, Epistola ad Eadfridum quæ est decima tertia in sylloge Usheri. Quibus Camdenus pag. 730 assentitur dicens. "Anglo-Saxones nostri illa ætate in Hiberniam tanquam ad bonarum literarum mercaturam undique confluxerunt." Unde de viris sanctis sæpissime in nostris scriptoribus legitur, amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam. Et in Sulgeni vita qui ante sexcentos annos floruit, "Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi, ivit ad Hibernos sophiæ mirabile claros. Indeque prisci Angli majores nostri rationem formandi literas accepisse videantur, cum eodem planè usi fuerint, qui hodie Hibernis est in usu." Ita ut "Hibernia sanctis, piis et splendidis ingeniis abundaverit, eo seculo quo bonarum literarum cultura per orbem Christianum neglecta, et sepulta jacuit." Ut ista Buchanani carmina de Hibernia possint apposite cani:

"Hæc quoque cum Latium quateret Mars barbarus orbem
Sola prope expulsis, fuit hospita terra camenis:
Hinc sophiæ Graiæ, sophiæ decreta Latinæ
Doctoresque rudis formatoresque juventæ
Carolus ad Celtas traduxit."

Quid memorem plures quos supra in medium protuli, etiamnum in Germaniam profectos, virtutes et literas per plures ibi regiones disseminasse, qui proculdubio patriam non desererent, ad id alienis impertiendum, quo sui carebant, nisi patriam doctoribus ad populares suos disciplinis omnibus apprime informandos satis superque abundasse compertum habuissent? Quis unquam vidit alvearibus nisi repletis

ferred to Dr. O'Conor's edition of the Annals of Ulster, pp. 126, 130, et passim.

primitive ages, "when she was the rich and verdant land of scholars—when her pastures, if I may so speak, were gemmed with the living flowers of learning, thick as the starry coruscations of the twinkling orbs around the pole ! ! !" Whence Eadfrid "imbibed ambrosia ; where three times, in the course of about two years, he drank of the rich cream of wisdom, and feasted on the gemmed honeycomb of Irish learning : for great crowds and fleets of Britons went over to Ireland," as Adelm testifies in his letter to Eadfrid, the 13th in Ussher's Sylloge. Camden, page 730, adopts their authority:—"In those days," he says, "our Anglo-Saxons flocked from all sides to Ireland as the mart of useful learning." Hence nothing is more common in our histories of the lives of holy men than "he was sent to Ireland for his education." And in the life of Sulgen, who flourished 600 years ago, we read, "Inspired with a love for study, he went, after the example of his fathers, to the Irish, so illustrious for their wonderful learning. From the Irish, the old English, our ancestors, appear to have derived the form of our letters, which are the very same[r] as those used in Ireland at the present day. Thus was Ireland abundantly stocked with eminent saints and brilliant scholars, at a time when the culture of useful learning was neglected and unknown throughout the Christian world." May we not justly apply to Ireland the verses of Buchanan :

> "Thither, when war convulsed the Roman world,
> The muses in their flight their wings unfurled :
> Their only home ; whence to the shores of Gaul
> Doctors and learned guides of youth recall
> The oracles of Greek and Latin lore."

Can it be necessary to refer again to the great number of illustrious men, who, as I have already proved, went over at this very period to Germany, and diffused over many countries the light of learning and piety ? Most certainly, they would never have deserted their native

[r] Both being derived from the same alphabet, i.e., the Roman, except the th and w of the Anglo-Saxon. There can be little doubt that the Anglo-

apes excessisse; aut rivulum nisi completum extra ripas aquam effudisse? quis vero censeret et quod rebus rationis, et sensus expertibus à natura comparatum est, id ab hominibus ratione præditis non præstitum iri?

Huc adde quod complures Hiberniæ Episcopi, Archimandritæ, aliique dignitate Ecclesiastica insigniti, vitæ sanctimoniâ omnis eruditionis splendore claruerunt. Vivebant enim ut numina, loquebantur ut oracula. Quare cum divino oraculo hæc sors edita fuerit:[34] "Sicut populus sic sacerdos?" quis populum optimorum præsulum suorum monitis paruisse, et mores retulisse diffitebitur? Et cum adversarii commendatione aliud testimonium non sit validius, habe Cambrensis de Hiberniæ clero
[185] sententiam: | "Est," inquit, "terræ istius clerus satis religione commendabilis, et inter varias quibus pollet virtutes castitatis prærogativâ præeminet, atque præcellit: item Psalmis, et horis, lectioni et orationi vigilanter inserviunt:[35] et intra Ecclesiæ septa se continentes, à divinis quibus deputati sunt officiis non recedunt. Abstinentiæ quoque, et parcimoniæ ciborum non mediocriter indulgent. Ita ut pars maxima quotidie fere, donec cuncta diei compleverint horarum officia, usque ad crepusculum jejunent." Subjicit deinde paulo post, "quod sint nonnulli inter illos et sine fermento sincerissimi."

Nec tantum hoc elogio clerum prosequi contentus,[36] addit inter incolas non solum probos, sed etiam probatissimos reperiri. Ait enim: "Sic mali deterrimi sunt ut nusquam pejores; ita et bonis meliores non

[34] Oseæ. 41. [35] Topo. d. 3, c. 27. [36] Ibid.

Saxons of the north derived their alphabet immediately from their Irish teachers in religion.

[t] If by this be understood that they took no part in temporal affairs, they were an exception to their brethren in almost every other country in Europe during those ages. There is hardly a single state that did not produce several ecclesiastics, who hold the same place in their own, as Stephen Langton does in the history of England. It had been well for Ireland if the power of the clergy had been great enough to counterbalance, in some measure, the authority of her warlike and irresponsible chiefs. That it was not so, is manifest from her history for many years before the English invasion. Giraldus, it must be observed, accuses the Irish

land to lavish on strangers what their own countrymen stood in need of, if they were not perfectly satisfied that there was more than an abundance of learned men at home to instruct the Irish in all the branches of knowledge. Who ever saw a swarm wing its way, except when the hive was overstocked? or a stream scatter its waters, but when they overflowed the bank? and can any man believe that the laws, observed even by things devoid of reason and sensibility, would be spurned by man gifted with reason?

Consider, moreover, that very many Irish bishops, abbots, and other dignitaries of the church were eminent for holiness; and that all were highly distinguished for the splendor of their literary acquirements. They lived like Gods, they spoke like oracles. Now, as the oracle of God himself has enounced this maxim, "that the people is like the priest," who can deny that the people obeyed the admonitions and copied the virtues of their most illustrious prelates? And as nothing is more powerful than the testimony of an enemy, listen to the character given by Giraldus himself of the Irish clergy. "The clergy of this country are of a respectable order of religious merit, and among the many virtues for which they are distinguished, their singular chastity is most eminent and conspicuous; likewise, they devote themselves diligently to psalmody and the canonical hours, to study and prayer; they confine themselves to the precincts of their churches, and never depart from the sacred functions of their state.[t] Their abstinence from food and their temperance is more than usually strict, so that every day the great majority of them fast until evening, when all the duties of their daily office are discharged." A little farther on he adds, "that some of them are of the purest virtue, without any leaven."

Not content with this panegyric on the clergy, he states that some of the natives were not only virtuous, but of the highest order of virtue. "As the Irish," he says, "are the worst in the world when bad, so they are the best when good." Now, if this malignant enemy of Ireland admit that a few attained the highest rank of excellence, it can

clergy of his day of not instructing the ignorant and reproving the wicked. See note at the end of chap. xxiv.

reperies." Quod si paucos alicujus præstantiæ primas apud nos retulisse fateatur, infestissimus gentis adversarius; plures in secundis, et tertiis perstitisse credo non diffitebitur. Ut videas improbos non exemplorum, aut institutionis inopiâ, sed insitâ quadam animi ad malum propensione, ad perversa præcipites ivisse. Nimirum ubique gentium "innumerabilis est" ut aiunt "stultorum numerus." An pro insipientiumcopiâ, de ulla gente facta est unquam æstimatio? Num quia plures ex incolis desipuerunt, ideo universi imprudentes audient? Scitum vetus est raram familiam, aut genus esse in quo non fur aut meretrix sit. Quo igitur pacto tota aliqua et magna natio immunitatem à vitiis assequetur?

Nemo adhuc exstitit, cujus virtutes nullo vitiorum confinio læderentur. Et integram gentem delictorum aliquot sordibus vacare quis existimabit? Certe Hiberni apud alias gentes magis plerumque calumnia, et detrahentium convitiis, quam veris culpis laborant. Scilicet ut pictores quidam in facie exprimenda nævum facile imitantur, indolem negligunt, et ipsum vultum: sic Giraldus improbos Hibernorum mores lectori ob oculos operosius quam verius ponit, probos silentio præterit; illi tamen propterea alieno livore non tabescunt? Etenim sicut mel, et saccarum non ideo est insuave, quia ægris sic videtur, aut vinum insipidum, quia abstemiis non sapit: sic Hiberni non ideo improbi quia Giraldo improbantur. Et si suus cuique populo adhærescit error propria tamen aliquorum flagitia non debent fieri omnium communia. Sane rarum non est, ut quod unus in trivio hausit, nonnulli scriptores tanquam senatus consultum laudent, et sectentur; et in tonstrinâ forsitan exceptum chartis temere illinant, vulgique sordes toti genti aspergant. Cum potius, sicut decem tantum proborum gratiâ,[37] plures populi à Deo delicti veniam retulerunt; sic plurium probitas ignominiam à quavis gente avertere debuerit.

Quandoquidem clero nostro, etiam accusatore teste, familiare fuerit precationum assiduitati indulgere, abstinentiæ gloria eminere, castimoniæ gemma micare; quis eos aliis etiam virtutibus effulsisse dubitabit? nulla enim virtus sola incedit: quocumque una pedem semel intulit, eo se reliquæ tanquam individuæ comites mox recipiunt. Qui gulam

[37] Genes. 8.

hardly be denied that many deserved to be ranked in the second and third classes. Hence, if the wicked plunged headlong into vice, it was not from want either of good example or instruction, but by the natural perverseness of their own hearts. For in all countries, according to the saying, "the number of fools is infinite." But, was the character of a nation ever estimated from the number of its foolish sons? Are all to be denounced as imprudent, because many were foolish? It is an old adage, that you can hardly find a tribe or family in which there was not either a thief or a profligate woman. How was it possible, then, that all the natives of a populous country should be exempt from vices?

There never lived a man whose virtues were not impaired by a leaning to some fault: and who would expect a whole nation to be free from some moral stains? But generally, the Irish have suffered more in the good opinion of other nations, from the calumny and invective of enemies, than from real crimes. As some painters can hit off faithfully the blemishes of a face, but neglect altogether the expression and features themselves, so Giraldus depicts for his reader, with more diligence than truth, the moral defects of Irish character, but entirely omits their good qualities. But his malignity cannot pollute their character. Honey or sugar is not sour, though it may taste so to the sick man; wine is not insipid, though it may appear so to the abstemious; the Irish are not immoral because Giraldus condemns them. Though all nations have their faults, the crimes of individuals must not be charged against all. It often happens that what one man picked up in a byroad will be propounded and enforced by another as an act of parliament: the gossip of the barber's shop will be emblazoned in print, and the crimes of the mob flung upon the whole nation, though, as several tribes were once offered pardon by God for the sake of ten just men, so should the probity of many of her sons avert the stain of infamy from the character of any country.

Since their accuser admits that our clergy were devoted to constant prayer, and conspicuous for their abstinence, and crowned with the pearl of chastity, who can doubt that other virtues also adorned the splendor of their character? No virtue flourishes alone; wherever one has once planted her foot, thither the others also, her inseparable com-

compressit, libidinem coercuit, et precibus ad Deum fundendis naviter incubuit, aditum aliis ad animum sceleribus aperuisse non est dicendus. Etenim ad virtutum magis arduarum fastigia jam eluctatum virtutibus minus difficilibus imbui necesse est. Ludicrum autem est hujusmodi virtutum institutionem militum agminibus acceptam referre, quæ facem non ad temperantiam, sed gulam; non ad Ecclesias frequentandas, sed diripiendas; non ad castitatem, sed ad stupra præferebant. Ut bulamiæ magistri potius quam jejunii; libidinis, quam pudicitiæ; omnis licentiæ, quam pietatis extiterint.

Nostrates igitur suorum institutione, non alienigenarum disciplinis imbuti, ad hos virtutum gradus ascenderant. Lasciviam cleri non advena quispiam, sed S. Laurentius Dubliniensis Archiepiscopus compescuit. Is enim,[38] "in tantum ministrorum Ecclesiæ execrabatur immundiciam, castitatis, et honestatis zelator, tamque eos ad continentiam provocabat, ut omnes tam diaconos, quam subdiaconos, vel presbyteros si incontinentiæ convicti essent, licet tanquam Archiepiscopus posset, tamen nollet absolvere. Sed ad Romanam Eccle-
[186] siam à summo Pontifice absolvendos destinaret. Ita | ut quodam tempore, quod dictu mirum sit, centum quadraginta presbyteros de incontinentia convictos Romam miserit absolvendos." Et ut rem in pauca contraham, indigenis tantum magistris indigenæ usi virtutes perceperunt.

[38] Vita. c. 1.

[u] The evils of the English invasion may be briefly stated in one line from Dr. Lingard: "The efficacy of these measures (the synods held by St. Mael-maedhog and other legates) was checked by the turbulence of the princes and the obstinacy of the people; *it was entirely suspended by the subsequent invasion of the English.*" Hist. of England.

[v] This occurred about ten years after the landing of the English. It was a scandal of a new kind in Ireland. In a council held at Dublin in 1185, the abbot of Baltinglass, subsequently bishop of Ferns, publicly ac-

panions, betake themselves. He who has subdued gluttony, and restrained lust, and perseveringly pours forth his prayers to God, cannot possibly open his heart to other vices. The man who has toiled to the rugged summit of perfection in the more arduous duties, must necessarily be imbued with the lesser. It is a mockery to attribute the growth of these virtues to bands of soldiers, who pointed the way not to temperance, but gluttony; not to the frequenting, but the destruction of churches; not to chastity, but to rapes. Masters they were of vile gormandizing, not of fasting; of lust, not of purity; and of all licentiousness, not of piety.[u]

It was by the moral training of their own land, not by the discipline of strangers, that our countrymen attained that high degree of virtue. It was their own countryman, St. Lorcan, archbishop of Dublin, not a foreigner, that eradicated the incontinence of the clergy. "So deeply did he abominate impurity in the ministers of the church, so zealous was he for chastity and modesty, so strictly did he enforce continence, that he would not absolve priest, or deacon, or subdeacon, who had been guilty of incontinence, though, as archbishop, he had the power. Every one of them he sent to the church of Rome to be absolved by the pope, so that, most singular to tell, at one time 140 priests, who were convicted of incontinence, were sent by him to Rome for absolution."[v] To sum up in one word, "native virtues flourished under the care of native masters."

cuses the foreign clergy of being the cause of the evil. Many of them confessed their crime, and were suspended on the spot. The thirteenth canon of the same council (held under the first English archbishop of Dublin) while providing a remedy, expressly acknowledges the eminent chastity of the Irish clergy, and lays the blame on the foul contagion of foreign example. See Lanigan, vol. iv. pp. 242, 270. Moore's assertion, that the Irish clergy were married, and his strictures on Dr. Lanigan, are groundless. He gives no authority for his statement. History of Ireland, vol. ii.

CAPUT XXIV.

ADDITAMENTA BULLÆ ALEXANDRI III. A NONNULLIS ADJUNCTA, COMMENTA ESSE OSTENDUNTUR.

[186] Hiberni decimas hominum, agrorum, et pecorum, ecclesiæ dederunt.—Oblationes a Dubliniensibus S. Patricio factæ.—Primitias S. Grillani successoribus Manachenses dederunt. [117] Matrimonia contracta.—Fratrum conjunctio cum uxoribus fratrum defunctorum non vera.—Talis conjunctio non debit dici barbara: affinium matrimonium. [188] Concilium Cassilense non rogavit pontificem, ut Hiberniam Henrico daret.—Litteras ab eodem concilio ad pontificem datas fuisse Giraldus fingit.—Reges Angliæ domini non reges Hiberniæ.—Gelasius primas non adfuit illi concilio. [190] Ultoniæ episcopi concilio adfuisse non videntur, non litteræ concilii Cassillensis sed Adriani bulla movit Alexandrum pontificem.—Transactio inter Angliæ et Hiberniæ reges, Dermicium Mac Carthium, Donaldum O'Brienum, Rothericum O'Connor. [190] Homo ligius non significat subditum—quomodo Hiberni non subditi fuerunt—Titulus Domini Hiberniæ non dabat potestatem regiam.—Reges Angliæ fuerunt etiam Domini Scotiæ.—Christianus legatus non affixit sigillum litteris istis. [191] Præsules Hiberni non petierunt ecclesiam accommodari ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.—Rex Angliæ omne jus in ecclesiasticos sibi arripuit —Anglia spernebat, Hibernia honorabat ecclesiam.—Cœnobia a Donaldo O'Brieno ultimo Momoniæ rege condita. [192] Cœnobia a Cathaldo pugni rubri Connaciæ rege condita —Agrorum a Cathaldo collatorum amplitudo.—Alia cœnobia sub Anglorum ingressu exstructa.—Discrimen inter Angliæ et Hiberniæ clerum. [193] Cambrensis adulatio.—Henricus non est divinitus ad Hibernos missus.—Bullæ quare adulteri æ: nemo inauditus damnari debet.—Vir profanus ad sacros docendos non adhibebatur. [194] Vir minime pius ad pietatem docendam non adhibetur.—Adulatio Giraldi.—Non excolendæ sed efferandæ Hiberniæ causa Henricus II. ad eam venit.—Cardinalis legatus suadet prælium contra Anglos. [195] Legatus neglexit bullam pontificis.—Rex Angliæ legato non ostendit bullam.—Cambrensis contrarius Neubrigensi. [196] Angli cum legato asperius egerunt.—Henricus II. a Lucio III postulat Hiberniam. Quid Henricus II. ab Urbano III. obtinuit circa Hiberniam. [197] Conjecturæ cur ejusmodi concessio, impetrata fuisse non videtur.—Aliæ conjecturæ eodem tendentes.—Bullæ istæ non sunt in bullario —Principes et primatus Christianitatis nihil juris in Hiberniam habuerunt.—Exteri principes ab Henrico alieni.—Primates causam odiendi Henrici habuerunt. [198] Principes et primates nec conjunctim nec separatim Hiberniam Henrico concesserunt. Reganus non meminit bullarum.—Aliæ bullæ adulterinæ.

Giraldus Bullæ sensum fœdos Hibernorum mores subobscure potius indicantis, quam nominatim prodentis, ut fusius aperiret, aliorum criminum struem ultro aggressit, pessimum scilicet interpretem agrens, ad infamiam Hibernis conflandam, sui thematis verba pro conviciandi libidine alio non flexit, sed torsit orationem suam per flagitia Hibernis afficta, latè spatiari facile passus. Dicit enim: "Gens hæc, gens spur-

CHAPTER XXIV.

ADDITIONS MADE BY SOME PERSONS TO THE BULL OF ALEXANDER, PROVED TO BE FALSE.

[186] The Irish gave to the church tithes of men, of lands, and of cattle.—Offerings made by the people of Dublin to St. Patrick.—The Ui Maine gave first fruits to the successors of St. Grellan. [117] Marriage contracted by the Irish.—Marriage of brothers with the widows of their deceased brothers invalid.—Such unions ought not, however, to be called barbarous.—Marriage between persons connected by affinity. [188] The council of Caiseal did not solicit the pope to give Ireland to Henry II.—Giraldus pretends that letters were sent by that council to the pope.—The kings of England were lords, not kings of Ireland.—Gelasius the Primate was not present at the council of Caiseal. [180] It does not appear that the Ulster bishops were there present.—It was not by letters from the council of Caiseal, but by Adrian's bull, that pope Alexander was influenced.—Compact between the king of England and the kings of Ireland, Diarmuid Mac Carthaigh, Domhnall O'Briain, Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair. [190] Liege man not the same as a subject.—The title of Lord of Ireland did not confer regal power.—The kings of England were lords of Scotland also. —The legate Christian did not affix his seal to the letters of the council of Caiseal. [191] The Irish prelates did not petition that their church should be modelled after the English church.—The king of England usurped complete control over the clergy.—England oppressed, Ireland honored the church.—Monasteries founded by Diarmuid Mac Muircheartach and Domhnall O'Briain, last king of Munster. [192] Monasteries founded by Cathal of the Red Hand, king of Connacht.—Large estates in land granted by the same king.—Other monasteries founded in Ireland about the period of the English invasion. Difference between the Irish and the English clergy. [193] Flattery of Cambrensis.—Henry was not sent by a divine mission to Ireland.—Reasons against the authenticity of the bulls: no one ought to be condemned unheard.—A layman was not commissioned to teach sacred rites. [194] A man by no means pious, was not commissioned to teach piety.—Cambrensis a flatterer: it was not to civilize, but to barbarize Ireland that Henry came hither.—The cardinal legate incited the Irish to war against the English. [195] The legate paid no attention to the pope's bull.—The king of England did not show the bull to the legate.—Cambrensis contradicted by Newbrigensis. [196] Harsh treatment of the legate by the English. Henry II. asked Ireland of Lucius III. What power did Henry II. obtain over Ireland from Urban III. [197] Some reasons for doubting whether such concessions were granted: other observations tending to the same effect: these bulls are not in the bullarium: the princes and primates of Christendom had no jurisdiction over Ireland.—Foreign princes hostile to Henry II.—Primates had good grounds for hostility to Henry II. [198] Ireland not granted to Henry II. by princes or primates separately or conjointly.—Regan does not mention those bulls.—Other spurious bulls.

To develope more fully those parts of the bull, which rather obscurely indicate, than palpably state the gross immorality of the Irish, Giraldus, like a bad commentator, adds, on his own authority various other calumnies to blast the fair name of the Irish; his rage for invective not

cissima, gens vitiis involutissima, gens omnium gentium in fidei rudimentis incultissima."[1] Sed cur ita Giralde? "Nondum enim" (inquit) "decimas vel primitias solvunt, nondum matrimonia contrahunt, non incestus vitant, non Ecclesiam Dei cum debita reverentia frequentant; quinimo quod valdè detestabile est, et non tantum fidei sed cuilibet honestati valdè contrarium, fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis fratrum defunctorum uxores ducunt." Spurcitias, matrimonii neglectum, reliquasque maculas hic congestas jam ante nostratibus sigillatim è S. Bernardo plerumque abstersi. Nunc rationes ad calumniam de primitiis, decimisque non solutis, et matrimoniis non ritè initis eluendam jam ante adductas aliâ hic rationum mantissâ roborare contendam.

Eugè Giralde! "nondum" ais "decimas" Hiberni vel primitias "solvunt." Eum sensum verba tua Giralde referunt ut "nondum" id est post homines natos, aut orbem conditum, decimas, ac primitias ab Hibernis nunquam solutas fuisse non obscurè indicent.[2] Cum tamen eodem quo tu tempore ac solo editus Jocelinus disertè narret non solum è redditibus, aut frugibus annuatim provenientibus et quæstu per industriam comparato, decimas (ut moris est) ultrò persolvisse, sed etiam è bonis (ut aiunt) stabilibus, agris scilicet et fundis, quod nullibi unquam fac-

[1] Top. d. 3, c. 19. [2] Cap. 174.

[a] Pope Alexander in his letter to Henry II. has the following, "nam ut alias enormitates et vitia quibus eadem gens, omissa religione Christianæ fidei satis irreverenter deservit, præsentialiter omittamus, sicut venerabiles fratres nostri Christianus Lismoriensis episcopus (Apostolicæ sedis legatus) Archiepiscopi et episcopi terræ, suis nobis litteris intimarunt—novercas suas publice introducunt, et ex iis non erubescunt filios procreare, frater uxore fratris eo vivente abjicitur (abutitur); unus duabus sororibus concubinis miscet, et plerique illorum matre relicta filias introducunt."

[b] The letter of Alexander to the Irish bishops plainly implies that before the council of Caiseal the Irish paid tithes or were at least bound by law to pay them; for king Henry, he says, had *restored* the tithes to the clergy, "tam in decimis quam in aliis justiciis ecclesiasticis, vobis *restituendis*." The synod of Keanannus, A.D. 1152, had enjoined the payment of tithes. *Four Masters.* Keating maintains that they were paid before that synod.

allowing him to vary the words of his theme, but reining in his eloquence to the old course—fictitious Irish crimes, on which he loved so much to expatiate. "This people," he says, "is a most filthy people; a people most deeply plunged in vices; a people the most ignorant on the face of the earth of the rudiments of faith;" and why? Giraldus. "They pay," he adds, "neither tithes nor first fruits: they do not contract marriage: they do not avoid incest, nor frequent the church of God with becoming reverence. Nay, most detestable of all, in contempt not only of the faith, but of every principle of decency, brothers, in many parts of Ireland, marry the wives of their dead brothers."[a] I have already, with the aid of St. Bernard, disposed of the charge of filthiness, neglect of the marriage contract, and the other foul stains mentioned here, and shall now proceed to refute the calumny of the non-payment of tithes, and first fruits, and illegitimate marriages, by other arguments confirmatory of those already adduced.

Well done! Giraldus, the Irish, you say, do not yet pay tithes or first fruits. The meaning of your "not yet" appears clearly to imply that no Irishman from the creation of this world and of its mortal tenants, ever paid tithes or first fruits; though your own contemporary and fellow-countryman, Jocelyn, expressly tells you that the Irish voluntarily paid the usual tithes[b] of the annual revenues or the produce of their lands, and of their profits by industry; and moreover devoted for the support of all more especially set apart for the worship of God, the tithes of their immovable property (as it is called), their lands, and estates, which was never done in other countries. Nay, they consecrated every tenth person of both sexes to the perpetual service of

Gillibert, bishop of Limerick, writing in 1090 mentions them as part of the ecclesiastical revenues, "octo sunt ergo quibus sustentatur sacerdos; parochia, mansus, atrium, etc. etc., parochiam appello populum primitias, oblationes, et *decimas* solventem. Sylloge Epist. p. 85. These notices do not prove, it is true, that tithes were generally paid before or after the synod of Caiseal, but they do prove clearly that the decree of that synod merely received or confirmed, but did not originate the law requiring their payment. So far then the remarks in the Macariæ Excidium, p. 266, on Henry's unprecedented generosity to the clergy in the synod of Caiseal are groundless.

tum fuisse legimus: decimam quoque partem, iis qui numinis cultui se peculiarius addixissent alendis attribuisse, et ex utroque sexu decimum quemque ad vitam in assiduâ Dei veneratione ponendam destinasse, ac præter memorata jam arva, decimam quamque pecudem in alimoniam iis contulisse.

Imo Hiberni decimarum largitione in eos qui ad inserviendum Deo se receperunt non contenti, oblationes etiam immensas, et creberrimas iis ultrò concesserunt.[3] Dublinienses non dubitarunt, "Præter præsens oblatum S. Patricio munus, tres auri uncias eidem et illius in sede Armachani successori, singulis annis persolvendas, se et posteros suos sempiterna religione obligasse."

Jocelini vero narrationem eandem prosequentis hæc sunt verba: "Dublinienses statuerunt redditum S. Patricio suo patrono,[4] videlicet de singulis navibus mercimonialibus cappam competentem Armachano Primati, aut cadum mellis ceu vini, aut ferri falcem, seu mensuram salis: de singulis vero tabernis, medonis seu cervitiæ metretas singulas, de omnibus etiam officinis, et virgultis excenia, [Xenia] donumque conveniens in soturalibus, chyrotechis, cultellis, pectinibus et aliis hujusmodi rebus, et illa quidem die, rex et alii proceres singula talenta obrisi auri singuli obtulerunt."

In plurium sanctorum nostratum vitis legere est, plures populos ad certos redditus eorum successoribus quotannis persolvendos se obstrinxisse. E singulis Manachiæ (quæ regio in Connacia est) domibus patroni sui S. Grillani successoribus tres denarii quotannis, primus porculus, primus agnus, et primus pullus equinus deferebantur. Ut videas hic primitias, et supra decimas, nec non etiam oblationes ab Ecclesias-
[187] ticis perceptas fuisse; | ac proinde falso Giraldum dixisse; "quod Hiberni nondum decimas, vel primitias solverint." Quod si solas oblationes elargiti decimarum, et primitiarum vices adimpleverint, inju-

[3] Usherus de prim. p. 862. [4] Cap. 71.

[c] This and the following passage from Jocelyn cannot be understood of the times of St. Patrick. See Book of Rights, p. 225. Lanigan, vol. i.

God during life, and allowed them a tithe of all their cattle, besides the lands already mentioned for their support. Not content with this liberal endowment of tithes for persons dedicated to God, the Irish, moreover, very frequently gave munificent donations. Thus the men of Dublin, "besides a liberal offering to St. Patrick, bound themselves and their descendants by a religious obligation to pay yearly three ounces of gold to him and his successor in the see of Ardmacha for ever."[c]

The following is Jocelyn's narrative in continuation of the subject: "The men of Dublin made a revenue to their patron, St. Patrick, namely, a suitable competent '*cappa*' for the primate of Ardmacha from each merchant vessel, or a cask of wine or oil, or a sickle of iron, or a measure of salt; from all taverns, of mede, or ale, a cask each; from all shops and stands excenia (dues) and a suitable offering in shoes, gloves, knives, and combs, and other things of that kind: and on that same day, the king and the other lords each gave a talent of pure gold."

We also read in the lives of many of our saints, that several tribes bound themselves to pay certain yearly revenues to their successors. Every house in Ui Maine, a district in Connacht, paid yearly to their patron, St. Grellan, three pence, and the first little pig, the first lamb, and the first foal, whence it is evident that the ecclesiastics received not only first fruits and tithes, but also voluntary oblations. Giraldus, therefore, has falsely said that the Irish did not pay either tithes or first fruits. But admitting that voluntary oblations had supplied in Ireland the place of tithes and first fruits, why should the Irish be denounced as filthy and barbarous, and ignorant of the rudiments of faith, and buried in other vices, when other nations who ministered to the wants of the servants of the altar by a

p. 275. There can be little doubt, however, that in after ages the see of Ardmacha had some "tributes" from the city of Dublin, such as those described in our text, the payment of which the Norse settlers wished to resist.

riosè spurci, barbari, in fidei rudimentis rudes, et aliorum vitiorum cumulo aspersi haberentur. Cum aliæ gentes quæ ministris Ecclesiæ alia ratione quam decimis, ac primitiis pensitandis necessaria subministrant, tam fœdarum appellationum stimulis non vellicentur.

At nondum matrimonia contrahunt. Unde igitur illius belli fatalis initium factum? an non ex eo quod Dermitius Murchardidis Lageniæ rex O'Rorkii Brefniæ reguli uxorem rapuerit? Quod si nulla in Hibernia matrimonia, unde uxores? Unde liberi? unde successores, patrimonia, hæreditates? Quid veroConcilium illud Cassiliense? an ut deinde matrimonia contraherentur edicebatur?[5] nihil minus? quid ergo "ut universi in Hibernia fideles repudiato cognatorum et affinium contubernio, legitima contrahant matrimonia et observent." Nimirum sicut S. Bern. dixit: Hibernos primum "legitima conjugia non inivisse," et postea S. Malachia desudante, apud eos "concubinatus celebritatem nuptiarum honestasse:" Sic sacrorum ille præsulum cœtus S. Malachiæ vestigiis insistens concubinatum, sive incestum viri et fœminæ contubernium lege lata vetuit. Concilia enim generalia, et nationalia, quæ à prioribus conciliis improbari cernunt, eadem prorsus abolenda esse decernunt. Vix ullum concilium inter legendum offendas, quod incestuosa connubia damnanda esse non statuerit. Concilium Arelatense an. Dom. 813 celebratum,[6] Lateranense an. Dom. 1131, aliud Lateranense 1139 conjunctionem consanguineorum fieri prohibuerunt. In conciliis Pan-Britannicis Henrici Spelmanni, plures ejusmodi sanctiones occurrunt. Posteriore quoque concilio præeuntia, potius imitante, quam hujusmodi prohibitionibus agnoscente suam nationem, "nondum," ut Giraldus loquitur, "matrimonia contraxisse aut incestus vitasse.'

Porrò mihi suspicio non mediocris oboritur Giraldum falso scripsisse

[5] Hib. exp. lib. 1, c. 34. [6] Summa Concil.

[d] See this observation illustrated by Dr. Lanigan, vol. iv., p. 283.

[e] Giraldus must not be understood to assert that the Irish knew no such

system different from tithes or first fruits[d] are not defamed with such opprobrious epithets.

But they do not contract marriage. Whence, then, the origin of that fatal war? Was it not because Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster, carried off the wife of O'Ruairc, prince of Breffni? If there were no marriages in Ireland, how could there be wives, or children, or heirs, patrimonies, or inheritances?[e] What was done in the council of Caiseal? Did it enact that henceforth marriage should be contracted? By no means. What then? "That all the faithful in Ireland, renouncing intercourse with their kindred by blood or affinity, should contract and observe marriages:" just as St. Bernard said, "that the Irish at first did not contract legitimate marriages," but that by the zealous labors of St. Mael-maedhog, "the stain of concubinage was removed by the solemnization of marriage;" so this assembly of holy prelates, following the example of St. Mael-maedhog, made law against concubinage or the incestuous intercourse of men and women. General and national councils order the total abolition of what they find reprobated by preceding councils. Scarcely a single council can be found in which some canons were not passed against incest. The council of Arles, celebrated in the year 813, and of Lateran in 1131, and another of Lateran in 1139, prohibited marriage between blood relations. Many similar canons are found in the collection of British councils by Henry Spelman; thus each succeeding council rather confirms the decisions of its predecessors, than intimates by the prohibition, that its own nation "had not yet," as Giraldus says, "contracted marriage or avoided incest."

Strong reasons led me to suspect the truth of the statement of Giraldus, "that in many parts of Ireland, brothers married the wives of their deceased brothers."[f] Nothing can make me believe, that in the council of Caiseal, so many bishops eminent for holiness and learning,

contract as marriage, but that they either did not observe the religious forms of that contract in some cases, or that they allowed marriages which the general law of the church annulled.

[f] See note a supra p. 506, and notes to chap. xxv. on the Brehon laws regarding marriages.

quod "Fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis, fratrum defunctorum uxores duxerint." Quia non possum adduci ut credam tot præsules summâ eruditione, ac integritate insignes, qui Cassilliensi Concilio interfuerunt in minoribus flagitiis abolendis sollicitos, ut turpiora suorum visceribus inhæserint passuros fuisse. Nec potuit fieri quin tanta Episcoporum multitudo, tantam turpitudinem per "plura Hiberniæ loca" sparsam ne auditione quidem acceperint. Cognitam vero ab aliis et decreto non damnatam quis credet?

Cæterum ego morem hunc non probo; cur tamen barbaries aut spurcitia appellari debeat non intelligo. Jure certe divino si frater absque liberis mortuus fuerat uxor defuncti alteri non nubebat, "sed accipiebat eam frater ejus, et suscitabat semen fratris sui." Quod igitur lege divina certo in casu necessitas erat, in reliquis spurcities et barbaries appellari non debuit.

Sed nec primitivæ Ecclesiæ tempore res hæc inaudita fuit.[7] Extant enim Theodosii, extant Leonis imperatorum leges, quibus hujusmodi nuptiarum licentia summovetur. Quæ quidem leges omnino latæ non essent, nisi tales nuptiæ in usu tum fuissent. Ergo inquis, legum latores tales nuptias fieri vetuerunt. Fateor sed retulisse contenti eas legibus infirmas, et inutiles esse, non spurcitias et barbaras dici voluerunt.[8] Nonne Honor us Imperator Mariæ conjugis defunctæ sororem Thermonitiam sibi matrimonio copulavit?[9] An non Clotarius Galliæ rex duas sorores conjugio vicissim junctas habuit? Nonne Carolus ille cognomento Calvus Gallorum rex Richildem Lotharii fratris sui viduam in uxorem duxit?[10] nonne avorum nostrorum fere memoriâ Emanuel rex Portugalliæ Isabellam Ferdinandi Castellæ regis filiam, primum uxorem duxit? eâ denique mortuâ, an non Mariam eodem patre genitam, iisdem parentibus oriundam nuptiorum fædere sibi sociavit? Catherina Austriaca Arthuro Henrici septimi regis filio primum, deinde fratri ejus Henrico, fidei Catholicæ postea subversori nupsit? Quis
[188] tamen has nuptias spurcitias ac barbaras nominavit? |

[7] Codice de incestu et inut. nupt. cap. licet. [8] Zonarus. [9] Gaguin. [10] Aimon. lib. 5, c. 29.

would have been so zealous for the suppression of less heinous crimes, as to forget altogether more deadly enormities that still festered among their flocks. But those enormities could not exist in many parts of Ireland without the knowledge of some of that great number of bishops; and if they knew them, can any man believe that they would not condemn them ?[g]

Though I do not approve of that custom, I am at a loss to know why it should be denounced as filthiness and barbarism. "If a brother died without issue, his surviving brother was formerly bound, by the law of God, to take to himself the wife of the deceased, and to raise up seed for his brother." An obligation imposed, in a certain case, by the Divine law, ought not to be denounced in all other cases as filthiness and barbarism.

Even in the primitive ages of the church, the custom was not unknown. Laws of the emperors Theodosius and Leo, are still extant, prohibiting such marriages; which laws would not be enacted if the marriages had not been common. Yes, you will answer, but the legislators prohibited these marriages. Certainly; but they were content with declaring them null and void, without stigmatizing them as filthy and barbarous. Did not the emperor Honorius marry Thermonitia, the sister of Mary, his deceased wife? Was not Clothaire of France successively married to two sisters? Did not Charles the Bald, king of France, marry Richilda, the widow of his brother Lothaire? and almost within the memory of our grandsires, did not Emanuel, king of Portugal, first marry Isabella, daughter of Ferdinand, king of Castile, and after her death, take to wife Mary, the daughter of the same father, the issue of the same parents. Catharine of Arragon was the wife, first of Arthur, son of Henry VII., and then of his brother Henry VIII., who afterwards overturned the Catholic faith. Yet, who ever denominated those marriages, filthiness and barbarity?

Another addition to this bull is an evident forgery of Giraldus, namely, that most of the bishops of Ireland assembled in the council of Caiseal, wrote to the pope a public statement of the shocking immoralities of the land, with the intention of securing for king Henry the crown of Ireland; I can never believe that men so ardently attached

Aliam laciniam huic Bullæ à Giraldo assutam nön possum non improbare, quod scilicet plerique Hiberniæ Antistites Cassiliam coëuntes, litteris ad summum Pontificem datis, gentis spurcitias propalaverint, ut Hiberniæ regendæ habenas Henrico regi tradant.[9] Non credo viros patriæ suæ amantissimos natali solo ignominiam ultro comparasse, lege naturæ præcipiente ut,

"Taceamus, et obruta multâ
Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis."[10]

Dionysius enim Halicarnassæus Thucididem reprehendit, quod fœda suæ patriæ facta prodiderit. Nimirum est,

"Succensere nefas patriæ, nec fœdior ulla[11]
Culpa sub extremas fertur mortalibus umbras."

Non fateor viros integerrimos tam sordidam nomini suo maculam inussisse ut quantocumque incusso timore, ad falsum chyrographis suis attestandum attraherentur. Imo prorsus nego tantam sibi potentiam eos arrogasse, ut regum ac principum suorum jura, summumque imperium illis insciis in peregrinos transtulerint. Nego tam alienos à ratione fuisse, ut de alieno tam liberales essent, aut (ut Hibernico proverbio dicitur) ut de aliena pelle tam lata lora secuerint. Non agnosco sui officii tum oblitos fuisse, ut Henricum regem Hiberniæ administrandæ moderatorem adsciverint, qui jam in sacros Antistites ferro sævire didicerat, nondum cæde se S. Thomæ expiaverat, aut illius cædis pœnas dederat, in gravissimam summi Pontificis offensionem inciderat, et cum eo adhuc in gratiam non redierat, leges Ecclesiæ splendorem penitus obscurantes ediderat.

Quod si ejusmodi literæ in rerum natura extitissent, quis crederet

[9] Hib. exp. lib. 2, c. 6. [10] Statius lib. 5, Syl. [11] Silius, lib. 8.

[h] It is no crime against one's country to represent its disorders to authority, in order to have them suppressed.

to the country would voluntarily heap infamy[h] on the land of their fathers, when the law of nature itself dictates

> "Your country's crimes conceal
> Nor to the glare of day her miseries reveal."

Dionysius of Halicarnassus censures Thucydides for recording facts disgraceful to his native country: for,

> "Your country to defame is crime most rank
> That conscience carries to the shades below."

I can never admit that men of so great integrity could be compelled, by any terrors, to brand so foul a stain on their character by signing their names to a falsehood. Nay, I totally deny that they would arrogate to themselves the right of transferring the birthrights of their kings and princes, and the sovereignty itself, to foreigners.[i] They would not, I insist, be so liberal about the property of another, nor, to use the Irish proverb, "cut so large a thong from another man's leather." I do not admit that they were so careless of the duties of their office, as to deliver up the supreme government of Ireland to king Henry, a man who had already learned to imbue his hands in the blood of bishops, and had not yet done penance for the murder of St. Thomas; and had incurred the mortal displeasure of the pope and not yet recovered his favor; who, in fine, had enacted laws tending to cloud the splendor of the church.[k]

Of this we may be assured, that if such letters existed, Giraldus

[i] It does not appear that the Irish clergy in the synod of Caiseal did more than follow the example of the great majority of their princes in acknowledging the authority of Henry II. See note d, supra, p. 472.

[k] Before Henry II. left Ireland, April 17, 1172, he had received news that the pope was inclined to accept his terms of reconciliation. See Lingard. ii. p. 264. Lanigan iv. p. 217.

Cambrensem ab iis in medium proferendis sibi temperaturum fuisse? Cujus diligentiam subterfugere non poterant, utpotè qui ad propudiosissima quæque de Hibernis expiscanda solertissimus, et ad eadem literis consignanda expeditissimus fuerit. Nec ejusmodi postulationis vestigium in Pontificis diplomate vel sagacissimus quisque subodorari poterit. Cum alioquin Pontifex rogantium verba suis concessionibus inserere soleat. Ut vel hoc ipso silentio, literas istas non exaratas sed ab aliquo conjectore somniatas fuisse non obscurè significetur.

Ut demirer Hovedeni figmentum dicentis ad annum 1171: "Rex Angliæ misit transcriptum chartarum universorum Archiepiscoporum Hiberniæ ad Alexandrum Papam,[12] et ipse authoritate Apostolicâ confirmavit illi, et hæredibus regnum Hiberniæ." Additque Bramptonus: "Summum Pontificem regnum Hiberniæ Henrico, et hæredibus suis authoritate Apostolica confirmasse, et in perpetuum eos constituisse indè reges." Attamen authore Cambrensi Henricus[13] "Privilegium duntaxat Hiberniæ populo dominandi à Pontifice impetravit." Ita ut exinde Hiberniæ Domini, non reges, Henrici successores in suis etiam diplomatibus appellati fuerint. Henricum enim octavum è regibus Angliæ primum Hiberniæ commitia titulo regis Hiberniæ insigniverunt. Isti ergo imitatores se præbuerunt eorum testium quorum contra salvatorem nostrum "convenientia testimonia non erant."[14] Hic dominum, ille regem Hiberniæ Henricum, et successores renuntiat.

[12] Apud. Ushe. in Sylloge, p. 154. [13] Hiber. exp. lib. 2, c. 6. [14] Marci 14 c.

[l] He gave the substance of them, as appears clearly from the pope's answer to the Irish bishops.

[m] Neither in the bull itself, nor in the pope's letter to the bishops, is there the least intimation that they had taken the active part (which some modern writers pretend) in facilitating Henry's conquest of Ireland. The pope does not congratulate them, as he did the Irish princes on having taken the oath of allegiance to Henry, and on having "submitted of their own free will." The bishops, if we may judge from the pope's answer, had simply stated facts, namely, that the king had subdued Ireland, "suo dominio subjugavit;" that he had *restored* to them the property and rights of the church; and that some of the disorders were beginning to cease, "incipiunt jam desistere." The pope in return "orders and commands" them, in apparently stronger language

would undoubtedly have produced them.[l] They could not have been unknown to him, because he was most diligent in gathering up all reports prejudicial to the Irish, and most ready to chronicle them. The keenest eye cannot detect in the papal bull the least allusion to any such petition, though the popes generally insert in their grants the words of their petitioners.[m] The sole omission of such allusion appears to prove clearly enough that those letters were never written, but rather forged by some cheat.

There is an astounding fiction of Hovenden at the year 1171. "The king of England," he says, "sent a transcript of the letters of all the archbishops of Ireland to pope Alexander, and he, by his apostolical authority, confirmed the kingdom of Ireland to him and his heirs." And Brompton adds, "that the pope, by his apostolical authority, confirmed the kingdom of Ireland to Henry and his heirs, and appointed them its kings for ever," though, according to Cambrensis himself, "Henry obtained from the pope the authority only of Lord over the people of Ireland."[n] And hence the successors of Henry have been always styled in public documents only lords, not kings of Ireland. Henry the Eighth of England was the first that received from parliament the title of king of Ireland. These men follow the example of the witnesses against our Savior, whose testimonies did not agree. One man styles Henry, lord of Ireland, the other styles both him and his successors, kings.

than what he had addressed to the princes, to assist Henry in holding Ireland, and to excommunicate, after due admonition, any prince who should violate his oath of allegiance. That synod of bishops, who regarded the English invasion as a visitation of God's justice, could not, humanly speaking, be anxious to have Henry as their king, supra, p. 385; and if the English were not cut off to a man, before Henry landed, it was not the fault of St. Lorcan O'Tuathail. Moore, History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 239. Lanigan iv. p. 198, supra, p. 472.

[n] Alexander's bull confirms Adrian's grant "super Ibernici regni *dominio* vobis indulto." Alexander's letter to the Irish kings states he was glad to hear "quod vos Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem in vestrum *regem et dominum* suscepistis:" but in his own letter to the king he does not call him *king* of Ireland. Hoveden is mistaken on that as on other points.

Hovedenus dicit "universos" Hiberniæ præsules, ut Hiberniæ fasces Henrico deferrentur à Pontifice poposcisse.[15] Cambrensis asserit quod Gelasius "Armachensis primas ob corporis imbecillitatem, et grandevitatem" in Cassiliensi Concilio "præsens non erat." Ac proinde scriptum istud à memorato Concilio, (si diis placet) protectum chyrographo suo non muniebat. Neque Cambrensi assentior dicenti eum postea Dublinium venisse. Totum enim illum annum quo rex Henricus in Hibernia diversabatur in obeunda Connacia[16] Gelasius impenderat. Et duobus deinde postremis vitæ annis Armachæ hæsit, animæ suæ saluti prospiciens, quam an. Domini 1174 animâ emissâ consecutus est. Innuit etiam ipse Cambrensis, præsulibus Henricum Hiberniæ præfici deposcentibus assensum non præstitisse,[17] sed officiosum quemdam honorem ipsi regi Henrico detulisse dicens: "Regiæ dispositioni per
[189] omnia favorem præbuisse." | At qui dici potest universos Hiberniæ præsules sive Episcopos literis suis deprecatos fuisse, ut Pontifex summum Hiberniæ Imperium Henrico conferret, Ecclesiæ Hiberniæ capite ab eorum cætu tanto intervallo quanto à Cassiliæ civitate Ultoniæ regio abest, avulso. Quis membris capite destitutis vim ullam inesse dixit?

[15] Hiberniæ exp. lib. 1, c. 34. [16] Colgan. 18 Mart. [17] Ubi supra.

[o] See note m supra, p. 516. The editor of the Macariæ Excidium, p. 263, produces a host of authorities to prove what no one doubts, that the clergy of Ireland generally acknowledged the sovereignty of Henry II. before he left Ireland. The authorities which he cites all agree in the substance but differ in relating the order and succession of these facts. Hoveden states, that immediately after the landing of Henry II. at Waterford, all the archbishops, bishops and abbots of Ireland, visited him there and swore allegiance to him. Giraldus has nothing of the kind; and Hoveden's statement, besides being manifestly wrong on some points, is rejected by Ware, Leland, MacGeoghegan, Moore, Lingard and Lanigan. If any considerable number of bishops had visited Henry at Waterford, Giraldus assuredly, who had the best means of information, would have mentioned the fact.

[p] He made a visitation of Connacht, but it is not stated that he remained there the whole year. And there is no solid reason to doubt the assertion of Giraldus, that he did visit king

According to Hoveden, "all" the bishops of Ireland petitioned the pope to grant the sovereignty of Ireland to Henry.[o] But Cambrensis tells us that, owing to his great age and his bodily infirmities, Gelasius Primate of Ardmacha, was not present, and therefore (bless the mark) that he did not give his signature to the document of that council. Neither do I believe Cambrensis, that Gelasius afterwards came to Dublin; for he was engaged in a visitation of Connacht during the whole year[p] of Henry's residence in Ireland, and spent the two following years at Ardmacha, taking care of the interests of his soul, which he happily yielded up to his God in the year 1174. It may be inferred from Cambrensis himself, that Gelasius never gave his assent to the act by which the Irish prelates petitioned the pope to make Henry king, but that he paid some respectful honor to Henry himself, namely, he gave favor to the royal arrangement in all things.[q] But how can it be said that all the bishops or prelates of Ireland begged the pope by letter to grant the sovereignty of Ireland to Henry when the head of the Irish church was as far away from their council as Ulster is from the city of Caiseal? Who ever said that members without their head had any authority?[r]

Henry, and follow the example of the other bishops. See the papal letter to the archbishops, &c. &c. The fact of his having visited Connacht that year (the hereditary dominions of Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair), and that monarch's having the same year in conjunction with the archbishop of Tuam, held "a synod of the clergy and laity of Ireland" at Tuam, confirms strongly, in my opinion, the assertion of Giraldus, that Ruaidhri had submitted to king Henry. For is it likely that the primate would make a visitation of Connacht, in the very year that he acknowledged the English king, if the king of Connacht had not also acknowledged him. The following are the words of Giraldus describing Henry's advance to Dublin: "Rothericus vero Cannactiensis, nunciis regis Hugoni scilicet de Lacy, et Gulielmo Aldelmi filio, versus aquam Sinnenensem, quæ Mediam, Connacticamque disterminat, occurrit. Qui pace similiter impetrata, regioque dominio constituto, regni sui tributo firmissimis se fidelitatis et subjectionis vinculis innodavit."

[q] And does not that manifestly imply submission to Henry's authority?

[r] The pope's legate was at the synod, Christian, bishop of Lismor.

Præterea nullus ex Ultoniæ præsulibus in Concilio sedisse, aut suffragia tulisse videtur. Non enim par erat, ut unde Metropolitanus se continuerat, eò suffraganei concederent. Nec rex Ultoniæ Dunslevus qui obsequium ullum aut tributum, etiam Cardinale legato rogante (si vera Cambrensis narrat) Henrico regi deferre detrectabat,[18] suæ ditionis Antistites eò profiscisci permisisset, ubi periculum aliquod immineret, ne potestas ulla Henrico in Ultoniam obveniret. Nec pluribus parasangis à vero Cambrensis aberravit, cum dixit: universis Hiberniæ præsulibus deprecatoribus, Henricum à summo Pontifice cum imperio Hiberniæ præpositum fuisse; quam cum scripsit: "Secundum formam chartarum Archiepiscoporum, et Episcoporum Hiberniæ, Alexandrum Pontificem confirmasse Henrico, et hæredibus regnum Hiberniæ." Alexandrum enim non præsulum Hiberniæ literis, sed Adriani quarti diplomate ad concessiones illas Henrico elargiendas adductum fuisse Alexandri Bullam vel obiter percurrenti luculenter constabit, ex his saltem Bullæ verbis: "Venerabilis Adriani Papæ vestigiis inhærentes."

Quid multis? quâ sannâ Erasmus et Lutherus inpetebantur, eadem Cambrensis, et scriptores in ejus luto inhærentes perstringi possent. Nam ille innuit, hi irruerunt; ille ova posuit, hi pullos excluserunt, ille dubitanter aliqua, hi asseveranter eadem protulerunt; initium ille fingendi fecit, hi ficta centonum incrementis cumularunt, nimirum,

"Auditis aliquid semper novus adjicit author."

Patres illius concilii Cassiliensis, ut rex Henricus Hiberniæ guber-

[18] Hiberniæ exp. lib. 2, c. 16.

It is probable enough, for many reasons, that Gelasius would be slow to follow the example of the other prelates—first, because it is certain, by the admission of Giraldus that some princes of Ulster would not acknowledge king Henry; "sic itaque præter solos Ultonienses subditi per se singuli." Secondly, because the bishops of Ardmacha were dissatisfied with some recent arrangements in the Irish church, namely, the creation of archiepiscopal sees at the synod of Keanannus (Kells), and the authority of the archbishops of Canterbury over Dublin, Waterford, &c. &c.

Moreover, it appears that none of the Ulster prelates sat in the council or sent their votes. It was not meet that suffragans should go to a place whence their metropolitan remained away. Nor would Donnsleibhe, king of Ulster,[s] who, according to Cambrensis himself, could not be prevailed upon, even by the cardinal legate,[t] to submit to king Henry, ever permit the bishops of his realm to go to a council where there should be the least danger, that Henry could get any power over Ulster.[u] But in this assertion, "that all the bishops of Ireland petitioned the pope to make Henry king of Ireland," Cambrensis was not more far away from truth, than in this other, "that pope Alexander confirmed the kingdom of Ireland to Henry and his heirs, according to the tenor of the document of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland." For Alexander's bull evidently proves, even on a cursory glance, that it was not by the letters of the Irish bishops, but by the grant of Adrian, that he was induced to confirm the favor to Henry. "Following in the footsteps of the venerable pope, Adrian," are the clear words of the bull:

What need of more? The satires pointed against Erasmus and Luther may be turned with equal force against Cambrensis and the writers who follow in his polluted track. He insinuates, they boldly assert; he layed the eggs, they hatch the chickens; he hesitates on some points, they dogmatize on their truth; he began the work of falsehood, they swell the fictions by an accession of

"Each man adds something new to what he hears."

That the fathers of the council of Caiseal did not petition that Henry

[s] This is Mac Donnsleibhe, king of Ulidia, i.e. Down and Antrim.

[t] Vivian, who did not arrive in Ireland until 1177. This argument is, therefore, not to the point, as most of the princes who did acknowledge Henry in 1171 and 1172, fought bravely against his English ravagers very soon after. See O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 1177, p. 30.

[u] O'Cearbhaill of Oirghiall, i.e. Louth, Monaghan and Ardmacha, had submitted; and also the prince of Ulidia very probably, or some other prince or princes of Ulster. See note supra, p. 472.

nacula susciperet, non rogasse hoc arguit, quod in Anglia, Catholico Tuamensi Archiepiscopo curante, S. Laurentio Dubliniensi Archiepiscopo præsente, et in testem adhibito, inter Angliæ, et Hiberniæ reges concordia sic inita fuerit ut ille tributum, hic pristinum jus retulerit, prout transactionis tabulæ referunt his verbis: "Ut Rodericus teneat terram suam ita bene, et in pace, sicut tenuit antequam dominus rex Angliæ intraret Hiberniam,[19] reddendo ei tributum." Cujus concordiæ cum semina jacerentur, regis Angliæ ministris Hugone de Lacy, et Guillelmo Adelmide de illa cum Roderico rege ad Sinnæum amnem agentibus, Cambrensis narrat:[20] "Rothericum pace impetrata, constituto regni sui tributo, firmissimis se fidelitatis, et subjectionis vinculis innodasse."

Nec ullus alius aut Provinciæ in Hibernia rex, aut ditiunculæ regulus, cum rege Angliæ fœdus iniverat, qui persoluto tributo, priori dignitate, ac possessione frui ab Henrico rege non permissus fuerit. "Rex" enim Corcagiensis (verius Desmoniæ) "Dermicius" Maccarthius "tam subjectionis vinculo, quam fidelitatis sacramento, nec non,[21] et obsidibus datis astrictus, annuo constituto regni sui tributo, se Anglorum regi submisit."[22] Et "Duvenaldus" O'Brien "Rex Limbricensis" (Tomoniæ potius) "impetrato pacis beneficio, constitutoque similiter regni sui tributo, firmissimis subjectionis vinculis se quoque regi fidelem exhibuit." Ita ut avitâ suæ ditionis potestate Hiberni apud se retentâ, censum duntaxat Henrico regi contulerint.

[19] Hoveden. an. 1175, p. 546. [20] Hiber. exp. lib. 1, c, 32. [21] Ibid. c. 31. [22] Ibid.

[v] Surely Ruaidhri's formal submission in 1175, does not prove he made no kind of submission in 1171–72. See the conditions of the treaty of 1175, given correctly by Dr. Lanigan, vol. iv., p. 226. Besides the conditions there mentioned, it was covenanted that the Irish who had fled from the lands now occupied by the English, should be permitted to return if they agreed to pay the tribute and perform the services due to their former lords; also, that if required, Ruaidhri shall *compel* them to return. This treaty which acknowledged Ruaidhri as king of three-fourths of Ireland was a dexterous stroke of policy to detach him from the Irish kings, who in the pre-

should enjoy the government of Ireland, appears from the fact, that by the intervention of Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, a treaty was formed in England, in presence of St. Lorcan, archbishop of Dublin, between the king of England and the kings of Ireland, stipulating that the former should receive tribute and the latter retain their ancient rights. Such is the record of the transaction, "that Ruaidhri should hold his land as well and peaceably as before the lord king of England entered Ireland, only paying tribute to the latter."[v] And when the foundation of this peace was laid, Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz Adelm, ministers of the king of England, had a conference with Ruaidhri on the banks of the river Siannain: Ruaidhri, according to Giraldus,[w] "after obtaining peace, and agreeing on a tribute for his kingdom, bound by himself the firmest bonds of fidelity and submission."

All the other provincial kings and chieftains of smaller territories, who entered into treaty with the king of England, secured from him, by paying a tribute, their old honors and possessions. Thus "the king of Cork (rather of Deas-Mhumha), Diarmuid Mac Carthaigh submitted to king Henry, binding himself by an oath of submission and fealty, and also by hostages and annual tribute for his kingdom," and "Domhnall O'Briain, king of Limerick (rather of Tuath-Mhumha), having obtained a peace, and also promised a tribute for his kingdom, also bound himself by the firmest bonds as liegeman to king Henry." Thus the Irish retained the dominion over their own ancient properties, with the sole reservation of a tribute to the king of England.[x]

ceding year, especially at Durlas (Thurles) had inflicted a heavy castigation on the invaders. Accordingly, at the close of 1175, we find him (Four Masters) marching an army into Munster against Domhnall O'Briain, with whom he had been leagued successfully against the English in 1174.

[w] Giraldus expressly states that *this* conference and submission took place before king Henry had arrived in Dublin, i.e. before the Christmas of 1171.

[x] By the treaty of 1175, Ruaidhri was acknowledged as immediate king of all the kings of Ireland, (Leinster, Meath, and Waterford as far as Dungarvan excepted,) and was to receive their hostages, and to collect from them tribute, for the king of England.

Etenim, "qui certum quid pensitant, aut ad redimendas injurias, aut ad tutelam comparandam, nullam dubitandi causam vidit" Grotius "quominus summum imperium habere possint, quanquam infirmitatis confessio de dignitate aliquid delibet." Imo Bodinus reges acie devictos, pacem tamen certis conditionibus pactos, non in subditorum, sed in eorum regum, qui sui juris sunt classe constituit. Potiori ergo jure, in juste regis gradu ille retinebitur, qui ultroneâ tributi delatione, à se suisque mala belli avertit, levi se damno perstringere malens, quam potentissimi hostis in se arma exacuere.

Nec ideo ad gregarii subditi conditionem Rothericus, et alii reges Hibernici demittendi sunt, quod à Cambrensi "subjectionis se vinculo
[190] innodasse," | et in transactionum tabulis (quarum potior ratio habenda est) Rothericus se regis Henrici "ligium hominem" agnovisse dicatur.[23] Clientis enim notionem ei voci subjectam esse, non subditi, Spelmannus annuit. Et subditorum etiam, præsertim procerum clientes "ligii homines" dicebantur. Ita ut Mathæus Paris narret Marescallo in Hiberniam appulso Gaufridum "de Marisco hominem ejus ligium, et hominem suum famulatum fuisse."[24] Westmonasteriensis etiam author est "Guillelmum regem Scotiæ devenisse hominem ligium regis Anglorum de regno Scotiæ, et omnibus terris suis, et homagium ei fecisse,[25] ut domino suo speciali" homo autem suus, et homagium facere synonima sunt, ut videre est in libro, quem vocant assisiorum.[26]

Hac autem obsequii exhibitione, de majestate regis Scotiæ vix quicquam decessisse vel hinc constat, quod ab Angliæ rege, ipse, ac successores Scotiæ suæ administrandæ suspensas rationes non habuerint. Captivitati enim, persoluto lytro, subditus sicut libertatem, sic etiam aviti regni summum imperium consecutus est, in fidem, non in ditionem regis Angliæ concedens. Similiter Hibernici reges nec bello fusi, nedum capti, ad tributum pensitandum, sui è belli discrimine tantum

[23] In Glossa, 448. Glannis. c. 710. [24] Fol. 532. [25] An. 1175, p. 251. [26] 12 Assi. 35.

[y] It does not appear that Giraldus stated more than the fact, namely, that Ruaidhri did homage for his dominions to Henry, acknowledged him as his feudal lord, &c., and paid him tribute.

Now Grotius "could see no reason why those who pay a tribute, either to save themselves from injury or to secure protection, should not be regarded as possessing sovereign power, though the acknowledgment of their weakness detracts somewhat from their dignity." Bodinus even contends that kings, who, after being defeated in war, stipulate for peace on certain conditions, must be ranked not among vassals, but as independent kings. With how much greater reason must the rank of kings be allowed to those who, by offering a voluntary tribute, avert the horrors of war from themselves and their subjects, chosing rather to subject themselves to a slight loss than to expose themselves to the vengeance of a powerful enemy.

But Ruaidhri and the other Irish kings must not be regarded as common subjects, though Giraldus states that they bound themselves by the bond of submission,[y] and though the record of the transaction (a much higher authority) makes Ruaidhri become "the liege man" of Henry. The meaning of that word, according to Spelman, is not "a subject," but "a client," and the clients even of private men, especially of lords, were called "liege men." Thus Matthew Paris relates that when Marshall came to Ireland, Geoffry de Marisco, his liege man and man attended him. Matthew of Westminster also states "that William, king of Scotland, became the liege man of the king of England for the kingdom of Scotland, and all his lands, and did homage to him as his special lord." The phrases "his man," and "to do homage," are synonymous, as appears from the book, named the "assisia."

Now that this homage of the king of Scotland was in no wise prejudicial to his majesty appears from the fact that neither he nor his successors depended in their government of Scotland on the king of England.[z] When a prisoner in England, he recovered his liberty and his hereditary crown, by the payment of a certain price, namely, to become an ally, not a subject of the king of England. In like manner, the Irish kings, though neither defeated in war nor taken prisoners,

[z] The second article of the treaty declared that Ruaidhri should possesss his own kingdom as fully and perfectly, as before Henry went to Ireland, except that he should pay tribute.

eripiendi, non summi Hiberniæ imperii Henrico deferendi causâ, libertate, et dignitate integrâ se obstrinxerunt; sociali nimirum obsequio illi, non hærili delato: quali olim Romani sociis à sociis excepti sunt. Qui licet rerum Domini, nihil tamen aliud à sociis regibus quos priori majestate, ac libertate avitisque possessionibus uti permittebant, quàm honorem, et tributum perceperunt.

Nec ideo Hiberniæ domini titulo reges Angliæ insigniebantur, quod Hiberniæ dominati fuerint, aut eam domuerint: sed ut hac voce, ab Hibernis censum, et reverentiam iis deferri indicaretur, indigenis regium nomen, et omen ferentibus, quod Hiberniæ suæ regendæ potestas, ab iis nondum erepta fuerit. Titulus enim Hiberniæ domini regibus Angliæ honestamentum tantummodo dignitatis, non insigne potestatis erat.

Nec solum Hiberniæ, sed etiam Scotiæ domini, reges Angliæ renuntiati olim fuerunt.[27] Scribit enim Westmonasteriensis " Scotiæ Comites, et Barones," Edwardum primum "in principalem Dominum elegisse." Scotos vero in Edwardi verba sic jurasse constat, et ejus clientelæ se, non imperio subjecerint. Perspicuum igitur est non perinde esse quempiam à regno aliquo dominium adscisci, ac in eo summæ rerum præfici.[28] Recte Grotius dixit: " Sicut patrocinium privatum non tollit libertatem personalem, ita patrocinium publicum non tollit libertatem civilem, quæ sine summo imperio intelligi nequit." Ita ut non apposite locus ille Taciti " Populi Romani consuetudinem

[27] An. 1304, p. 448. [28] Ubi supra lib. 1, c. 3, n. 21. In vita Agricolæ.

[a] Special pleading all: from the pope's letter in 1172, it appears the Irish princes had "taken Henry as their king and lord, and sworn fidelity to him:" and by the treaty of 1175, Art. 5, if they rebelled or refused tribute, Ruaidhri was bound to depose them, if he was able: and if not, to call in the aid of the English troops. The treaty does not expressly state what the consequence would be if Ruaidhri himself *rebelled* or refused his tribute; that was understood from the very fact of his being Henry's "man."

[b] No such thing: though every one knows that an ally of Rome was in reality a dependant.

[c] i.e. An acknowledgment of dependance and submission.

[d] Many an eloquent dissertation has been delivered on this point; the "Case appears to have been stated" in different ways from the very com-

bound themselves, without impairing in any manner their liberty or dignity, to pay tribute, not with the view of transferring to Henry the sovereignty of Ireland, but solely to avert the horrors of war from their country.[a] Their obligations to him were those of allies to an ally, like those of the Romans to their allies,[b] not those of subjects to their lord. The Romans, though masters of the world, allowed their royal allies to enjoy their former majesty, liberty, and hereditary possessions, and demanded nothing but tribute and deference.[c]

The title of Lords of Ireland, conferred on the kings of England, did not imply either that they had conquered Ireland,[d] or that they ruled it with supreme authority, but merely that they should receive honor and tribute from the Irish, whose kings retained the style, and name, and power of royalty, as the right of governing Ireland was not yet taken from them.[e] For the title of lords of Ireland, conferred on the English kings, was rather a title of honor than of power. The kings of England were formerly styled lords of Scotland as well as of Ireland. The barons and counts of Scotland, according to Matthew of Westminster, took Edward the First as their principal lord. But it is certain that the oath of the Scots to Edward made him merely their protector, not their master. It is evident, therefore, that the lordship of a kingdom does not invest its possessor with sovereign authority. For, as Grotius truly remarks, "as private protection does not destroy personal liberty, neither does public protection destroy civil liberty, which cannot exist without some supreme authority." The Roman people, it is true, were accustomed to use kings themselves as instruments of daring, "but that remark of Tacitus cannot be applied to

mencement: speaking to the Irish princes, the pope says, "vos voluntate libera subdidistis:" speaking to Henry, "adversus ipsam gentem mirabiliter ac magnifice triumphasti," and to the Bishops "suo dominio subjugavit."

[e] True; the treaty not only secured the Irish princes against any interference of Henry in their internal government, but even exempted by Art. 1. the Irish natives of the districts under his immediate government, from any tribute or service except what they had paid to their former lords.

esse, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges," Hiberniæ aut Scotiæ aptari non possit, qui referri potius debuit ad reges in populi Romani ditione, non in fide positos.

Sed ut intra septa cepti sermonis regrediar, novo impetu Cambrensem aggredior asserentem:[29] "Requisitas, et auditas publice terræ illius, et gentis tam enormitates, quam spurcitias, et in scriptum sub sigillo legati Lismorensis (qui cæteris ibidem dignitate tunc præerat) ex industria redactas fuisse." Quam alienum à ratione fuerit Antistites, qui ad Cassiliense Concilium coierunt, ejusmodi literis chirographos suos apposuisse jam ostendi. Nec minus rationi absonum, in errorem, quo cæteri abstinuerunt, Christianum legatum reliquis omnibus Episcopis authoritate, plerisque sanctitate superiorem incidisse. Ut novis documentis, quod hujusmodi literis assensum subtraxerit, evincere supervacaneum sit. Reliquum igitur est, ut dispiciamus si legatus, et Cassiliense Concilium "Modis omnibus elaboraverint,[30] Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ statum, ad Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ formam redigere." Sive ut proxime sequenti capite Cambrensis loquitur: "Ut omnia divina ad instar

[29] Hiber. exp. lib. 1, c. 33. [30] Ubi supra.

[f] As the opinion adopted in those notes on the submission of Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair to Henry II. in 1171–2, differs from that of many modern writers, Macariæ Excidium, p. 273, and as that opinion rests mainly on the authority of Giraldus, it may be interesting to give here the opinion of Dr. Lingard a few years before his death, communicated to the editor, on the merits of Giraldus. In reply to a letter in which some remarks were made on the judgment pronounced in the history of England, vol. ii. p. 248. Ed. 1837, namely, that Dr. Lynch had failed "in the most important points" in refuting Giraldus, Dr. Lingard observes, "Now for Cambrensis Eversus. I certainly spent much time in comparing Lynch with Cambrensis, and came very reluctantly to the conclusion to which you refer. What I meant by 'more important points,' I conceive to have been the points to which he deposed as of his own knowledge; for on other points his opinion can be of no worth. The conduct of the bishops from the days of St. Patrick, was a matter of which he knew nothing; it was merely an inference which he must have drawn in his own mind, and therefore deserved no attention as a matter of history. Hence it appeared to me as of no importance; he could not bear testimony to it; though, as a point of ecclesiastical history, it is of great importance. I must say that I found

the kings of Ireland and Scotland. It refers to those kings who were subjects, not allies of the Romans."[f]

But resuming now the train of my argument, I return with fresh vigor to Cambrensis. "The enormities and abominations," he says, "of that land and people, being duly inquired into and publicly detailed, were carefully committed to writing, under the seal of the legate, bishop of Lismor, who presided in the council." I have clearly shown the absurdity of supposing that the bishops of the synod of Caiseal would affix their signatures to such a document; and it is much less probable that the legate, Christian, who was superior to all the bishops in authority, and to most of them in holiness, would fall into an error from which the others refrained.[g] It is unnecessary, therefore, to produce fresh arguments to prove that he refused his assent to these letters. It only remains for us to examine, whether the legate and the council of Caiseal "labored, by all means, to regulate the Irish church according to the model of the church of England,"[h] or, as Cambrensis says

the testimony of Giraldus with respect to what he saw, and to which he could depose as a witness, generally confirmed from other sources. Restrict my judgment to his testimony of matters, of which, from his visits to Ireland, he might be considered a credible witness." October 29, 1848.

[g] St. Lorcan O'Tuathail was present at that council, a good security that nothing but facts were reported to Rome.

[h] For remarks on the first and second decrees of this synod, on baptism and marriage, the reader is referred to Dr. Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 211. For the third decree on tithes, see note, supra, p. 507. The fourth exempts ecclesiastical lands from lay exactions, and especially from "the victuals and entertainments," required by the chieftains, four times, each year. This was, in other words, immunity, then commonly claimed through Europe for ecclesiastical property, except in cases of necessity, and then without compulsion, "Nisi episcopus et clerus tantam necessitatem vel utilitatem aspexerint, ut absque ulla coactione ad relevandas communes necessitates, ubi laicorum non suppetunt facultates, subsidia per ecclesias existiment conferenda." Can. xix. of the general council of Lateran, over which Alexander III. presided, and at which several Irish bishops attended. So far, then, the council of Caiseal conferred no extraordinary benefit on the Irish clergy; at most it extended to them, or rather restored, the rights enjoyed by their brethren on the continent: for, the principle certainly was not new in Ireland, but acknowledged, centuries before, in the few authentic grants

Ecclesiæ, juxta quod Anglicana observat Ecclesia, in omnibus partibus Hiberniæ amodo tractetur."

Num tot viri literis, ac integritate juxta clari, extra rationis fines tam longe se abduci paterentur? ut Ecclesia sua impense concinnata Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ tum valde deformis imitatione pollueretur. Perinde
[191] facere | mihi videntur, ac si pictor venustiorem vultum delineaturus, Thersitis similitudinem imitandam sibi proponeret. Par est igitur credere ipsos Zeuxim potius imitatos fuisse, qui frontem penicilli artificio expressurus, è plurimis formosissimis puellis, quidquid in quaque pulchritudinis inerat decerpsit, et egregiè in tabula exhibuit. Spartam itaque, quam ipsi nacti sunt, proculdubio potius exornare, quam inquinare contenderunt. Ecclesiæ vero Anglicanæ corpus à capite convulsum, artus luxati, et ab invicem laxati, omnis denique formá deformis erat. Ut quamcunque aliam Ecclesiam ejus conditiones exprimentem apprime distortam esse oportuerit.

Nam "a multis aulicis, atque adeo à rege ipso, variæ Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ possessiones invasæ sunt. Populi in contribuendis pecuniis benevolentiam,[31] in perpetuum onus, legisque necessitatem reges converterunt. Accipiebant sibi judices regii decimarum et aliarum causarum Ecclesiasticarum cognitionem, arripiebant sibi in personas Ecclesi-

[31] Harpsf. sec. 12, c. 162.

that remain to us. In a grant of lands made before 1050 by a king of Meath to St. Columkille, it is stated "there shall be no king or chieftain having rent, tribute, hosting, coigny, or any other claim on it as — before, for no chief durst touch it while staying in the territory." Irish Archæological Miscellany, vol. i. p. 139. The "freedom" (immunity?) of another church property is mentioned, ibid. p. 153. In another charter, ibid. p. 143, which cannot be later than the year 1166, we have not merely one instance of immunity, but a general principle laid down, that all churches are free. A tribe in Meath had a certain tribute, it is said, on the church of Ardbraccan, namely, one night's coinnme (coigny), i. e. feasting and lodging, every quarter of a year, that is, the very practice condemned by this fourth canon of the synod of Caiseal. "O'Lochlainn, king of Ireland," saith our charter, "and Diarmaid O'Maelsechlinn, king of Meath, induced the king of Laeghaire to sell this night's coinmhe for ever, for three

in the next chapter, "that all things pertaining to religion should now be regulated, in all parts of Ireland, as in the holy church, according to the practice of the church of England."

Could so many most learned and virtuous men be utterly reckless of the dictates of common sense? could they pollute their own admirably disciplined church by conforming her to the deformed model of the church of England? Such an act, I am sure, would be like that of a painter who would take Thersites as a model of a beautiful face. We must rather believe that they would imitate Zeuxis, who, when he wanted to paint a face, selected the most striking points of beauty from the faces of the most beautiful young women, and combined them all in one admirable portrait. The Sparta, which they enjoyed, they would seek to adorn, not to deform. Now, the whole body of the church of England was deformed—its trunk separated from its head—its members dislocated and falling asunder, so that no church could conform to it without becoming a deformed monster.

For "the various possessions of the church of Canterbury were invaded by swarms of courtiers and by the king himself. The oblations which the people had voluntarily offered to the church, were now converted into a perpetual tax for the kings and enforced by law. The king's judges usurped the adjudication of tithes and other ecclesiastical causes, and compelled ecclesiastics themselves to stand before the lay tribunals, and did not hesitate to pronounce upon them, as upon laics, sentence of

ounces of gold. The church, therefore, with its territory and lands is free, for two reasons, viz. *on account of the general freedom of all churches*, and on account of this purchase." The guarantees of this immunity, both for the special case in point, and for the principle, are, the king of Ireland (at least of Leath Cuinn), the king of Meath, the princes of Meath, Longford, part of Dublin and of Kildare. The guarantees for the other grant of freedom, p. 131, were, besides the king of Meath, the kings of Caiseal and of Connacht, before the year 1084. Other evidence could be produced: but this will suffice to prove that the fourth canon of Caiseal was not an innovation, was not an invasion of the rights of the laity, but the re-enactment of a principle admitted by the Irish princes before Henry II. came to reform the church. Observations on two other canons affecting the relations between the clergy and laity must be deferred to another place.

asticas judicium, quas indiscriminatim cum laicis capitis judicio, licet carcere, exauthoratione, aliisque pœnis Ecclesiasticis ab Episcopis mulctatas damnare satagebant. Non patiebantur Episcopos, eos qui fidem violarunt, et perjuros Ecclesiasticis pœnis coërcere. Omnem ad Romanum Pontificem provocationem, omnemque etiam Episcopo aut Archiepiscopo, licet ab eodem Pontifice summo accersito emigrandi potestatem, sine suo consensu rex præcidebat. Omnem denique anathemate feriendi eos potestatem, qui de rege in capite (ut dici solet) tenebant, nisi regis licentia accederet." Ipse divus Thomas similia recenset in Epistola ad suffraganeos suos datâ apud Hovedenum pag. 499.

An non igitur Hiberniæ Antistites omnem defricuisse pudorem, omnem Dei metum posuisse dicerentur ? si tam discissæ Ecclesiæ suam conformare aggrederentur ? Quis æquus rerum æstimator non consultius judicaret, ut ad Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ normam Anglicana se componeret ? Nam Anglia summi Pontificis jussa respuebat, Hibernia amplectebatur; illa legatos ejus arcebat, hæc retinebat; illa sacros homines ad profana tribunalia rapiebat, hic omnia pene profana judicia

[1] Looking back from the present day, a Catholic would probably answer, yes. The English Catholic church bowed to the great storm which the Irish church braved. But how would matters appear to the bishops sitting at Caiseal in 1172? Henry was a tyrant and an oppressor of the church, but a reconciliation was at that moment in course of being effected with the pope: the churches in his kingdom generally enjoyed protection from at least the fire and sword of his barons. In England there was the constant tyranny of law; in Ireland, the desultory tyranny of fire and sword. In England the priest might pray with hope "da pacem Domine in diebus nostris:" in Ireland, he knew that the untiring exertions of synods and legates, and primates, and pious kings, had not yet brought peace to the church: and that consequently the decency and solemnities of public worship must have inevitably suffered, and might be improved by the example of a more peaceful church. True, the invaders eventually surpassed all the sacrileges hitherto committed, and suspended the progress of Ireland, in arts, in literature, and in religion; but the bishops had not brought them over, and could not drive them out, and they might therefore very naturally accept, from the new lord whom their own princes had admitted, whatever was good in the English church, as some consolation for the lost inde-

death, though they had been already punished by imprisonment, or degradation, or ecclesiastical punishments, by their bishops. Bishops were not allowed to inflict ecclesiastical censures on perjurers or persons who had violated their promise. No appeal to the Roman pontiff was allowed without the king's consent. No bishop or archbishop, even though expressly invited by the pope, dare proceed to foreign parts without the king's permission. Finally, sentence of excommunication dared not be pronounced on king's tenants in capite (as they are called) without his license." St. Thomas also details these regulations in a letter to his suffragans, published by Hoveden, p. 499.

Must not the Irish bishops, then, have had fronts of brass, and renounced all fear of God, if they dared to take such a poor torn church as the model of their own? would not any honest judge pronounce that it would be infinitely better to have the English church reformed after the Irish model.[i] England spurned the orders of the pope, Ireland obeyed them; England repelled his legates, Ireland received them; England dragged the men of God before the bar of a layman, Ireland left most even of secular causes to the tribunal of the bishops;[k] Eng-

pendence of their country.

[k] There are abundant proofs in Irish annals, that the clergy interfered as umpires and securities in temporal concerns, such as contracts, grants, treaties of peace, &c. &c., but our author does not prove in any part of his work, nor is it known from any other source to the editor, that a power strictly judicial was vested in them by the ancient Irish laws. That branch of Irish history which embraces the reciprocal relations of the clergy to the laity is as yet perfectly barren. A letter of Urban IV. in 1261, to the king of England, asserts that by an old, approved and undisputed right the archbishop of Dublin, his suffragans, their officials and ecclesiastical judges throughout the province took cognizance of all contracts regarding money or possessions, if such contracts had been confirmed by oath; also of cases of slander or defamation; of all injuries against clerics (a tempore cujus memoria non existit). The king's officers, the letter goes on to complain, had not only denied those rights now, but prohibited the ecclesiastical judges from adjudicating on pecuniary transactions between clerics and clerics—on disputes between rectors, regarding tithes or dependant chapels; would not allow them to punish usury, adultery, perjury, according to canon law; nor give effect to their sentences against executors, who refused to discharge pious be-

è præsulum nutu pendebant; illa clero fastidium, hæc honorem exhibuit; illa immunitates Ecclesiæ proculcavit, hæc amplificavit; illa Ecclesiasticos depressit, hæc extulit: illa Ecclesias propriis bonis spoliavit, hæc etiam suis locupletavit.

Cujus rei ut specimen exhibeam, Dermicium Murchardidem Lageniæ regem,[32] regum Hiberniæ plane pessimum profero, qui juxta Dublinium, monialibus ordinis Aroacensis monasterium: in comitatu Kilkeniensi, apud Kilclehin, cellam, de bello portu appellatam; in comitatu Catherlachensi apud Atady aliam; ejusdem autem ordinis canonicis cœnobium omnium sanctorum juxta Dublinium posuit. In comitatu etiam Wicloensi Cisterciensibus Baltinglassense monasterium de valle salutis dictum, et in comitatu Wexfordiensi Fernense monasterium, Canonicis Augustinianis extruxit. Itaque ut ex ungue leonem æstimamus, sic ex unius Dermicii fabricis, quæ cæteri religiosa ædificia condiderunt, conjecturam facere possumus. Quod si flagitiosissimus Dermicius tot suæ pietatis monumenta reliquerit, quis dubitabit alios Hibernos per ea tempora reges longe plures virtutis exercendæ palestras erexisse?

Ne tamen uno tantum exemplo res proposita non satis inculcaretur, non erit abs re, cœnobia hic ascribere à Donaldo magno O'Brien extructa, quem Giraldus regem Limbricensem, regum Momoniæ Catalogus ultimum Momoniæ regem appellat.

Is porro "sub adventum Anglorum,[33] monasterium S. Petri Limbricense construxit monialibus nigri ordinis Sancti Augustini." Celeberrimum etiam S. Crucis monasterium, Inislaunaghtense quoque, sive de

[32] Warr. de antiq. Hiber. pp. 142, 157, 159. [33] Warr. de antiq. p, 22.

quests, made either by burgesses, or by betaghs (laici astricti glebæ). Whether any or all of this judicial power had been enjoyed by the clergy in the province of Leinster, before the invasion, as it had been in almost all Christian countries from the time of Constantine and Theodosius in different degrees; or whether the limits of the temporal and spiritual jurisdictions had been intermixed and undefined as among the Anglo-Saxons; or whether the ecclesiastical court, such as it was in England in 1172, was imported to Ireland by the invaders, is a most interesting subject of inquiry, which the publication of the Brehon laws would probably elucidate.

land despised, Ireland honored her clergy; England trampled on the liberties of the church, Ireland extended them; England dishonored, Ireland exalted ecclesiastics; England robbed the church of her own lawful property, Ireland every day increased, from her own funds, the revenues of the priests.[l]

Let us take, as an example, Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster, the worst king in Ireland. He erected, near Dublin, a convent for nuns of the order of Aroasia; in the county of Kilkenny, at Kill-Cleithin (Kilclehin), he built a church called "De bello portu," and another at Athady, in the county of Carlow; and the priory of all Saints[m] was founded by him near Dublin for canons of the same order. He also erected, in the county of Wicklow, the Cistercian monastery of Bealach Chonglais (Baltinglass), called "De valle Salutis," and the monastery of Ferns, in the county of Wexford, for Augustinian canons. Thus, as you know the lion from his claw, you may estimate, by Diarmaid's foundations alone, the number of religious establishments founded by the other princes. For when so many monuments of his faith were bequeathed to the country by a most profligate king, is it not certain that the other kings of Ireland must have erected many more of those great nurseries of virtue?

But as one example may not be deemed sufficient proof of my position, I record here the number of monasteries founded by Domhnall O'Briain the Great, whom Giraldus styles king of Limerick, but who is styled the last king of Munster in the catalogue of the kings of that province.

About the time of the coming of the English, he founded the monastery of St. Peter in Limerick for nuns of the black order ef St. Augustine. He also founded the celebrated abbey of Holy Cross, the monasteries of (Inis-leamhnachta) Inislaunaght or "De Surio;" Killcuile, or de

[l] For many most liberal endowments during the century before the invasion, the reader is referred to O'Donovan's Four Masters, pp. 913, 953, 967, 1093, &c. &c.

[m] Which stood upon the ground now occupied by Trinity College, Dublin. For notices of these and other foundations of Mac Murchadha, see Register of All Hallows, Dublin, Introduction, edited for the Irish Archæological Society, by the Rev. Richard Butler; also, Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 187; and authorities, ibidem.

Surio, Kilculonse sive de alvi-campo,[34] Kilmoniense sive de Furgio, Corcumroënse sive de Petra fertili, Inisnegananghtense et Kiloënense condidit et in universum octodecem. Connaciæ Anglorum dominationi nondum obnoxiæ regem egit Cathaldus Oconchover dictus Crobhdearg, id est, à rubro pugno, Kilcreunatensis Benedictinarum monialium mo-
[192] nasterii, Cnocmoeensis | ceu collis victoriæ Cistercientium, et Balintoberensis Canonicorum Regularium cœnobii conditor, quæ sicut alia alii, non modo dotavit, sed ditavit, quam plurimis latifundiis in ea collatis. Diù post Cathaldum è vivis ablatum, quidam è Burgorum familiæ proceribus, ex editissimo colle Cnocmoënsi cœnobio imminente circumjacentes agros prospectans, cum resciret agrorum omnium qua prospectus circumquaque patuit, monachos Cathaldi munere Dominos fuisse, conquestus fuisse traditur, quod Cathaldus in Monachos plus nimio profusior fuerit, quodam ex astantibus indigenis subjungente, "si te Cathaldus hæreditatem suam aditurum fuisse cognovisset, longè pluries ab eo fundos Monachi retulissent."

Alienum ab instituto esse non existimo, si aliqua religiosorum cætuum habitacula, hoc duodecimo seculo, quo Henricus rex, ejusque decessores supra memorati floruerunt, per Hiberniam excitata hic enumerem, compluribus aliis omissis, quæ in hoc opere alibi è re nata, nominare contingit.[35] Cœnobium Lisgavalense pro canonicis regularibus ad lacum Erneum an. Domini 1106 positum est.[36] Anno autem salutis 1127

[34] p. 206, 207, p. 212, 213. [35] Warr. p. 188. [36] Monasticon Anglican. fol. 10, ex Registro Abbatiæ de Furnesio. Warr. ubi supra Monast. ubi supra Warr. 175.

[n] For these foundations of Domhnall see Lanigan, vol. iv. pp. 252, 262, 325. Dombnall's kingdom of Tuath-Mhumha had been granted by Henry II. to Philip de Braos, "who, notwithstanding, never acquired an inch of it, and got so frightened that he and his Welchmen thought it their best plan to return home." Ibid. p. 236. Domhnall erected two cathedrals, Caiseal and Luimneach (Limerick). He died in possession of his kingdom in 1194. The English after his death seized Limerick, deprived one of his sons of his sight, and massacred another, after dragging him from a sanctuary.

[o] For the history of all those foundations, the reader is referred to the proper authorities, which it is un-

Alvi Campo, Kill-Muine (Kilmoney), or de Furgio, Corcomroe, or de Petra Fertili, and Inisnagananagh, and Kill-Eoin (Kilowen) monasteries, eighteen in all.[n] Cathal O'Conchobhair summoned Crobhdhearg, or red hand, who was king of Connacht, before it fell under the dominion of the English, founded the convent of Kill-Craebhnata (Kilcreunate) for Benedictine nuns, and Cnoc Muaidhe (Knockmoy) or de Colle Victoriæ, for Cistercians, and Baile-an-tobair (Ballintober) for Canons regular, and not only endowed these and other establishments, but enriched them. Long after the death of Cathal, one of the lords of the Burke family, taking a view of the surrounding country from the top of the high hill over the monastery of Cnoc Muaidhe, was informed that all the land, as far as his eye could reach, was granted to the monks of CnocMuaidhe by Cathal O'Conchobhair. "Alas!" he sighed, "Cathal was far too liberal to the monks." To which one of the natives, who was present, replied, "If Cathal had known that you would ever seize on his inheritance, he would have given the monks much more lands than they have."[o]

I do not think it foreign to my subject to enumerate the monasteries erected in Ireland during the twelfth century, in which Henry and his above-mentioned predecessors flourished. I omit, however, many which were already noticed in the proper place. The monastery of Lisgoold, on Loch Erne, was founded in 1106, for canons regular. In 1127, Magnoald Makenelf, (Raghnall Mac Donnsleibhe) king of Ulster, founded the abbey of Carraig, near St. Finan's well. Its first abbot was S. Evod. In the invasion of Ulster by John de Courcey it was destroyed, because it was

necessary to cite here. The Four Masters at the year 1157 (two years after Adrian's bull) describe the consecration of the church of the abbey of Mellifont. There were present seventeen bishops, the primate Gelasius, the legate, and many kings and princes. "O'Lochlainn presented seven score cows and three score ounces of gold to God and to the clergy, as an offering for the health of his soul. He granted them also a townland. O'Cearbhaill also gave them three score ounces of gold: and the wife of Ruarc gave as much more, and a chalice of gold on the altar of Mary, and cloth for each of the other nine altars that were in the church." This was the lady that afterwards became the Helen of Ireland. In 1167, she built a church for nuns at Cluain-micnois.

"Magnoellus Makenlef, rex Ultoniæ fundavit abbatiam de Carrig, prope fontem S. Finnani, cujus primus abbas fuit S. Evodius, quam tempore conquestus Ultoniæ, dominus Joannes de Curci penitus destruxit, quia fortalitium fuit, et multum eum infestavit. Sed in recompensationem fundavit, seu potius transtulit illam in Insulam de Uniscusere, et dedit ei terras quas in loco priori habuit, ex dono Magnoelli antedicti." Cœnobium Damhinis pro canonicis Augustinianis in comitatu Fermanachensi an. Dom. 1138; Fermoyense in comitatu Corcagiensi pro Cisterciensibus an. Dom. 1140, et eodem anno Louthense monasterium à Donato O'Carroll, Ergalliæ regulo, canonicis Augustinianis extructum est, quibus præterea monasterium de Monte Apostolorum juxta Loutham, idem Donatus contulit,[37] qui etiam insigne Mellifontis monasterium Cisterciensibus elargitus est.[38] Quibus etiam O'Brien monasterium de Neny, sive de Magio habendum an. Dom. 1148, vel 1151 concessit. Quo etiam anno, Boylense cœnobium Cisterciense initium habuisse dicitur.[39] Anno autem domini 1148 vel 1151, Murchardus O'Melaghlin[40] Midiæ regulus, Bectifense cœnobium pro Cisterciensibus,[41] et pro monialibus Augustinianis Clonardæ monasterium, vel ille,[42] vel aliquis alius O'Melaghlin, Midiæ regulus, ante adventum Anglorum posuit.[43] An. Dom. 1152 in Comitatu Longfordensi monasterium de Shrowl, ad

[37] Ibid. [38] Ibid. [39] Pag. 203. [40] Pag. 224. [41] Pag. 165. [42] Ibid. [43] Pag. 172.

[p] See in Grace's Annals, by the Rev. R. Butler, I. A. Society, a list of the Cistercian foundations. Nearly thirty of them were founded before the close of the twelfth century, and almost exclusively by Irish princes. p. 169. The old Columbian order appears to have caught a new spirit from the zeal of the modern orders. In the year 1175, the Four Masters record the death of Flaibheartach O'Brolchain, successor of St. Columkille, "a tower of wisdom and hospitality, a man to whom, on account of his goodness and wisdom, the clergy of Ireland had presented a bishop's chair, and to whom the presidency of Iona had been offered." "In 1150 he had made a visitation of Tir-eoghain, and obtained a horse from every chieftain, a cow from every two biatachs, a cow from every three freeholders, and a cow from every four villains, and twenty cows from the king himself: a gold ring of five ounces, his horse and battle dress, from the son of

well fortified, and harassed him very much. But in restitution for that deed, he founded, or rather transferred it to an island in Inis Cumhscraigh (Iniscourcey), and left it in possession of the lands formerly held under the family of Magnoald. In 1138, the monastery of Daimhinis (Devenish), in the county of Fermanagh, was founded for canons of St. Augustine. In 1140, the monastery of Feara-Muighe (Fermoy), in the county of Cork, was founded for Cistercians, and in the same year Donnchadh O'Cearbhaill, king of Oirghialla, built the monastery of Lughmha (Louth) for canons of St. Augustine, to whom he also gave the monastery of the "Hill of the Apostles," near Lughmha. For the Cistercians he founded the great monastery of Mellifont. In 1148, or 1151, O'Briain gave the monastery of Aenach, or "of the Maig" (Monasteraneny), to the Cistercians; and the Cistercian monastery of Buill (Boyle) is said to have been founded about the same time. To the same date is also referred the foundation of the Cistercian monastery of Bective, by Murchadh O'Maeleachlainn, king of Meath, and either he or some other Maeleachlainn, king of Meath, founded the convent of Augustinian nuns at Cluain-Iraird (Clonard) before the invasion of the English. In the year 1152, the monastery of Sruthair (Shrule), in the county Longford,[p] on the banks

O'Lochlainn, king of Ireland. In 1153 he visited Down and Antrim, and obtained a horse from every chieftain, a sheep from every hearth, a *screaball*, a horse, and five cows from the prince O'Donnslebhe, and an ounce of gold from his wife." In 1158 he assisted at a synod of twenty-five bishops, with the legate and primate, near Ath-Truim. "It was on this occasion that a chair was ordered for the successor of Columkille, Flaibheartach O'Brolchain, like other bishops, and the arch abbot of the church of Ireland in general." "In 1161 he visited Os-raidhe, and in lieu of the tribute of seven score oxen due to him, accepted 420 ounces of pure silver. In the same year all the churches of St. Columkille, in Meath and Leinster, were freed by him (ꞅaeꞃꞃaꝺ) and their tributes and jurisdiction were given him, for they had been previously enslaved:" that is, he secured for them the immunity which Mac Lochlainn, whom he accompanied on this occasion, had about the same time sanctioned as a general principle, note supra p. 531. In 1162 he threw down eighty houses around his church of Doire (Derry), and encompassed it with a circular rampart, pronouncing his anathema on any man who should violate it. In 1163 he built a limekiln

Ennium fluvium[44] et Odorneiense in Comitatu Kierrensi pro Cisterciensibus condita sunt.

Quid quod Hibernici magnates Anglorum etiam armis infestati, à religiosorum domiciliis excitandis non destiterint. Dermicius Demsius Ofaliæ dynasta Monaster-Evin, seu de Rosea Valle, Cistersiensibus an. Domini 1178. Ashroense, sive de Samaria, Rodericus O'Cananan Tirconalliæ dynasta,[45] anno sequenti,[46] Ieripontense an. Domini 1180 Donaldus Fitzpatrick Ossoriæ regulus; Lexense, seu de Lege Dei, Cuchogrius O'Morus 1183 erexit.[47] Monasterium Kilkeniense, seu de Valle Dei à Dermicio O'Rian,[48] Dermicio Murchardide Lageniæ rege consentiente;[49] denique Duni cœnobium canonicorum Augustinianorum in Comitatu Wexfordiensi,[50] ante quidem adventum Anglorum, sed quo certo authore aut tempore, nondum comperi, excitatum est. "Sub hoc etiam tempus Donellus O'Donellus cognomento junior Tirconelliæ princeps à divo Dominico Patriarchâ, Epistolâ per duos religiosos missâ rogatus monasterium[51] Doriæ vel Luci ædificavit. Hoc enim quamvis non multos religiosos, ad minimum, centum quinquaginta solitum esset habere, sanctitate tamen, et doctrina totius religionis Dominicanæ ea tempestate celeberrimum fuisse, plurimosque viros sanctos in cælum misisse dicitur." Accepi etiam, O'Brianum S. Dominici rogatu cœnobium illius ordinis eo quoque tempore condidisse.

Ut autem interruptam orsæ orationis telam denuo retexam,[52] ad

[44] Pag. 203. [45] Pag. 148. [46] Pag. 186. [47] Pag. 156. [48] Pag. 162. [49] Pag. 156. [50] Pag. 1152. [51] O Sullevanus in Decade Patriciana. lib. 9, c. 2. [52] Harpsf. seculo. 12, c. 15.

measuring seventy feet every way; and in 1164 closed his recorded labors by the erection of the great church of Doire, which was eighty feet long. These particulars are collected here as evidences of the manners of the age, and of the wealth and power of the Columbian order, now in its setting glory; for that national institute, which had kept alive the sacred flame of learning and piety during six centuries in many countries in Europe, shared the fallen fortunes of Ireland, and sank into obscurity after the death of O Brolchain.

[q] On the little river Derrihy, supposed to have been founded A.D. 1172.

[r] Not admitted as authentic by the learned author of the Hibernia Dominicana, pp. 37, 281.

of the river Eithne (Inny), and Mainister-Ua-d-Torna (Abbey-Dorney), in the county of Kerry, were founded for Cistercians.

The nobles of Ireland, even when harassed by the English arms, still continued to found those religious establishments. Diarmuid O'Dimasaigh, dynast of Ui-Failghe (Offaly), founded Mainister Emhin (Monasterevan), or de Roseâ Valle, for Cistercians, in the year 1178, and in the following year Ruaidhri O'Canannan, dynast of Tirconaill, founded the monastery of Asroe or de Samsaria. Domhnall Mac Gillapatruic (Fitzpatrick), king of Osraidhe, founded the monastery of Jerpoint, in 1180; and Cucoigriche O'Mordha, founded that of Laeighis (Abbey Leix), or "deLege Dei," in 1183. The monastery of Kilkenny, or "de Valle Dei," was founded by Diarmaid O'Rian, with the consent of Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster; and the monastery of Augustinian canons at Dun, in the county of Wexford, was certainly founded before the English invasion, though the exact date and the name of the founder are not known.[q] "About this period, also, Domhnall O'Domhnaill, surnamed the Young, prince of Tir-Conaill, founded the monastery of Doire (Derry), or 'de Luco,' at the request of the patriarch St. Dominic, who sent him a letter by two brothers of the order. Though the number of religious in this convent was not very great, it was never under 150; but it held the highest rank in its day among all the Dominican convents, for holiness and learning, and it is said to have sent many saints to the choir of the blessed." I have also heard that O'Briain founded another convent of the same order,[r] at the request of St. Dominic.[s]

But let me resume once more the train of my argument. England

[s] In justice to the invaders, we add to our author's account of Irish foundations, his statement in another work (the Alithonologia), when defending the Anglo Irish, that they also had founded a great number of convents and monasteries during the first century after the invasion. Judging from the analogy of the progress of society in other countries, and from the number of establishments founded by the Irish before the invasion, or before they lost their territories, it may be probably conjectured, that the monastic system, in all its branches, would have produced the same fruits in agriculture, in learning, and in the arts in Ireland, attributed to it by the history of other nations: and especially that it would help, by the unity of govern-

Antipapas Anglia non semel descivit, veris Pontificibus Hibernia semper adhæsit, in illâ, sacerdotalis ordo incontinentiæ infamia laborabat, in hac "clerus castitatis prærogativa præeminebat;" in illa, disciplina Ecclesi-
[193] astica dissolutior | erat, Episcopis sic inter se digladiantibus,[53] et sublimiori potestati morem gerere renuentibus, ut censuræ fulmen in ipsos à divo Thoma torqueri promeriti fuerint; in hac, accurata Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ observantia vigebat, inferioris ordinis clero Ecclesiarum frequentationi, officii divini assiduæ recitationi,[54] summæque abstinentiæ incumbente, Episcopis synodos creberrime indicentibus, et in iis capita consiliaque conferentibus quam potissimum rationem ad greges suos regendas inirent. Majoris vero momenti negotia, nisi ex legati arbitrio non gerentibus. Cujus (si cujuspiam) sedulitati elegantior morum in Hiberniâ cultus acceptus referri potius debebat quam Henrico regi:[55] quem Cambrensis scribit Hiberniam "Dominum et regem sortitum esse divinitus, et regi tam magnifico tam Ecclesiam, quam regnum Hiberniæ debere quicquid de bono pacis, et incremento religionis hactenus est assecuta. Nam ante ipsius adventum in Hiberniam, multimodo malorum genera à multis retro temporibus ibidem emerserant, quæ ipsius potentia. et munere in desuetudinem abiere."

Ut videatur Henricus rex (si diis placet) numen esse aliquod è cœlo delapsum, et inde "divinitus" ad Hiberniam sui flatus aura, moribus excolendam, et "bella Domini prælianda" demissum, tanquam alter Gedeon,[56] Baruc, Sampson, Jephte, David aut Samuel vel Machabæi. Pace tamen Giraldi ab eorum factis, cùm in aliis plurimis tùm in hoc præsertim discrepat, quod illi "per fidem vicerunt Regna," hic "in fortitudine brachii sui" Hiberniam expugnare tentavit; Illi fiduciâ in solo Deo positâ, censuerunt,[57] non "in multitudine exercitus victoriam belli, sed de cœlo fortitudinem esse." Hic potentia sua confisus, tota virium suarum mole in Hiberniam irruit,[58] "applicuit" enim "in Hibernia cum 400 magnis navibus, onustis viris bellicosis, et equis, et armis, et victu."[59] Quam rem non characteribus numericis,

[53] Camb. Top. dist. 2, c. 27. [54] Hoved. p. 499. [55] Hiberniæ, exp. lib. 1, c. 24. [56] Ad Heb. 10 c. [57] Machab. c. 3. [58] Hoved. p. 527. [59] Antiq. Cantabrig lib. 1, p. 243.

ment enforced in those orders, to bind together the discordant elements of society. But evil influences, the jealousy of race and the tyranny of

revolted more than once to Antipopes; Ireland has always faithfully clung to the true pope. In England the clergy were sullied with the loathsome stain of impurity; in Ireland they were pre-eminently distinguished for chastity. In England ecclesiastical discipline was shaken by the violent dissensions of the bishops amongst themselves, and their disobedience to the higher authority, which compelled St. Thomas to launch against them the anathemas of the church; but in Ireland the discipline of the church was strictly observed, the second order of the clergy assiduously attending the churches, and reciting the divine offices, and observing the most rigid abstinence, while the bishops held numerous synods, meeting and consulting together on the canons most conducive to the spiritual interests of their flocks, but never deciding on the affairs of greater moment without the authority of the legate. To him, if to any man, must be attributed the refinement of morals, which was wrought in Ireland, and not to king Henry, whom Cambrensis flatters in the following strain: "He was appointed by heaven, king and lord of Ireland. To that glorious king, the church and kingdom of Ireland owe whatever peace or religious improvement they have yet enjoyed. For, before his arrival in Ireland, multifarious evils had constantly luxuriated there in all ages back, until his power and agency extirpated them for ever."

One would imagine, heaven save us, that this Henry was a god that dropped down from the clouds, with a "divine" commission, to reform the morals of Ireland by the mere breath of his spirit, and to fight the battles of the Lord like another Gedeon or Baruc, or Sampson, or Jeptha, or David, or Samuel, or the Machabees. But Giraldus must allow us to remark, among a great many others, one very striking difference between Henry and those holy men; that they "by faith conquered kingdoms," while he attempted to subdue Ireland by the force of his own arm." They, placing their confidence in God alone, believed "that the success of war is not in the multitude of the army, but strength cometh from heaven." He, relying on his own strength, burst upon Ireland with the whole weight of his power: he landed in Ireland with 400

conquest, were actively at work in Ireland, which greatly impaired its civilizing influence. In 1250 Innocent IV. addressed a letter to the archbi-

sed conceptis verbis Gaulterus Coventrensis exprimens dicit: quod rex cum "quadringentis navibus armatorum hominum in Hiberniam trajecit."

Ut summæ sit assentationis res illius gestas, quæ immanitatem plurimam præ se ferebant, non solum ultra humanum morem efferre, sed etiam ad divinam originem referre; nimirum adulatores, "rerum etiam vocabula amittunt, quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitatem; malarum rerum audaciam, fortitudinem vocavit."[60] Ita imbelles, timidi, avari, varioque scelere notati, fortes, magnanimi, liberales, omni virtute clari, prædicantur. Certe tantum abest ut "divinitus," ut nec etiam "humanitus" ad labefactandam Hiberniam Henricus evocatus fuerit, id est, non modo inusitatam ullam à potestate aliqua humana ad Hiberniam bello infestendam nactus fuerit. Non enim adulteri-

[60] Sallust. in Catal.

shop of Dublin and the bishop of Ossory, complaining that Irish bishops excluded (ex quodam, ut videtur, livore) all Anglo Irish (Anglicos) from canonries in their churches: he ordered them to rescind that rule, one month after the receipt of his letter, on the Christian principle, that the sanctuary of God should not be held by hereditary right, "quia in omni gente qui facit justitiam acceptus est coram Deo, nec sanctuarium Dei convenit jure hæreditario possideri." This principle became, however, the exception in Ireland, in all churches and religious houses under the English power down to the Reformation: the contrary principle was enacted as the rule by the statute of Kilkenny; which excluded all Irish from English churches and religious houses, unless they had been qualified by a royal letter of denizenship. The effect of this law, was to exclude the Irish not only from almost all the houses founded by the Anglo Irish, but from a very great number founded by themselves, which had fallen under the English power. Singular fatality! a few years (1515) before Luther began to preach his opinions, Leo X. issued a bull, confirming the exclusion of the native Irish, even though qualified by royal letter, from St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, "item, consuetudo illa antiquitus observata, de Hibernicis natione, moribus et sanguine non admittendis in prefata Ecclesia Cathedrali S. Patricii, quacunque regia dispensatione non obstante, concordatum est quod *vigeat, valeat, et invalescat, viridi observatione semper valitura.*" Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, p. xxxiv. n.s. This breathes "the glorious,

large ships, freighted with warlike men, and horses, and arms, and provisions:—an estimate which is given by Walter of Coventry, not in numerals, but in express words, "the king," he says, "went with four hundred ships, full of armed men, to Ireland."[t]

Nothing but loathsome flattery could have extolled, beyond all measure, and attributed, even to God himself, an enterprise reeking with such ferocity; "but flatterers forget even the common meaning of words; make a present of another man's goods, it is liberality; be obstinate in wickedness, it is fortitude." In the same way, cowards, and loons, and misers, and wicked men of all sorts, are metamorphosed into heroes, and great souls, and generous hearts, and models of all virtue. So far from having a commission from heaven to oppress Ireland, he

pious, and immortal memory" of that day. On the same principle a few years before, Dean Allen had bequeathed charities to the poor, provided they were Anglo-Irish. Ibid. The social advantages of the religious houses in the Anglo-Irish system are set forth incidentally, in a letter of the Lord Deputy Gray, and Council, to Cromwell, May 21, 1539, requesting that six houses should be exempted from the general suppression, viz.—St. Mary's Abbey, and Christ Church, Dublin, the Nunnery of Grace Dieu, Fingall, County of Dublin, Connell Abbey, County of Kildare, and Kells and Jerpoint, County of Kilkenny. "For in these houses commonly and other such like, in default of common inns which are not in this land, the king's deputy and all other, his Grace's council, and officers, and Irishmen coming to the deputy have been commonly lodged at the cost of said houses." Also in them "yonge men and childer, both gentlemen childer and other, both of man kynd and woman kynd be brought up in virtue, learning and the English tongue;" the ladies all in the nunnery of Grace Dieu: the young men in the other houses. St. Mary's Abbey was the hotel of all people of quality coming from England, and Christ Church was at once the parliament house, the council house, and "the common resort in Term tyme for definicions of all matters by the judges." State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iii., part iii., p. 130. The Abbot of St. Mary's, petitioning some time after against the suppression, pleads, "verily we be but stewards and purveyors to other men's uses for the king's honor. Keeping hospitality, and many poor men, scholars, and orphans."

[t] See in the notes to the Macariæ Excidium, p. 270, that the force which accompanied Henry II. to Ireland was far more numerous that has been commonly supposed.

num illud Adriani Pontificis diploma Hibernis conspiciendum ante unquam exhibuit, quam in Synodo Waterfordiensi, post plurimos annos prolatum fuerit, nec nisi post bellum Hibernis illatum, Alexandri diploma impetravisse scriptores etiam Anglici narrant.

[u] The bulls of Adrian and Alexander were published for the first time in Ireland, in a synod of bishops at Waterford in 1175, three years after the date of Alexander's, and twenty after that of Adrian's. This fact is recorded by Giraldus, whose statement is adopted by Ware, Lyttleton, Lanigan, and Lingard. The conjectures of the editor of the Macariæ Excidium, that the bulls must have been well known in Ireland before that time, and must have influenced the clergy to submit, "with alacrity," are of very little weight. Have we not had in our own days decrees from Rome to Ireland, on matters of vital importance, doubted, and publicly denied long after they had been certainly received; and ought we to assume that in an age, when the communication of intelligence was slow and uncertain, the Irish clergy must have known, and received as authentic, papal letters to a king coming to conquer their country; especially when there is not the slightest contemporary evidence, that they were in any manner influenced by any papal letter until this synod of Waterford in 1175. True, the pope wrote directly to the bishops themselves, on the 20th of September, 1172, and ordered them for reasons already stated, note, supra, p.472, to aid Henry in holding possession of Ireland, and to excommunicate those princes, who had submitted to him, if they revolted. Why did they not show "their alacrity" to obey those letters, and to excommunicate Domhnall O'Briain, for the victory of Durlas (Thurles), or Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair, for his invasion of Meath in 1174? The truth seems to be, what historians differing widely on other points infer from Henry's well known character, that the ruin impending over the invaders in 1174 forced him then to publish the bulls, and letters, and to rest his claim to Ireland on them, when he had reason to fear he could not enforce it easily by the sword. What the conduct of Christian bishops ought to have been after the three-fourths of their own princes had sworn, "of their own free will," allegiance to Henry, in 1171, and especially after the covenant between Henry and Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair in 1175, is not now to be discussed; certainly it was neither their duty to tell them to violate their oaths, nor to excommunicate them for defending themselves, and the territories, guaranteed to them by their submission.

These remarks as well as the preceding notes, p. 470, 472, 507, 529, are designed principally to test by strict testimony the justice of throwing the chief

had none even from earth—that is, no human power had given to him any extraordinary authority to make war upon Ireland. That spurious bull of pope Adrian never saw the light, until it was shown to the Irish in the synod of Waterford many years after its supposed date,[u] and, according to English writers themselves, Henry had invaded Ireland before he obtained the bull from pope Alexander.

responsibility, or disgrace, or glory, of the conquest of Ireland in 1172, on the church of Ireland. It has been often asserted, and it passes with many as an undoubted fact, that Henry II. conferred extraordinary favors on the Irish clergy; that in *his* synod of Caiseal he gave them new temporal advantages never before enjoyed or claimed by their predecessors; that they in return sold the independence of their country; swore allegiance to him without the consent of their kings; and induced them to follow their example. Even the editor of the Macariæ Excidium, a gentleman with whom it would be more pleasant to agree, insinuates, that the Irish princes and the laity generally were excluded from the synod of Caiseal, in order that no protest could be made against the transfer of the allegiance of the bishops to Henry II. or against the encroachment on the temporal rights of the Irish laity by the novel temporal privileges conferred in that synod on the church. To this, contemporary authorities, the annals of Innisfallen, and of Ulster, and Giraldus reply, that at least three-fourths of the kings of Ireland had submitted to Henry II. *before* the synod of Caiseal, and that the bishops from that synod assured the pope, that Henry *had* subdued Ireland, supra, p. 472. You might as well assert that Henry II. never was in Ireland, as assert that the synod of Caiseal was the main cause of an event which preceded it, and of which it was in truth a consequence. For where is there found in the history of the preceding century, a single proof of such paramount influence of the clergy, that they would venture to acknowledge the invader, if their own princes had not set the example. In the next place, with regard to the care the prelates are charged with having taken of their own interests in that synod, by accepting enlarged and unprecedented privileges and wealth from Henry II., it may be suggested, in the first place, that Catholics, those at least who have read Moore's sketch of St. Lorcan O'Tuathail, ought to be slow to admit that such a man could have been influenced by sordid views; they should rather hope and believe, that he of all others would not wound the fallen pride of his countrymen by appearing as the accomplice of their enemies, by accepting from the hand of an invader any temporal privileges, which they and their forefathers had not in their own

Quod utrumque diploma jure merito adulterinum dici contendo, cûm pluribus de causis, tum præsertim, quia Hibernos indictâ causâ, patriorum penatium, et libertatis jacturâ mulctarunt.[61] In concessum enim

[61] Cic. pro Rosc. amer.

generosity accorded, in the days of their independence. Such was in fact the rule of the bishops' conduct, and the measure of the temporal privileges which they enacted by statute in the synod of Caiseal. They claimed no right which had not been admitted before the invasion. For the two canons of this synod of Caiseal on tithes, and the immunity of church property, the reader is referred to preceding notes, pp. 507, 529. There remain only two other canons on temporal matters; one exempts the clergy from the eric levied on the kindred of a man guilty of murder or homicide. It enacts that if the kinsmen of a priest commit homicide, the priest shall not be bound to pay part of the eric, because not being guilty of the murder he ought not to be condemned to the fine. This, it is urged, was a partial and unjust exception in favor of the clergy; for, if personal innocence exempts *them* from the eric, why should it not also exempt the innocent layman. The answer is, that the main question here is not, whether such a law was just or unjust, favorable to the clergy, oppressive to the laity, or not; but whether it was an *old* Irish law re-enacted, or a new law introduced under English influence. Now in perfect accordance with the *spirit* of the general church laws, which, sanctioning the natural abhorrence for the shedding of human blood, repel from the sacred ministry, or suspend from its functions, persons guilty of homicide, or even concurring immediately, though justly (in some cases) in homicide, we find according to the opinion of Dr. O'Donovan communicated to the editor, that, for probably three centuries before the English invasion, the clergy were by law exempt from paying the eric for bloodshed by their kinsmen. It was against the spirit of the church that a priest should appear in any way to have responsibility for or complicity in the shedding of human blood.

The other canon is more complicated. It orders, 1st—that every Christian shall make a will in presence of his confessor and of some neighbours; 2nd—that he shall divide his moveable property into three portions; one for his legitimate wife; a second for his children, a third "propriis exequiis" for "his own obsequies." If the legitimate wife be dead, or if there be no legitimate issue, the moveable property was to be divided into equal portions; in the first case, between the confessor and the legitimate children, in the second, between the confessor and the wife. The assignment of the

Both bulls, I contend, must be pronounced spurious, for many reasons; but above all, because they condemned the Irish, without a hearing, to forfeit their liberty and the homes of their fathers. No

property to the confessor in the two latter cases, and "propriis exequiis" to the funeral obsequies in the first, appears to be the same thing: namely, that the property was made over to the church, for masses, &c. &c. specified in the next canon.

Such a distribution of property appears no doubt most unnatural and abhorrent to modern ideas. In those ages of faith, however, it was practically believed that a man's sole object in amassing property was not to found a family; his wealth could contribute to the salvation of his own soul. Accordingly, the "saulsceat" or "soul money" appears in all Anglo-Saxon wills; and associations and confraternities were formed to enable the members, by small subscriptions during life, to will the "saulsceat" at their death. Turner's Anglo Saxons, vol. iii., p. 146. In the same spirit a law of the ancient Irish, in the Seanchus Mor, "had laid down the rule, that a man was to leave by his will the one-third of his moveable property to the family church eaclais bunaid, but if he removed to any other church, it was to be divided in certain portions between the two churches." *Dr. O'Donovan to the editor.* This proportion will probably be found to be the well known Quarta Funeraria of the canonists. Thus it appears, that of all the temporal rights secured to the church by the synod of Caiseal, not one was of English origin; the prelates prudently abstained from "heaping affliction on the afflicted;" they claimed nothing but what their Irish children had allowed in the days of their independence; and those, who talk of Henry's liberality to the Irish church, and of the influence of that liberality on the conduct of the prelates, and on the independence of Ireland, would do well to revise their opinions.

With regard to the other imputation, the exclusion of the Irish princes from the synod: it is true, mixed assemblies of clergy and laity were the rule in Ireland, as in other countries, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; but it was not invariable. The laity, for instance, are not mentioned as present at the synod of Keanannus (Kells), 1152; nor were they in any country entitled to assist at a purely ecclesiastical council, such as the synod of Caiseal undoubtedly was; for it made no law except on church discipline, church property, and marriage, all which, in the general jurisprudence of the age, were regarded as equally spiritual, the proper matter for church law. Moreover, as Henry's ambassadors ("nuncii") were present at the synod: and as the Irish princes had generally submitted to Henry, before the synod, would they not be considered to be sufficiently represented; especially when there was no new legislation on mixed mat-

profecto mortalibus est, quempiam condemnationis sententia nescientem ferire, cum ipsa naturæ lex doceat: "Innocentem si accusatus sit, absolvi posse, nocentem nisi accusatum damnari non posse." Et præterea Deus ipse sibi legem dixisse videatur, ut in Adamum et Evam comperti criminis reos, nisi auditos non animadverterit.[62] Nec notissimum vulgo Gomorreorum scelus nisi à se conspectum pœna graviore plectere voluerit. Dicit enim: "Clamor Sodomorum et Gomorrhæ multiplicatus est, et peccatum eorum aggravatum est nimis.[63] Descendam, et videbo, utrum clamorem, qui venit ad me, opere compleverint, an non est ita ut sciam?" Hinc Concilium Lateranense primum judices admonet,[64] ne cito delationibus credant, sed eas Deum sic imitati, accurate prius excutiant, quam in reum tristem sententiam proferant.

Quando autem summus Pontifex ad Hiberniam rectis institutis excolendam animum adjecisset, quis eum prudentiæ limites adeo transiliisse censeret, ut ad sacros ritus aliquò invehendos, profani viri operâ
[194] potius uteretur, | quam è sacrorum virorum cœtu aliquem decerperet, cui munus illud obeundum traderet? Non enim agricola gubernandæ navi, aut sartor colendæ terræ admovetur. Imo potius, quam quisque novit artem, in hac se exerceat. Optime Horatius:—

> "Navem agere ignarus navis timet, abrotonum ægro[65]
> Promittunt medici, tractant fabrilia fabri."

Sacri rite faciendi, vel audiendi præcepta, scilicet ille optime tradet,

[62] Genes. 3. [63] Genes. 8. [64] Cap. 8. [65] Episto.

ters, nothing but the revival or enforcement of what they or their ancestors had freely sanctioned. It may be observed here, in fine, that the law of the synod, which excludes concubines and illegitimate children from a share of the moveable property, looks more like an innovation than any of the others, though none of our writers have remarked it: the spirit of the Irish law appears not to have invested the legitimate wife and children with any special rights; an abuse which the council would, of course, endea-

mortal man has a right to condemn any one without a hearing: the law of nature declares, "that innocence, if brought to trial, can be acquitted, but that guilt cannot be condemned without a trial." God himself appears to have revealed that law, for, when Adam and Eve had committed a manifest crime, he did not condemn them unheard. Neither did he wish to punish severely the notorious horrors of the inhabitants of Gomorrah, until he had witnessed them himself. "For," he says, "the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is multiplied, and their sin is become exceedingly grievous. I will go down and see whether they have done according to the cry that is come to me, or whether it be not so, that I may know." Hence the first admonition of the council of Lateran to judges is that they should not hastily hearken to accusations, but that after the example of God himself, they should carefully examine them, before they pronounce the doom of the accused.

When the pope had resolved to introduce solid reformation into Ireland, could he have so far forgotten the rules of prudence as to entrust the establishment of religious rites to a layman, rather than to some member of the ecclesiastical body whom he could select for the task? Is the helm of the ship entrusted to a ploughman, or the plough to the cobbler? No, let all men work in their own trade. It is the excellent advice of Horatius:

> "The landsman fears the helm to guide; health's rules
> Physicians teach; each trade knows its own tools."

He, forsooth, is to prescribe the best rules for celebrating or hearing

vour to reform.

If churchmen be, what the world often says, jealous of interference with their rights, and if Irish churchmen were, in the twelfth century, what they have proved themselves to be in all ages, devotedly attached to national ecclesiastical usages, it may be confidently asserted that the last decree of the synod of Caiseal prescribing conformity to the English church, was more opposed to the natural feelings of the prelates, than any law of the same synod was to the temporal rights of the laity. In church discipline there was innovation or reform; in temporal matters, none.

"Qui sacræ vix horam hostiæ mittendæ divinis accommodans,[66] et id ipsum temporis, ob regni forte negotia tanta, reique publicæ causa, plus consiliis et sermone quam devotione consumens." Saltem non erat adeo à pietate instructus, ut pietatis erudiendæ magisterio fungi potuerit. Imo sic vitiis opertum fuisse ante ostendi, ut "citius è spinis uvas, et è tribulis ficus quis colligere," quam ab illo virtutem ediscere potuerit. Camarinam nolo nunc movere, nec enim crambem recoquere gratum esset. Quod si Hiberni in disciplinam illi traderentur, ut spurcitiarum reliquias iis abstergeret; hoc perinde foret ac illos de calcaria (ut ajunt) in carbonariam projicere.

Itaque Cambrensis adulatoris notam effugere non potuit, cum dixit: "Ecclesiam Hiberniæ Henrico debuisse quicquid de incremento religionis hactenus est assecuta."[67] Illud autem Cambrensis effatum assentationem summe sapit dicentis: "Regnum Hiberniæ Henrico debuisse, quicquid de bono pacis hactenus est assecuta." Ut ab hoc asseri videas eum qui provinciam aliquam bellorum procella,[68] seu potius tempestate concussit eandem malacia pacis afflasse. Quare illi non inepte illud Isaiæ occini licet:[69] "Væ qui dicitis malum bonum, et bonum malum, ponentes tenebras lucem et lucem tenebras: ponentes amarum indulce, et dulce in amarum." Ea nimirum est adulantium indoles ut scurram gratiosum; obscœna loquentem, civilem; iracundum, strenuum; parcum, providum; prodigum, liberalem; pertinacem, constantem appellent; denique inanis gloriæ specie capti scelera virtutum nominibus obumbrent. Ut autem Henrico regi ad Hiberniam tam immensâ religionis, et pacis beneficentiâ cumulandam cætera suppeterent, certe otium et tempus defuit, non ultra sex menses in Hibernia subsistenti, quam armis impetiisse, non gentis erudiendæ, sed potius efferandæ causâ, videtur.

Nam Hiberni, ut quas adulterii, et contumaciæ pœnas leges indixerant, easdem de Dermicio Lageniæ rege adulterii, et contumaciæ reo sumerent, jure suo, et armis in eum usi sunt, cum alia ratione insolentiam ejus compescere non valuerint. Sed Henricus rex, ut acerrimum se adulterii contumaciæque patronum exhiberet, ac leges proculcantis, et

[66] Camb. Hibern. exp. lib. 1, c. 45. [67] Hibern. exp. lib. 1, c. 24. [68] Ibidem. [69] Isa. 5.

mass, "who, even during the short hour of the sacrifice of the sacred host, was so oppressed by cares of state and of his crown, that even that short time was spent more in conversation and in deliberation than in devotion." Surely, he was not sufficiently grounded in piety to undertake the religious reformation of others. I have clearly proved that he was so deeply tainted with vice, that you might as well expect to gather grapes from thorns, or figs from briars, as learn virtue from him It is not my intention now to return to that subject, because stale repetition is always disagreeable. But if the Irish were delivered over to his care to be cleansed from their iniquities, it would be, to use a common saying, only throwing them from the limekiln into the coalpit.

There is no cleansing Giraldus from the guilt of flattery, when he said, "that the church of Ireland owed to Henry alone, whatever perfection it had attained." But more outrageous still was his assertion, "that whatever peace Ireland enjoyed was to be attributed to that king;" for, what is this but to say plainly that a man who convulsed a kingdom by the blast, or rather the tempests of war, had breathed over it the gentle zephyrs of peace. May we not apply here, with strict propriety, the words of Isaias, "woe to you that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter." Such is the natural bent of flatterers, to call the scoffer an agreeable man; the obscene talker, a jovial companion; the hot-tempered, brave; the miser, an economist; the spendthrift, munificent; the obstinate, persevering; in a word, dazzled by the false lustre of evil deeds, they veil their hideousness under the name of virtues. But though Henry were admirably qualified in every other respect, to confer on Ireland such vast blessings, both in religion and in peace, he had neither time nor leisure for the work, as he spent no more than six months in Ireland, and was employed more in evoking ferocious passions by his arms, than in instructing the nation.

For Diarmuid, king of Leinster, being guilty of adultery and of rebellion, the Irish, in order to enforce the legal penalties of those crimes, took up arms against him, when all other means of repressing his audacity had failed. King Henry then came forward as the determined patron of adultery and rebellion, and did not only not crush the inso-

supremæ potestati reluctantis audaciam non solum non retunderet, sed magis etiam inflammaret, armis illum juvit; ut jam videas ab Henrico non modo virtutes in Hibernia non insertas, sed etiam flagitia disseminata, et diffusa, nec leges novas institutas, sed veteres optimas omni conatu adhibito oboletas fuisse. Hinc demiror eam cogitationem ullius animo unquam insedisse, ut existimaverit Henricum, ad hæc molienda Pontificum authoritate munitum fuisse.

Etiamsi profecto documenta hactenus à me producta Adriani, Alexandrique Pontificum diplomata commentitia fuisse satis superque ostendissent, ineluctabile certe quod subjicio argumentum, id meo quidem judicio cumulate præstabit.[70] "Joannes Curci" (verba sunt Neubrigensis) "juncta sibi equitum peditumque manu validâ illam Hiberniæ Provinciam, quæ à regno Scotiæ angusto freto sejungitur, et Ulvestria nuncupatur, hostiliter invadendam putavit. Forte illuc venerat è Scotia Vivianus, vir eloquentissimus, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, susceptus honorifice à rege, et Episcopis ejusdem provinciæ, in civitate maritima quæ

[70] Lib. 3, c. 9.

[v] This argument is of no force whatsoever. The facts are these: Vivian, on a legatine mission to England, Scotland and Ireland, was in the isle of Man on Christmas-day 1176: after the Epiphany, 1177, he landed at Dunpatric, and, proceeding to Dublin, was met and taken prisoner by John De Courcey, who had left Dublin on the Feast of the Purification, Feb. 2, to attack Ulster, by his own authority, and contrary to the orders of Fitz Adelm, then English governor of Ireland. The expedition was directed against Dunpatric: Vivian endeavoured to make peace between the king of Ulidia and De Courcey, on condition of the former paying tribute to the king of England; De Courcey, not accepting these conditions, Vivian gave his blessing to the Irish army, exhorting them to fight bravely for their lives and property. They were defeated; their bishop was taken prisoner; and Downpatrick was plundered by De Courcey's banditti. Arriving in Dublin, Vivian held a synod there on the first Sunday in Lent; in which, among other things, he ordered the Irish, in conformity with the letter of Alexander III. to the Irish prelates, to remain faithful to Henry under pain of excommunication. Vivian's conduct, therefore, though indefensible on other points, if we believe Baronius, is perfectly consistent with his knowledge of the papal bulls; it was even the only course he could have pursued consistent with those bulls, and with the treaty of Windsor between Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair and Henry II. one year and a half before, in 1175. De

lence of a man who trampled on the laws, and spurned his lawful superiors, but even goaded him on in his career of vice by sending an army to his support. Is it not, then, plain that Henry inculcated no virtue in Ireland, but rather sowed vice broadcast: he established no new laws, but labored with all his might to abolish the good old laws of the land. Truly, it amazes me, that any man could have ever imagined Henry had the pope's authority for such proceedings.

Though the proofs already advanced are more than sufficient to show that the bulls of Adrian and Alexander are spurious, there remains yet one argument, which, in my humble judgment, places the question beyond the possibility of doubt.[v] "Now John De Courcey," says Newbrigensis, "gathering a valiant band of horse and foot, resolved to invade that province of Ireland, which was separated from Scotland by a narrow channel, and is called Ulster. But it so happened that Vivian, a very eloquent man, and legate of the apostolic see, had landed there from Scotland, and was received with every mark of respect, by the king and bishops of that province. While he was stopping at Dun (Down), a city on the sea shore, news came to the Irish of the advance of the hostile army. They consulted the legate as to

Courcey had no right to invade Ulster; it was a buccaneering expedition against the express orders of the English governor of Ireland: and any authorization of such an expedition by the government would be an express violation of the treaty of Windsor; which required nothing but tribute from the Irish. Vivian, therefore, acted consistently in resisting De Courcey, and at the same time in enforcing the submission of the Irish, in accordance with previous stipulations, the papal letters, and the treaty at Windsor. Baronius Annales cum critice Pagi A.D. 1183, VIII. O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 1177. The transactions of Vivian are malignantly misrepresented by Thierry. Norman Conquest, Book XI. Some of his gross errors shall be pointed out in another place; suffice it for the present, that he transposes the great coalition of the Irish A.D. 1170, when Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair marched to Dublin, to the year 1174; and that he makes the invasion of Connacht by Milo de Cogan completely successful. His blunders on Irish matters are an elaborate commentary on the words of a famous minister; "history! that I know to be false;" they are also inexcusable, as he had in his own language perhaps the best history of Ireland yet written, the Abbé Mac Geoghegan's.

Dunum vocatur, pro tempore morabatur; hostium autem adventu præcognito Hibernienses consuluere legatum, quid in tali articulo esset agendum: qui pugnandum pro patria esse dixit: et pugnaturis cum obsecrationibus benedixit." Sed adverso prælio facto, "capta est Civitas Dunensis. Porro legatus Romanus cum suis refugit in Eccle-
[195] siam sanctorum reliquiis inclytam; providerat | enim sibi homo prudens, et præ manibus habebat regis Anglorum literas ad præfectos ejus Hibernicos, ut eorum suffragiis, legationis suæ inter barbaros munus impleret. Hac authoritate pacem, et securitatem accipiens Divellinum migravit, et sub nomine vel domini Papæ, vel regis Anglorum fiducialiter agens, convocatis Hiberniæ præsulibus, atque abbatibus generale concilium celebravit. Verum cum in Ecclesiis simplicitatis barbaræ liberius agere morem vellet Romanum, denuntiantibus regiis præfectis, ut vel abscederet; vel secum militaret, auro Hibernico quod multum sitierat nimis onustus remeavit."

Quis suspicabitur tantum ministrum domini sui vel ignorasse, vel contempsisse mandata? cur Pontificis injussu Hibernos adiit non ante monitus ad quæ officia ipsos hortaretur? quod si Henricum Pontifex Hibernorum dominum instituiset, sicut scripto diplomate illum imperare jussit, cur non hos vel verbis à Legato proferendis obtemperare præcepisset? Cum præsertim Vivianus Cardinalis primus Hiberniam, post supremum Hiberniæ imperium Henrico Pontificis authoritate collatum, legati dignitate insignitus petierit. Rumore ubique pervagato constabat Hibernos non solum Henrici imperia detrectasse, sed etiam armis repulisse. Ut præcipuum legationis munus fuisse debuerit eos Pontificis decretum edocere, intraque officii sui cancellos continere, ac illorum pervicaciam hortationibus frænare.

Quod si quinquennii post Henricum Hiberniæ Imperium à Pontifice consecutum elapsi diuturnitas ex ejus animo bullæ memoriam detrusisset mirum est vel ipsum armorum strepitum oblivionis illi veternum non excussisse, aut memoriam illi diplomatis non refricasse. Certe tam inusitatæ potestatis in peregrinum principem insciis incolis collatæ, vel raritas advertentiam, vel novitas admirationem movisset. Cujus diplomatis si oblivione tot stimulis memoriam incitantibus tenebitur, indubitatum profecto indicium est, quod ejus quoque ignoratione teneretur. Vel hinc perspicuum sit necesse esse quòd in rerum natura ejusmodi

what they should do in such a conjuncture, and he told them, that they should fight for their country, and he gave them his blessing with hearty prayers for their success." But they were defeated, "and the city of Dun was taken." The Roman legate, with his attendants, took refuge in a church that was famed for its relics of the saints; for he was a prudent man, and had procured letters from the king of the English to his governors in Ireland, to aid him by their authority in the discharge of his legatine functions among the barbarians. On the security of those letters he passed unmolested to Dublin, and by virtue of a commission either from the king of England, or our lord the pope, he held a general council of the Irish bishops and abbots. But wishing to enforce too violently the observance of Roman custom, in a church of barbarian simplicity, the king's governors ordered him either to depart or to take part with them in the war. He did depart, loaded with Irish gold,[w] which had been the grand object of his wishes."

Can any man imagine that such a minister either knew not or despised the orders of his master? would he have come to Ireland without the order of the pope, and utterly ignorant of the duties he was bound to inculcate among the Irish? if the pope had appointed Henry lord of Ireland, as the papal letter had ordered the Irish to obey Henry, why were not the Irish ordered to obey the words of his legate? especially as cardinal Vivian was the first papal legate, that came to Ireland after the supreme dominion of Ireland had been conferred on Henry by the pope. It was notorious that the Irish not only did not acknowledge, but opposed by arms, Henry's claims to their kingdom; and hence the principal duty of the legate should have been to produce the pope's bull, and to restrain them within the bounds of duty, and curb their impetuosity by his exhortations. If the short interval of five years from the supposed papal grant of the crown of Ireland to king Henry had obliterated the bull from his memory, it is amazing that the strife of arms did not rouse him from his lethargy, and remind him of that important document. Would not so singular and unprecedented a power, conferred on a foreign prince without the knowledge of the victims themselves, challenge attention and excite wonder? if, with

[w] "Auro Hibernico quod multum sitierat, minus onustus," are the words of Newbrigensis: on which Baronius observes, after lamenting

Bulla non extiterit; quando non solum occasione, sed etiam necessitate exigente non educebatur; sed tanquam gladius in vagina militis ad pugnam provocati reconditus delitescebat.

Nec dubitandum est, si penes Henricum regem illud diploma resideret, quin desidere apud se, ac latitare non pateretur. Imo illud proculdubio quantocius promeret, et legato exhiberi curaret, cum solâ illius Cardinali exhibitione sumptus Henrici non modice saltem imminueretur, si non penitus tolleretur, et ejus milites pugnæ discrimini subducti in tuto collocarentur. Sane Cardinalem non modo non renitentem, sed etiam Domini sui dictis expedite audientem nancisceretur, qui eo audaciæ non prorupisset, ut si vel auditione accepisset mandata ejusmodi à Pontifice profecta fuisse, illa violaret. Ad minus Hibernos ad obedientiam Domino ipsis nuper à Pontifice præposito, non ad reluctandum hortaretur. Et arma contra Domini sui copias ferre, aut eas pugna excipere non suaderet, nec signa cum iis collaturos faustis apprecationibus prosequeretur.

Sedis Apostolicæ legati regnum aliquod semel ingressi non obtemperantes, sed imperantes convenire consueverunt: atqui Vivianus Cardinalis non ad præfatos à rege Anglorum Hiberniæ præpositos, sed ad Hibernos, Pontificis jussu se contulit. Hibernos igitur Pontifex supremam Hiberniæ potestatem mansisse indubitanter judicavit. Huc accedit quod prudens legatus ab Henrico rege literas ad ejus Hiberniæ præfectos impetravit, non ut de re ulla cum iis ageret, sed ut ipsi munia sua obeunti impedimento non forent. Ut extra controversiam positum sit Vivianum tumultus Hibernici non ignarum in Hiberniam trajecisse, ac timuisse potius ne Angli negotium ipsi facesserent, quam decrevisse ut negotia cum iis ulla transigeret.

Quantum distat ortus ab occidente,[71] tantundem à Giraldo in hac re

[71] Hibern. exp. lib. 2, c. 6.

the little good effected by the legate, on account of the tumults of civil war, "Ita plane nullum unquam bonum finem potuit sortiisse legatio, quam in-

of its existence? This fact alone proves to demonstration that the bull never existed; it was not produced at a conjuncture when there was not only occasion, but even necessity for it; does the soldier let his sword rust in the scabbard when the armed enemy is on him?

If the bull were in Henry's possession, he would not have allowed it to lie unknown and unpublished. He would have instantly produced and shown it to the legate.[x] Had the Cardinal merely seen it, Henry would save a considerable portion, if not the total of the charges of the war, and his soldiers might rest secure from the perils of the battle. The legate, so far from opposing, would have promptly obeyed the orders of his masters; for he could not be audacious enough te resist the will of the pope, though conveyed to him by the report of others, or though he might not possibly advise the Irish to obey the master placed over them by the pope, he certainly would not encourage them to resist him; he would not have entreated them to take up arms against the armyof their lord, and to meet him in the field, nor invoke the blessing of God on their banners, when they were marching to the charge.

When the legates of the apostolical see entered a kingdom, they usually addressed themselves, not to the subjects, but to the prince. Now it was not to Henry's governors of Ireland, but to the Irish themselves, that cardinal Vivian was sent by the pope,[y] and hence the pope declares expressly that the sovereignty of Ireland was yet in the hands of Irishmen. The legate, it is true, very prudently obtained letters from Henry to his governors in Ireland, but not so much in order to transact any business with them, as to prevent them from opposing him, in the discharge of his duty, Vivian could not possibly be ignorant of the convulsed state of Ireland before he passed over. He was afraid that the English might raise up troubles against him, but did not intend to transact any business with them.

The narrative of Giraldus on this point is as different from New-

famis auri cupiditas infamavit." Such are the facts and the comments of Baronius, but how widely different from Thierry's fictions.

[x] All this reasoning was grounded on false assumptions, as has been proved in a preceding note, v. p. 554.

[y] He was legate for other places as well as Ireland, and was on his way

narranda, Neubrigensis discrepat: ille à Viviano regem Ultoniæ rogatum
[196] fuisse refert, ut fasces Curcæo submitteret, ac tributo ei solvendo | acquiesceret: Hic Vivianum Ultoniæ regi consuluisse scribit, ut acie cum Curcæo decertaret. Ita ut quanto pax, et bellum intervallo sejunguntur, tanto scriptorum horum narrationes diducantur.

Sed nec de Viviani rebus in Hibernia gestis simplex est utriusque repugnantia. Illius hæc sunt verba:[72] "Vivianus legationis vice per Hiberniam fungens, convocato Dubliniæ Episcoporum Synodo, jus Anglorum regis in Hiberniam, et summi Pontificis confirmationem, viva voce publice protestatus, tam clero quam populo sub anathematis interminatione districte præcipiens, et injungens, ne ab ejus aliquatenus" fidelitate "ausu temerario resilire præsumnent." Verum Neubrigensis conceptis verbis, quæ ante produxi refragatur. Ait enim Vivianum cum in eâ Synodo morem Romanum per Hiberniam propagare statuisset, tantum Anglis Hiberniæ præfectis iracundiam movisse, ut illum protinus abscedere, aut ad suas partes ad Hibernos debellandos accedere jusserint. Hoc facto se minus urbanos, et nimis ingratos præbentes (si vera retulit Cambrensis) quod tanta in ipsos beneficia conferentem abscessum maturare coegerint.

Præterea quomodo credam Vivianum quod Cambrensis memorat officium Anglis præstitisse: quandoquidem asperius cum eo, variis in locis Angli non semel egerint? Etenim ubi primum in Angliam anno Domini 1177 pedem intulit,[73] "rex misit ad eum Richardum Wintonensem, et Gaufridem Eliensem Episcopos, ut interrogarent eum cujus authoritate ausus erat intrare in regnum suum sine licentia ipsius. His igitur interrogationibus prædictus Cardinalis plurimum territus, de satisfactione juravit regi, quod ipse nihil ageret in legatione sua contra voluntatem ipsius."[74] Deinde autem "eodem anno prædictus Vivianus tituli S. Stephani de Cœlio monte presbyter Cardinalis, et Apostolicæ

[72] Ibid. [73] Hovede. p. 553. [74] Idem, p. 561.

from the isle of Man to Dublin, by Downpatrick, at the period of De Courcey's expedition.

[z] Not the least contradiction: both

brigensis as light is from darkness. The former asserts that Vivian exhorted the king of Ulster to submit to De Courcey, and pay him tribute; the latter assures us that Vivian encouraged the king of Ulster to meet De Courcey in the field.[z] Thus the difference itself between war and peace is not greater than the difference between the narratives of both those writers.

With regard to Vivian's proceedings in Ireland, their accounts are utterly irreconcilable. According to Cambrensis, when Vivian came over to Ireland with legatine authority, he summoned a synod of bishops in Dublin, and having publicly proclaimed king Henry's title to Ireland and the grant of the pope, he strictly ordered and enjoined both the clergy and people, under pain of excommunication, not to presume to depart in the least from their allegiance to the king." The account I have already transcribed from Newbridge is directly opposed to this; for he states that when Vivian was insisting in that synod on the adoption of Roman customs throughout Ireland, the English governors of Ireland were so incensed, that they ordered him either to withdraw from the kingdom at once, or to give them his aid in making war on the Irish.[a] This was not merely uncivil, but very ungrateful, to compel the departure of a man, who, according to Giraldus, had conferred the most signal favors on them.

But, moreover, how can I believe what Cambrensis says of the favors of Vivian to the English, by whom he had been, in several places, treated with great indignity? When he first landed in England, in the year 1177, the king sent to him Richard, bishop of Winchester, and Galfrid, bishop of Ely, to demand by what right he had presumed to enter the kingdom without his license. The legate was struck with dismay by these interrogations, and in atonement for his rashness, "swore that he would do nothing in the discharge of his legatine functions against the will of the king." Afterwards, in the course of the same year, the said legate Vivian, cardinal priest of the title of St. Stephen, of the Cœlian Mount, and legate of the apostolic see, passed over to Ireland after the Epiphany, and landed at Dun (Down) in

facts are true. When his proposal that the Irish should pay tribute was rejected by De Courcey, he exhorted them to defend themselves.

[a] A proof, in my opinion, that Vivian sought to check the unjustifiable

sedis legatus post Epiphaniam transfretavit in Hiberniam, et applicuit apud Dun in Valuestre, et cum ambularet versus Diveline secus mare, obviavit exercitui Joannis de Curci, qui injicientes in eum manum tenuerunt, sed Joannes de Curci liberavit eum, et abire permisit."

Quod si Henricus rex promulgandæ Alexandri Bullæ causâ, Vivianum in Hiberniam perrexisse certior fieret, erga ipsum proculdubio se magis comem gereret; et ejus in Hibernia milites, vel ab ipso moniti, vel fama vulgante sui regis jus ad Hiberniam eum Pontificis authoritate corroboraturum rescientes, à manibus in eum injiciendis citra dubium abstinerent. Itaque qui utramque narrationem suis ponderibus librabit, eam necesse est ut amplectatur, quam duo scriptores odio in Hibernos, ac in suos studio, æque ac Cambrensis inflammati tradunt. His adde quod Vivianum Cambrensis commendatione, alii probris prosequantur; ab iis enim, et â Baronio avarus audit: cum par fuerit ut saltem improperiis, et injuriis eorum non impeteretur,[75] quorum regi dominationem Hiberniæ ille in manus tradere toto conatu nixus fuit.

Necesse profecto est ut Henricus ipse prædictas Adriani et Alexandri Bullas vel non prodiisse, vel non iis viribus præditas fuisse censuerit, ut ad summum Hiberniæ imperium sibi comparandum suffecerint; quando iis non acquiescens, à Lucio III. Alexandri successore simile priorum Pontificum concessionibus diploma impetrare contenderit.[76] De quo licet immensâ "pecuniarum" vi ad ipsum an. Domini 1183 submissâ, optime meritus fuerit; tamen in hac rogatione repulsam passus est, perspiciente nimirum, quantum conjecturâ assequi possumus, et rei serie accuratius excussâ, superiores literas vel nullo pacto, vel per fraudem obtentas fuisse. Hinc itaque quietem Henricus capere non potuit

[75] An. 1183. [76] Hould. p. 622.

aggressions of individual Anglo-Normans against the Irish, and to enforce on their behalf the treaty of Windsor.

[b] Giraldus here appears to contradict Newbrigensis, who asserts that De Courcey found Vivian at Down. The accounts may be reconciled by supposing that, after being liberated, he returned to Down, without the knowledge of his captors. From the part he afterwards took in favor of the Irish of Down, and from the subsequent conduct of the English to him,

Ulster. But as he was journeying along the sea shore to Dublin, he was met by John De Courcey's soldiers, who took him prisoner, and detained him until he was liberated by De Courcey himself, and allowed to pursue his journey.[b]

Now, if king Henry had known that Vivian was going to Irelend to publish the bull of pope Alexander, he certainly would have treated him with more kindness. His soldiers in Ireland would either have been informed by himself or informed by public report, that the legate was commissioned by the papal authority to confirm the title of their king to the Irish crown, and would not have dared to lay violent hands on him. Whoever dispassionately examines the conflicting narratives, must adopt that which is founded on the testimony of two writers, both as violent enemies of the Irish, and as zealous partizans of their own countrymen, as Giraldus himself. Be it observed, moreover, that Cambrensis praises Vivian though he is generally attacked by others, and accused of avarice by Baronius. He ought not to have been assailed and maligned by them at least, to whose king he strove with all his might, to confirm the right to the Irish crown.[c]

At all events, it is certain that king Henry either did not believe the authenticity of the bulls of Adrian and Alexander, or the validity of the claim which they purported to give to the sovereignty of Ireland. For we find him distrusting them, and laboring to extort from pope Lucius, the third, successor of Alexander, a grant similar to the preceding. Yet, though he had deserved well of pope Lucius, and sent him a large sum of money in 1188, he was disappointed in his expectations. The pope refused the request, probably, as well as we can conjecture, because, after an attentive examination of the whole affair, he discovered either that the bulls had never been issued or that they were fraudulently

it is not improbable that, hearing at Down of the advance of De Courcey's plunderers, he went to meet them, in hopes of making peace: or perhaps the permission to pursue his journey, given by De Courcey, was after the battle of Down. The author of the supplement to the History of Ireland, published in the Liber Munerum, has some absurd blunders about Vivian. p. 10.

[c] But not the robbery of the lands of the Irish, by private adventurers: against the letter of treaties, and

(memorata diplomata inique parta, ac proinde minus valida fortasse ratus) nisi novam Hiberniæ ditioni suæ adjiciendæ potestatem ab Urbano III., qui summo Pontificatu post Lucium functus est assequeretur. Ad quem an. Domini 1185, "Henricus rex Angliæ misit nuntios suos et multa ab eo impetravit,[77] quibus Papa Lucius fortiter resistebat, quorum unum hoc fuit, quod ab eo impetravit, quod unus quem vellet de filiis suis coronaretur de regno Hiberniæ; et hoc confirmavit ei Dominus Papa Bullâ suâ, et in argumentum voluntatis, et confirmationis suæ misit ei coronam de penna pavonis auro contextam." Ut
[197] fortunæ tenuioris | homines non datâ fide merces, sed numeratâ pecuniâ comparant; sic scriptor iste non majorem à lectore fidem sibi vendicabit, quam obsignatis (ut aiunt) tabulis merebitur. Fuit ne laboriosius Bullam ipsam exhibere, quam mentionem ipsius leviter inserere? aut quæ alia illius celandæ causa potuit esse, quam quod è Pontificis officina nondum prodierit? adeonè se inurbanum primo Pontificatus initi anno, nullo adhuc Henrici beneficio devinctus? adeone se flexilem Urbanus præberet, ut quod à decessore suo Henrici meritis cumulato summâ importunitate extorquere non poterat, tam facili negotio à se impetrari pateretur? non fuit alieni tam profusus, ut regnum integrum insciis et inauditis dominis, in peregrinum conferret. Nec tam leve foret ejus beneficentiæ symbolum, ac est jaculatoria corona è plumis consuta, apta potius quæ personati alicujus in scena regis tempora redimiret, quam in veri, ac serii regis capite viseretur.

Quid vero tandem in illa Bulla Pontifex elargitus est? potestatem scilicet Henrico regis Hiberniæ titulo, quem vellet è suis filiis insigni-

[77] Hoved. p. 631.

frequently the positive prohibitions of the crown.

[d] However well pleased Lucius may have been with other parts of Henry's conduct, he could not but be highly displeased with his government of Ireland. Vivian, it must be supposed, had reported the wretched state of the country, and the non-fulfilment of most of the conditions on which the original grant had been made.

[e] If such a title had been given by the pope, it is strange that it was not assumed by John, and by the other English kings. It is certain that, until the 33rd of Henry VIII. the kings of England were styled lords, not kings of Ireland. Cox and others

obtained.[d] Hence we find Henry still restless, from the conviction, perhaps, that the preceding bulls had been unjustly procured, and were therefore invalid. Again, he applies to Urban III., the successor of pope Lucius, and begs a new grant of the kingdom of Ireland. "In the year 1185, Henry, king of England, sent his ambassadors to Urban and obtained many favors, which had been sternly refused by pope Lucius. One of the concessions was, that he was empowered to have any of his sons crowned king of Ireland,[e] and the pope confirmed that right to him by a bull, and sent to him, as a token of his will and approbation, a crown of peacock's feathers, wreathed with gold." As merchants of slender means cannot get goods on credit, but must pay down ready money, even so this writer has no more claims to the assent of his readers than what his authorities can command. Would it, I ask, have been more troublesome to give a copy of that bull, than to make this passing notice of it? Can there be any possible reason for suppressing it, but the conviction that it had not really been granted by the pope? in the very first year of his pontificate, before he was under the least obligation to Henry, could Urban be so indecorous, so flexible, as to grant thus readily what neither the most pressing solicitation nor the choicest favors could extract from his predecessor? Surely he could not take such liberty with the property of others, as to make a present of a whole kingdom to a foreigner, without even communicating his design to the inhabitants, or hearing their defence. Surely he would send some more respectable pledge of his liberality than a hunting cap of peacock's feathers, which would gird, with more propriety, the temples of some stage king in a theatre, than the head of a true and real monarch.

But what is the substance of this grant of the pope? Henry is authorized to select any of his sons, and have him crowned king of Ireland. Now the author himself assures us that Henry had already

conjecture that Henry's reason for not having John crowned king, was an apprehension that he might follow the example of his brothers, who had rebelled against their father: but would not the title and power of lord of Ireland, which was certainly conferred on John, also enable him to rebel?

endi fecit. Verum hoc ipso authore asserente, Henricus eam sibi potestatem ante dudum assumpsit. Nam anno Domini 1177 "venit rex Oxenford, et in generali Concilio ibidem celebrato constituit Joannem filium suum regem in Hibernia, concessione et confirmatione Alexandri summi Pontificis."[78] Nimis intempestivè negotio peracto, ejus peragendi facultas postulatur. Hoc nihil aliud est, quam potestati supremæ illudere. Consuetudinem scilicet sibi familiarem consectatus est Henricus ditionis primum sibi vendicandæ, et ejusdem à Pontifice postea emendicandæ. Sic in Hiberniam arma seque intulit, ante vel Adriani Bullam exhibitam, vel Alexandri impetratam: ordine nimis præpostero, rei finem initio præponens. Etenim non secus ac suppetiæ post bellum inanes ac supervacaneæ sunt; sic beneficii jam comparati concessio supervacanea, et concessionis efflagitatio turpis est. Quod enim dedecus majus esse potest, quam si tu facinoris emolumentum, alius tuâ culpâ infamiam ferat? et ad apertam à te cicatricem obducendam alterius opem implores, criminisque quod tu patrasti, alium prætendas authorem?

Sæpe memoratas Alexandri, Adrianique Bullas adulterinas esse vix aliud magis arguit quam quod qui Pontificum Bullas undequaque coacquisitas in unum fascem coegerunt, illas pro derelictis habitas, cæteris non adjunxerint. Spuriam enim prolem, et indolem Pontificiæ dignitatis non redolentem genuinæ soboli sociare non voluerunt. Aquilas imitati: "Quarum pulli sic à parentibus probari dicuntur:[79] patris scilicet ungue suspendi, et radiis solis opponi, qui firme contemplatus fuerit, filius agnoscitur, si acie palpitaverit tanquam adulterinus ab ungue dimittitur." Eædem etiam Bullæ inde non mediocriter ener-

[78] Pag. 566. [79] Aug. in Joannem tract 36.

[f] It is certain that John was not styled king of Ireland; but, to the exclusion of his elder brothers, he was appointed lord of Ireland in 1177; and the grants of the kingdoms of north and south Munster conferred that year on Englishmen were made in the name of Henry and of his son John. Whether these grants were a treacherous violation of the treaty of Windsor, or whether the Irish, even after Vivian's synod, refused to fulfil the conditions of that treaty, does not clearly appear: but the probability is, that

actually usurped that power. In the year 1177, "the king came to Oxford, and in a general assembly appointed his son John king of Ireland,[f] with permission and authority of pope Alexander." When the business was concluded, it was an odd time to ask permission to have it done. It was a mockery of authority. But such was Henry's habit, first to seize upon a territory, and then to beg a grant of the same from the pope. Thus he lands in Ireland at the head of an army, before he published the bull of Adrian, or obtained the bull of Alexander; proceeding in an inverted order, beginning where he should end. When war is over, succour is too late and useless; when a possession is secured, a grant of it is needless,[g] a petition for the grant is a mockery. What crime more revolting than to make another man bear the infamy of your crime, while you enjoy its fruits? to ask another to staunch thewound which your own hands have torn open, and load him with the execration due to your own guilt?

One of the most powerful arguments, perhaps, against the authenticity of these bulls of Adrian and Alexander is, that the editors, who have used all possible diligence to give a complete edition of the bulls, passed them over with contempt, and never inserted them in their collections. They could not dream of registering such spurious bantlings, so unbecoming the solemn dignity of the pope, among the legitimate emanations from the apostolical see. These editors were like the eagles, which are said to know their young by the following ordeal. The parent bird takes the fledgling in its talons, and holds it against the rays of the sun. If the eaglet gazes at it steadily it is acknowledged legitimate, but if the eye blenches, "the talon opens and the spurious pretender is dropped to the earth."[h] Another excellent

neither party had any intention of observing it, if it could be violated with safety.

[g] By no means: if the authority whose sanction or confirmation was sought, could, according to the notions or usages of the day, confer greater stability on the rights acquired by conquest.

[h] No argument whatsoever: innumerable authentic letters of the popes are not in the bullarium. Moreover, Alexander's bull, which cites that of Adrian, is in the Bullarium. Roma, A. D. 1733. The editor's note, ibid., p. 352, follows the Frankfort edition

vantur, quod Cambrensis authoritatem, quæ summum Hiberniæ imperium Henrico regi summus Pontifex contulit, tanquam minus firmam, alios principes assensusuo corroborasse dixerit: vel potius finxerit his verbis: "Summorum Pontificum totiusque Christianitatis Principum, et Primatum confirmans accessit authoritas."[80] Nimirum potestatem Hiberniæ præficiendi quem Pontifex vellet ipsi soli hactenus à Cambrensi attributam nunc cum Imperatore, regibus exteris, ac Primatibus communicat. Ut pessimo loco Hiberni positi fuerint, quos tot dominorum imperiis audientes fuisse oportuit, quot erant tunc in Europa Principes, ac primates. Cum "nemo possit duobus dominis servire, quin unum odio habeat, alterum diligat; unum sustineat, alterum contemnat."[81]

Quomodo autem peregrini principes ab Henrico alieni esse non poterant, quem sui filii aversati sunt, et armis impugnaverunt? A quo autem alienabantur, quomodo vices suas in administrandâ Hiberniâ illi committerent? Nec video quo Primates stimulo ad beneficium ullum Henrico impendendum incitarentur, qui ex eorum ordine unum Angliæ Primatem S. Thomam Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem morte affecit, Ut gratiam nullam alieni ab illo percepturi fuerint, qui adeo in suos sæviit. Inepte igitur in summi Hiberniæ imperii consortio Cambrensis
[198] summo Pontifici tot | collegas adjungit. Quo enim magis, supremam illam potestatem per plures distrahit, eò magis de summi Pontificis authoritate detrahit, quando in Hiberniæ administratione conferendâ "totius Christianitatis Principes, ac Primates" potestate Pontifici adæquat. Imo unde majorem Henrico regi authoritatem astruere voluit, hinc eam magis destruit, quòd cum illi nullum in Hiberniam sibi jus unquam arrogaverint, Pontifex nullum sibi pariter jus in Hiberniam assumere debuerit.

Illud imprimis sciscitor coierintnè in cœtum, ad supremum Hiberniæ imperium Henrico conferendum, "totius Christianitatis Principes, et primates?" An singuli viritim exorati, ejusmodi potestatem Henrico

80 Hibern. exp. lib. 2, c. 7. 81 Math. 6.

of Giraldus, which suppresses the bull of Alexander, and confounds it with Adrian's: an error which led Stephen White astray in chapters xviii. xix. and xx. of his Apologia pro Hibernia.

reason for doubting the authenticity of the same bulls, is the confession of Giraldus himself, who appears to doubt their validity, by introducing other princes to make good by their assent the papal grant of the sovereignty of Ireland to Henry II. "There was, moreover," he falsely says, "the authoritative sanction of the popes, and of all the princes and primates of Christendom." Thus the power of giving a ruler to Ireland, which Giraldus had at first represented as the exclusive prerogative of the pope, is now divided among the emperor and foreign kings and primates. Wretched, indeed, must have been the condition of the Irish, who had as many masters to obey, as there were princes and primates in Europe, though "no man can serve two masters, for he will either hate the one and love the other, or sustain the one and despise the other."

But what friendship could foreign princes have for Henry, when his own sons hated and took up arms against him; and if they had no friendship for him, how could they delegate to him their authority over Ireland? I am at loss to know what inducement primates could have to bestow any favor on a man, who had murdered one of their own order, the primate of England, St. Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. Could foreigners expect favors from him who was savagely cruel to his countrymen? It was a silly dream of Giraldus to give so many colleagues to the pope in the supreme dominion of Ireland. The greater the number of colleagues in that supreme dominion, the less the power of the pope, because the princes and primates of all Christendom are represented as coequal in power to the pope in disposing of the sovereignty of Ireland. Nay, this very attempt to strenghten Henry's authority over Ireland, utterly destroys it, for as the princes or primates never claimed the least power over Ireland; their colleague the pope ought not to have assumed it.

But I ask, in the first place, did these princes and primates of all Christendom assemble in general conclave to make a present of the kingdom of Ireland to king Henry? or were they solicited individually to ratify this grant to king Henry? Synodical act, or private letters of the kind I have never been able to discover, and the word of Giraldus, if not supported by authorities, is not a very safe ground of

traditam calculis suis approbarunt? nec enim adhuc mihi aut omnium senatus consultum, aut singulorum literas videre contigit. Cum dicta Cambrensis nisi è scriptis prolata liquidam certitudinem non referant. Huc accedit quod Mauritius Reganus famulus, et interpres Dermicii Lageniæ regis illius qui Anglos in Hiberniam primum attraxit res iis temporibus in Hibernia gestas scriptis accuratè consignaverit, nec verbum ullum de Bullis istis Adriani IV. et Alexandri III. nomina præferentibus fecerit. Quo autem pacto aliquis mentis non impos sibi persuadebit, accuratum scriptorem res minutiores ad posteros transmittentem, quod maximi ponderis est silentio præteriturum? cum et rei gravitas, et vel ipsa Pontificum nomina satis superque illum impellere debuerint, ad bullas istas è tenebris in apricum educendas? ita ut hominem rerum sui temporis Hibernicarum historiæ scribendæ, vel mediocri curâ incumbentem earum Bullarum notitia latere non potuerit. Utriusque bullæ conditori facilior ad eas cudendas aditus patuit, quòd in adulteratione Bullarum elaborandâ, alii exemplo præiverint. Nam indultum istud Honorii Pontificis Cantabrigiæ concessum ad classem commentitiarum Bullarum à pluribus refertur. Ait enim Harpsfeldius de illo indulto:[82] "Ut certum mihi judicium arrogare nollem, aut aliorum sententiis maturioribus præjudicare, ita certe non possum me à scrupulis, et multiplici hæsitatione, quæ ex ratione temporum occurrit, satis adhuc expedire. Nunquam enim, aut ægre sane, ista cum narratione spectatissimæ fidei, et eodem pene temporum æqualis authoris Bedæ, qui

[82] Seculo 7, c. 15.

[i] Giraldus does not assert that "the princes and primates" of other countries had jurisdiction, strictly so called, over Ireland: but in those days, as in the present, a king would wish to have his rights to a title or conquest acknowledged by other kingdoms; and such an acknowledgment would be the more anxiously sought then, as by very general consent, the Christian world was regarded as one general confederation of states, of which the pope and emperor were the head; to whom was reserved the right of granting the titles of king, duke, &c. &c. &c. May it not have been to some solemn act of the Christian states, in the council of Lateran, such as that intimated by Giraldus, that the council of Constance, some hundred years

certainty.[i] Moreover, Maurice Regan, retainer and interpreter of Diarmaid, king of Leinster, who first brought the English to Ireland, has left us a detailed account of the events of his own time, but never makes an allusion to those supposed bulls of Adrian and Alexander. Now, a man of ordinary judgment must find it very difficult to believe that a writer who has given minute details of comparatively trifling matters would have passed over in silence an affair of momentous interest, when the intrinsic importance of the documents and even the very name of the popes should have been a powerful inducement to bring their bulls from their obscurity into the light of day. Such documents could not escape the notice of a writer even of ordinary diligence, who undertook to record the current events of Irish history.[k] The forgery of the two bulls was considerably facilitated by the previous exploits of others in the same work of deception. Thus, the bull of pope Honorius, purporting to be a grant made to Cambridge, is considered by many to be apocryphal. Harpsfield gives the following opinion regarding it: "Without presuming to pronounce a positive decision, or dispute the wiser judgment of others, I cannot extricate myself fully from doubts of various kinds, arising from chronological difficulties. It is, if not impossible, at least, exceedingly difficult to reconcile these statements, with a history of undoubted authority, and composed nearly at the same time by the venerable Beda, who states that after this period, a school for boys was founded by Sigebert in East Anglia on the Kentish model, and that masters and professors were brought there from Kent; but above all, I cannot reconcile it with the chronology and events of the reign of Honorius. For, can any one

later, referred, when deciding the contest for precedence between England and France. The decision was in favor of England, not on account of her own rights, but because the rights of the ancient kingdom of Ireland had been transferred to her. Hibernia Dominicana, p. 807. See Leibnitz. Tractatus de Jure Suprematus, part iii. p. 330. Frederic Eichorn, Histoire de l'Empire, et du Droit Germanique, 3rd edit. tom. ii. p. 276.

[k] The silence of Regan is a strong confirmation of the fact, that the bull of Adrian, though granted many years before the invasion, had very little, if any influence on the first descent of the invaders.

post ista tempora puerorum scholam ad Cantianorum morem in Orientali Anglia institutam per Sigebertum scribit, et ex Cantia pedagogos, et magistros eo accersitos; aut (idque potissimum) cum temporum ratione Honoriique ætate cohærebunt. Quis enim in animum inducat Theologiæ studia tanto successu, cum Saxones Ethnici illius patriæ principatum tenerent, aut aliquam Archiepiscoporum, aut Episcoporum authoritatem ibi viguisse? aut Honorium ipsum eundemque Petronii viri consularis filium Cantabrigiæ illis temporibus literis operam dedisse? mitto voces illas: 'universitate cum essem in minoribus' eo ni fallor seculo in eum quidem sensum insolentes. Mitto alia, de quibus cum cogito, videor mihi in salebroso, et lubrico loco versari. Quæ tamen forsan alii aliquando impedimenta quod optarim sustulerint."[83] Hæc Honorii bulla in antiquitatum Cantabrigentium lib. primo pag. 75, producitur, sed à Briano Twino acriter agitatur, et in nullo loco consistere permittitur. Sergii etiam primi, et Eugenii quarti ad eosdem Cantabrigenses[84] diplomata ejusdem esse farinæ censentur. Utrumque Twinus insectatur. Præterea Bullam S. Augustini Cantuariensis nomen præferentem,[85] quâ privilegia quædam cœnobio Cantuariensi elargitus est, Spelmannus falsitatis nervose insimulat, et Gervasius ad annum 1181 scripsit "Monachos cœnobii Augustinianensis produxissemultas chartas suspectas et raras,"[86] quod si bullarum istarum Adriano, et Alexandro affictarum architectus præsidium aliquod in imitatione collocet, magnus tam supposititiarum, quam subreptitiarum Bullarum cumulus, ad facinoris sui dolorem ei leniendum, corradi et congeri
[199] facile posset. |

[83] Antiq. Oxoni. lib. 1, p. 61, usque 77. [84] Ibidem. p. 77, ad 89. [85] Concil. Panbrit, p. 124. [86] Ibidem, p. 131.

[1] As Giraldus accused the Irish clergy of not endeavouring to check the disorders of Ireland, it may be useful to cite here a few notices from the native annals during the century which preceded the invasion. The popes, as every one knows, had in those ages, especially from the time of St. Gregorius VII., occupied a very prominent place in the political history of Europe. Their influence was felt far and wide. About the same period the Irish clergy appear as the arbiters and umpires between kings, laboring

believe that theological studies were so flourishing, or that either archbishops or bishops had any authority in a territory then governed by Pagan Saxons ? or that Honorius himself and the said son of Petronius, of consular rank, could have studied in Cambridge in those days ? I need not observe, moreover, that the words, " when I was in the University in minor orders, were, if I do not mistake, unknown in that sense during that century. I omit other questions, which perplex me, on this intricate and slippery topic. Others, I fervently hope, may at length, perhaps succeed, in clearing them up." This bull is published in the Antiquities of Cambridge, lib. 1, p. 75 ; but it is impugned by Brienne Twine, and completely refuted. The bulls of Eugene IV. and Sergius I. to the same Cambridge are admitted to be spurious also. Twine refutes both of them. Spelman also proves, conclusively, that a bull purporting to be a grant of certain privileges to the monks of Canterbury, by St Augustine of Canterbury, is spurious. Again, Gervase, at the year 1181, writes, " that the Augustinian monks brought forward several rare and suspicious documents." Thus, if the author of the forged bulls of Adrian and Alexander can be defended by precedent, it were easy to collect and scrape together a great number of forged and surreptitious bulls, to mitigate, in some measure, the pain of his guilt.[1]

to check the anarchy which had desolated the island since the fall of the legitimate monarchy, in the person of Maelseachlainn II. in 1022. St. Gregorius VII. wrote a letter to Toirdhealbhach O'Briain, and to the bishops and lords of Ireland, 1085, exhorting them to "do justice, to protect and love the Catholic peace of the church." Ussher assigns that letter to 1085, the last year of St. Gregorius, as he had not found any certain means of determining its date. There is reason to believe that it ought to be referred to the year 1078: because it is dated from Sutri; and in the vast collection of the same pope's letters, none are dated from that place except in 1078. L'Abbe, Concilia, vol. 12, p. 430. Moreover, about that period his attention was directed to England and Scotland, and it may be reasonably supposed, to Ireland. However that may be, the following notices from the Irish annals will prove, that from that time, during the space of a century, the clergy exerted themselves to establish peace. In 1080 an army was led to Dublin by "Toirdhealbhach O'Briain, and the men of Maelseach-

lainn (Meath) came into his house (i.e. submitted to him) with the staff of Jesus, and with the successor of St. Patrick and the clergy of Munster." In 1097 Muircheartach O'Briain, king of Leath Mogha (the south) "came against O'Lochlainn, king of the north, but God and the successor of Patrick made peace between them." In 1099 "the successor of Patrick made a year's peace" between the same princes. In 1101 O'Lochlainn liberated the king of Ulidia "through the intercession of the successor of Patrick and all his congregation, after they had mutually sworn on the Bachall Isa (staff of Jesus) and the relics of the church. In 1102 the hostages of the men of Ireland were in the hands of Domhnall, successor of Patrick, for one year's peace between O'Briain, O'Lochlainn, and the rest." In 1105 "Domhnall, successor of St. Patrick, went to Dublin to make peace between the kings O'Lochlainn and O'Briain, where he took his death sickness; and he was carried in his sickness to Domhnach-airthir-Eamhna (Donnycarney), and he was anointed there. He was afterwards removed to the cathedral of Ardmacha, where he died on the 12th of August." Domhnall, though a lay bishop, had thus proved even to death, that he fully comprehended the principle laid down by St. Anselm in a letter to O'Briain, one of the contending kings, "where there is peace, all men of good will can do what they desire, without being disturbed by wicked men." "On that foundation of peace it is easy to build up the other things, which ecclesiastical discipline requires." Ussher's Sylloge, p. 93. St. Celsus (Ceallach) who succeeded Domhnall in 1105, visited Ulster and Munster in 1106; made a year's peace between the two kings in 1109; visited Meath in 1110; held the synod of Fiadh Mac Ænghusa in 1111; "separated the same two kings under the semblance of peace and tranquillity" in 1113; and when, in the same year, "their armies remained for the space of a month in readiness confronting each other, the successor of St. Patrick, with the staff of Jesus, made peace between them." He visited Connacht a second time in 1116; and Munster a second time in 1120. In the same year Toirdhealbhach O'Conchobhair took hostages from Meath under protection of the successor of St. Patrick and the staff of Jesus. In 1126 "there was a great storm of war throughout Ireland, so that Ceallach, successor of St. Patrick, was obliged to be for one month and a year absent from Ardmacha, establishing peace among the men of Ireland, and promulgating rules and good customs in every district among the laity and clergy." In 1128 "a year's

peace was made by Ceallach, successor of Patrick, between the men of Connacht and the men of Munster." Next year, like his predecessor, far from his own see, " Ceallach, successor of Patrick, a son of purity, the only head whom the foreigners and Irish of Ireland, both laity and clergy, obeyed; after having ordained bishops, priests, and persons of every degree, after having consecrated churches and cemeteries; after having bestowed jewels and wealth; after having established rules and good morals among all, both laity and clergy, resigned his spirit to heaven at Ardpatrick in Munster, April 1st, in the fiftieth year of his age. His body, in accordance with his own will, was interred at Lismor." Four years after the death of Ceallach, St. Mael-maedhog obtained possession of the Bachall Isa: and how he used it our author has frequently told us. See also, in a preceding note, p. 466, the labors of Gelasius, successor of St. Mael-maedhog. Thus, during the century preceding the invasion, the primates had earnestly endeavoured to heal the great evil of the times. The clergy of other sees imitated the example. Thus, in 1133, "a conference was held by Toirdhealbhach O'Conchobhair, and Conchobhar O'Briain, with the chiefs of the clergy of Connacht and Munster, in Westmeath, and a year's peace was made between them:" and in 1144 the chiefs of the same province "made terms of peace according to what the clergy had ratified between them." These testimonies are given here in the simple words of the annalists. It may not be unnecessary to inform some readers that the Bachall Isa was the crozier of the see of Ardmacha: for its history, see Introduction to the Obits and Martyrology of Christ church: it was carried to Dublin by the invaders, and deposited in Christ church, where it remained until it was burned by the reformers in the 16th century. Many other celebrated relics were used for the same purpose as the Bachall Isa: thus, in 1143, the king of Connacht took the king of Meath prisoner, though he was under the protection of the relics and guarantees of Ireland. These were they: "the altar of Kiaran with its relics; the shrine of Kiaran, called the Orinach (a gold covered crozier); the Mathamhor (the Gospel of St. Matthew); the abbot and prior, and two out of every order in the church; O'Dubhthaigh, the archbishop of Connacht, the successor of Patrick and the staff of Jesus; the successor of St. Fechin and the bell of Fechin and the Boban (bell) of St. Caeimhghin (Kevin)." So far to illustrate the manners of the age, and the position of the clergy during the century preceding the invasion.

CAPUT XXV.

[199] ALIA QUÆDAM ADMINICULA. QUÆ MEMORATARUM BULLARUM VIRES NON-PARUM INFIRMANT, PRODUCUNTUR.

Minæ præcedunt censuras. Absentes non judicandi sunt. Hibernia nunquam a Summo Pontifice censuris percussa fuit.—Scotiæ regnum interdicto punitur,—Anglia sacris interdicta. [200] Gallia censuris punita.—Hispania censuras passa.—Polonia interdicto supposita.—Imperatores censuris perstricti.—Roma et Florentia interdictum passæ.—Reges Hiberniæ pontificibus obsequiosi. [201] Maculæ novæ Hiberniæ aspersæ.—In aqua non in lacte baptisma fiebat.—Nec vinum ad baptismum adhibitum.—Infantes non a patribus, aut aliis quam a presbyteris baptizabantur. [202] Politicæ Hibernicæ leges de baptismo.—Plures a S. Patricio baptisati.—Polygamiæ in Hibernia nullæ.—Ob aliquorum affinium connubia, non debuit Hibernia tota puniri. [203] Plura divortia facta.—Hibernorum erga summum pontificem et sacerdotes veneratio. [204] Honor Hibernorum erga templa —Hiberni religionis Catholicæ tenacissimi.—Aura fidem spirare videtur.—Advenæ fiunt in Hibernia Catholici. [205] Stabilitas agricolarum in fide Catholica.—In hæresim lapsi morti vicini resipiscunt.—Studium Hibernorum erga summum pontificem.—Magistratu spoliati ob primatum pontificis non abjuratum.—Jurisperiti non agunt causas quod pontifice primatum ecclesiæ tradant.—Traversius ob supremam in ecclesiæ potestatem pontifici assertam crematur. [206] Aliis regnis a pontifice deficientibus Hibernia illi adhæsit.—Hiberni nulla arte a Catholica religione divelli poterant.—Hiberni etiam olim, summi pontificis studio tenebantur. [207] Hiberni authoritatem omnem ecclesiasticam a pontifice derivarunt.—S. Mansuetus ivit Romam.—S. Kyeranus ivit Romam.—S. Albeus, S. Declanus, S. Sezinus, iverunt Romam.—SS. Ibarus, Abbanus, Endæus, et Scothinius Romam iverunt.—S. Cassanus Romam concessit.—S. Moctæus Romæ studuit.—S. Nemedius Romam adiit [208] SS. Senanus et Carthagus Romam profecti sunt.—S. Barræus Romam profectus cum SS. Eulogio, Moedoco, et Davide.—SS. Finnanus, Daganus, Lasreanus, Caidocus, Fursæus, Foilanus, Romam iverunt.—S. Indractus Romæ versatus.—S. Kilianus Romam se contulit —Multis de causis Romam Hiberni accurrerunt. [209] Non more Græco sed Romano in Hibernia vivebatur.—Non Græco sed Latino more feria quarta in Hibernia jejunatur.—Hibernia alias gentes ad obsequium pontificis adduxerunt. [210] Comites duodecem ex Hibernia crebrius ad fidem propagandam missi.—Plures quam duodecim ex Hibernia emissi. [211] Pauciores quam duodecim ex Hibernia emissi.—Sancti Hiberni qui in Italia floruerunt.—Qui in Gallia: in Picardia; in Britannia Armorica; in Burgundia.—Qui in Belgiis, qui in Germania. [212] Alii Sancti Hiberni floruerunt in Germania.—Summi pontifices de Hibernis optime meriti sunt.—In Hiberniam a pontifice missi qui fidem docebant. Palladius ad Hibernos missus.—Quando in Britanniam Scoti migrarunt. [213] Palladius ad Scotos Hiberniæ, non Scotiæ missus.—Aliquot Christiani in Hibernia ante Palladium. [214] S. Jacobus Apostolus fuit in Hibernia.—Qui ante Palladium fidem in Hibernia promulgarunt.—Locus Prosperi exponitur. [215] Cur Palladius dictus primus episcopus in Hiberniam missus.—Alii Palladium comitati Romani in Hiberniam profecti —S. Patricius in Hiberniam missus. [216] Primi episcopatuum præsules sancti.—S. Colmanellus legatus.—S. Augustinus Anglorum apostolus divertit in Hiberniam. [217] S. Laurentius Cantuariensis scribit ad Hibernos.—Honorius primus litteras ad Hibernos dedit.—Johannis Papa litteras ad Hibernos dedit. [218] Qui fuerunt præsules in inscriptione litterarum Johannis Papæ.—Non per pertinaciam sed per errorem Hiberni præposterum pascha coluerunt. [219] Omnes Scoti non sunt Scotiæ Britannicæ incolæ.—Error

CHAPTER XXV.

A FEW OTHER CONSIDERATIONS WHICH LESSEN VERY MUCH THE AUTHORITY OF THE AFORESAID BULLS.

[199] Censures preceded by admonition.—None judged in their absence.—Ireland never subjected to papal censures.—The kingdom of Scotland punished by an interdict.—England subjected to interdict. [200] France punished by censures.—Spain punished by censures.—Poland subjected to interdict.—Emperors punished by censures.—Rome and Florence subjected to interdict.—The kings of Ireland obedient to the popes. [201] Novel calumnies against the Irish: baptism conferred with water, not with milk.—Wine not used in baptism.—Infants baptized not by their fathers or any other person but the priest. [202] Irish civil laws relating to baptism.—Many baptized by St. Patrick.—Polygamy unknown in Ireland.—All Ireland ought not to have been punished for the marriages of some few within the forbidden degrees. [203] Several instances of divorce.—Veneration of the Irish for the pope, and for priests. [204] Their respect for churches.—The Irish most tenacious of the Catholic faith.—The air of Ireland seems impregnated with that faith.—Settlers in Ireland become Catholic. [205] Firmness of the rural population in the Catholic faith.—Those who fell into heresy repent at the approach of death.—Attachment of the Irish to the pope.—Magistrates dismissed for not abjuring the pope's supremacy.—Lawyers interdicted from practice at the bar because they asserted the pope's supremacy.—Travers burned to death for maintaining the pope's supremacy. [206] Ireland adhered to the pope, when other nations revolted from him.—The Irish could not by any means be torn from the Catholic religion.—In former ages, also, the Irish were most zealously attached to the popes. [207] The Irish derived all ecclesiastical authority from the pope.—St. Mansuetus went to Rome.—St. Kiaran went to Rome.—SS. Ailbhe, Declan, and Seizin went to Rome.—SS. Ibar, Abban, Enda, and Scothin, went to Rome.—St. Cassan went to Rome.—St. Mochta studied in Rome.—St. Nemedh went to Rome. [208] SS Senanus and Carthag went to Rome.—St. Barr went to Rome with St Eulogius, St. Maidog, and St. David.—SS. Finan, Dagan, Lasrean, Caidoc, Fursa, Foilan, went to Rome.—St. Indracht some time at Rome.—St. Kilian went to Rome—Various reasons why the Irish went to Rome. [209] Roman and not Greek customs observed in Ireland.—The fast on Wednesday observed in Ireland, not a Greek but a Latin custom.—Ireland brought other nations into the pope's fold. [210] Twelve companions frequently sent from Ireland to preach the faith.—More than twelve sometimes sent. [211] And sometimes less than twelve.—Irish saints who flourished in Italy.—Irish saints in France; in Picardy; in Bretagne; in Burgundy.—Irish saints in Belgium, in Germany. [212] Other Irish saints in Germany.—Great benefits conferred by the popes on Ireland.—They sent those who taught her the faith.—Palladius sent to the Irish.—When did the Scots emigrate to Britain? [213] Palladius sent to the Scots of Ireland, not to Britain.—Some Christians in Ireland before Palladius. [214] St. James the apostle was in Ireland.—Who preached the faith in Ireland before Palladius?—The passage in Prosper explained. [215] Why is Palladius called the first bishop sent to Ireland?—Companions of Palladius.—Romans who came to Ireland.—St. Patrick sent to Ireland. [216] First prelates of sees, saints.—St. Colmanellus legate.—St. Augustine, apostle of England, came to Ireland. [217] St. Lawrence of Canterbury wrote to the Irish.—Pope Honorius I. and pope John sent letters to the Irish. [218] Names of the bi-

consi.—Scotorum nomen Hibernis et Scotis Britannis sæpius indictum. [223] Scoti Britannici Hiberniæ et Hibernorum nomina sibi vindicant.—Beda Hiberniæ voce Scotiam Britannicam non denotavit.—Beda non perplexe et ambigue loquitur.—Quam regionem Hiberniæ nomine Beda denotat. [221] Quibus notis a descriptione quam Hiberniæ Beda fecit, Scotia Britannica excluditur.—Beda est clarissimus scriptor. [222] Hibernia Scotiæ nomine a Beda venerabili affecta est. [223] Hibernia a Scotis habitata.—Scoti in septentrione et Austro Hiberniæ synonima.—Hectores Boethii error. [224] S. Adamnanus in Anglia.—Scotia hodierna pene fuit ab Anglis et Pictis tunc insessa.—Pars ejus quæ Anglorum erat. Quando iis finibus Scoti potiti sunt. [225] Quæ partes hodiernæ Scotiæ ad Pictos spectabant.—Occidentalem tantum hodiernæ Scotiæ partem Scoti tenebant.—Ea regio Dalrieta dicta fuit. Ditio Scotorum dicta Argathelia.—Quando primum in Argatheliam Scoti venerunt.—Unde series regum Scotiæ debuit incipere.—Quando nomen Scotiæ in Britanniam cœpit.—O'Sullevanus contra Camerarium. [226] Pontifices Hiberniam ex Pelagiana hæresi eduxerunt.—Beneficia Pontificum in Hibernos.—Splendor ecclesiæ Hibernicæ post tempestatem Danicam.—Legati Pontificum in Hibernia.—Gilbertus Limbricensis episcopus: S. Malachias. [227] Christianus Lismorensis episcopus.—S. Laurentius.—Matthæus Casselensis Archiepiscopus.—Legati extraordinarii.—Cardinalis Paparo.—Cardinalis Vivianus.—Cardinalis Salernitanus.—Salernitanus quid in Hibernia fecerit.—Plures Cardinales S. Stephani in Monte Cœlio.—Alii legati.—Petrus de Suffleno legatus.—Johannes Rufus legatus.—Cardinalis Polus legatus. [228] David Wolfius nuntius Apostolicus.—Sanderus legatus.—Tadæus Eganus nuntius Apostolicus.—Scarampus nuntius Apostolicus.—Joannes Baptista Rinuncinnus nuntius extraordinarius.—Pontificum jussu missionarii Hiberniam adeunt.—Pontifices armis et sumptibus Hiberniæ subveniunt.—Quatuor Archiepiscopatus in Hibernia.—In nullis regnis hæresi infectis, episcopi a pontificibus sunt constituti præterquam in Hibernia. [229] Quantum Hiberni pontificibus obstricti sunt.—Responsio et objectiones, Hiberniam fuisse censuris inustam.—Gregorius ad Hiberos non Hibernos scripsit.—Alii scriptores posuerunt Hibernos pro Iberis. [230] Hæresis trium capitulorum.—Qui honor habitus quatuor primis conciliis.—Hiberni non inficiebantur hæresi trium capitulorum. [231] Hiberni non habuerunt commercium cum ecclesiis remotis.—Beda inter Hibernorum errores hunc non narrat. Hiberni non fuerunt lapsi in Nestorianismum.—Secunda epistola S. Gregorii ad Hiberos non Hibernos missa est. [232] Baronius culpam Hibernorum extenuat.—Rationes et motiva ut fides Catholica admittenda sit in Hibernia, p. 10.—Hiberni non fuerunt censuris percussi ob Pelagianam hæresim. [233] S. Patricius in Britannia.—Pelagiam hæresim repressit.—Hibernos initio Pelagiana hæresis non infecit.—Hiberni ea hæresi leviter tincti. Australes Hiberni ea liberati.—Et postea septentrionales. [234] Quando septentrionales Hiberni errorem de paschate posuerunt.—Quando Hienses.—Fides Hibernorum integra.—Pelagiana hæresis non erat in Hibernia tempore S. Kiliani.—Pelagius aut Cælestius nunquam docuerunt in Hibernia.—Documenta nullam Hiberniæ censuram inflictam fuisse. [235] Sanctorum virorum examina in exteras regiones Hibernia emisit.—Error paschatis in Hibernis a pontifice toleratus.—Non fuit error Quartadecimanorum. Idem sensus Baronii et Bedæ in significatione Hiberniæ et Scotiæ.

Ea semper fuit sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ consuetudo, ut delinquentibus filiis graviori pœna plectendis comminatione proluserit, minis eos ante à flagitio deterrere connixa, quam in illos gravius animadverteret. Sic Adrianus II. et Joannes VIII. anathema minati sunt, alter Carolo Calvo, quod Ludovico Lotharii Imperatoris defuncti filio imperium præripere vellet. Alter Carolo Crasso nisi restitueret quæ monasterio cuidam abstulerat. Gregorius VII. Alfonso Hispaniarum regi excommunicationis minas denuntiari præcepit uxoris consanguineam ducere

shops to whom pope John's letters were addressed. From error and not obstinacy the Irish observed the pasch at a wrong time. [219] All Scots were not inhabitants of British Scotia.—The name, Scots, often given to Scots of Britain and of Ireland. [220] The Scots of Britain claim for themselves the names which belong only to the Irish and Ireland.—By Ireland, Beda does not mean British Scotia.—Beda not an obscure or ambiguous writer — What country does he call Ireland? [221] Proofs that the Ireland of Beda cannot be British Scotia. [222] Ireland is the country called Scotia by Beda. [223] Ireland inhabited by Scots.—Scots both in the north and in the south of Ireland.—Scotia and Hibernia, synonymous.—Error of Hector Boethius. [224] St. Adamnan in England.—Modern Scotland was in those ages held by the Picts and English.—The territories held there by the English.—When did the Scots first acquire territories there? [225] Part of modern Scotland which belonged to the Picts.—The Scots occupied only the western parts of modern Scotland.—Their district was called Dalrieta.—Scottish district called Argyle.—Date of their first settlement in Argyle.—Date at which the line of Scottish kings ought to begin.—When was the name Scotia applied to part of Britain?—O'Sullevan against Camerarius. [226] The popes delivered Ireland from the Pelagian heresy.—Services of the popes to Ireland.—Splendor of the Irish church after the Danish invasions.—Papal legates in Ireland.—Gilbert bishop of Limerick.—St. Mael-maedhog. [227] Christian bishop of Lismor —St. Lorcan.—Matha archbishop of Caiseal.—Legates extraordinary.—Cardinal Paparo.—Cardinal Vivian.—Cardinal Salernitanus. His acts in Ireland.—Several cardinals S. Stephano in Monte Cœlio.—Other legates.—Peter de Suffiein legate.—John Rufus legate·—Cardinal Pole legate. [228] David Wolfe nuncio apostolic.—Sanders legate.—Thaddæus Egan nuncio apostolic.—Scarampi nuncio apostolic.—John Baptist Rinuccini nuncio apostolic extraordinary.—Missionaries sent to Ireland by order of the popes.—Arms and money sent by the popes to the Irish.—Four archbishoprics in Ireland.—Bishops not appointed by the popes in any country infected by heresy except Ireland. [229] Obligations of Ireland to the popes.—Answer to the objections, that Ireland was punished by censures. St. Gregorius wrote to the Iberians, not to the Irish.—Many writers mistake Iberia for Hibernia. [230] Heresy of the three chapters.—Respect due to the four first councils.—The Irish not infected by the heresy of the three chapters. [231] The Irish had not communication with distant churches.—Beda does not say the Irish held the heresy of the three chapters.—The Irish did not fall into Nestorianism.—The second letter of St. Gregorius was addressed to the Iberi, not to the Irish. [232] Baronius excuses the error of the Irish.—Arguments and reasons why the Catholic faith should be admitted into Ireland, p. 10.—The Irish not punished by censures for the Pelagian heresy [233] St. Patrick suppressed the Pelagian heresy in Britain.—The Irish in the beginning not infected by the Pelagian heresy.—It made some slight progress among them.—The southern Irish saved from it.—And afterwards the northerns. [234] When did the northern Irish and the monks of Iona renounce their error regarding Easter?—The faith of Ireland undefiled.—The Pelagian heresy not in Ireland in the days of St Kilian.—Pelagius or Celestius never taught in Ireland —Proof that no censure was inflicted on Ireland. [235] Crowds of holy men sent forth by Ireland to foreign countries.—The error regarding Easter tolerated by the pope in Ireland.—It was not the error of the Quartadecimans,—Baronius and Beda attach the same signification to the words Scotia and Hibernia.

IT has ever been the custom of holy mother church to admonish her offending children before she subjects them to any severe penalty, and to endeavour to deter them by threats from the commission of crime, before she applied severe remedies. Thus Adrian II. threatened Charles the Bald with excommunication for attempting to deprive Louis, son of the deceased emperor Lothaire, of his crown; and in the same way

volenti. Alia lenitatis specimina à summis Pontificibus in puniendis sontibus edita, prolixitatis declinandæ gratiâ nunc tacitus prætereo.

Quis crederet tam benignam matrem à tam tritâ benignitatis viâ ad Hiberniam asperitate labefactandam deflexisse, et ante ruinam insonti creasse, quam futuri mali minas intentasse ? Pœnæ atrocitatem Hibernia minus molestè ferret, si tetrioris flagitii rea ageretur. Nam quod venit ex merito leviter certeque ferendum est.

"Quæ venit indigno pœna dolenda venit."[1]

Nec potuit non acrius excruciari quod absens, et inaudita damnata fuerit, legibus etiam Romanorum vetantibus, ne de absente stemo aliquod judicium fieret, et si factum esset, id ratum non esset.[2] In senatu quoque decretum est, ne de absente Philippo rege accusato aliquid statueretur. Denique divus Augustinus Secundum Tigisitanum Primatem arguit, quod non caverit ne damnarentur absentes. Id sane non modicum indicium est, Hiberniam atrocioris flagitii sordibus nunquam fuisse fœdatam,[3] quod cæteris pene omnibus Catholicis regnis pro meritis ut anathematis, ac interdicti fulmine aliquoties à summo Pontifice ferirentur, in solam Hiberniam excommunicationis aut interdicti telum summus Pontifex nunquam evibraverit.

Et ut initium à Scotiæ regno magis Hiberniæ finitimo ducam : Virginei partus an. 1180 Willelmus Scotiæ rex Alexandro III. Pontifici pertinacius obstitit, dum Joannem quendam Sanct AndreanumEpiscopum ritè renuntiatum non solum Episcopatus sui, sed totius etiam Scotiæ finibus excluderet,[4] quendamque Hugonem, qui sibi à sacris ante fuit, Episcopum à se designatum in Sanctandreana sede per vim collocaret,

[1] Ovidi. [2] Cic. in ver. [3] Liv. dec. 4, lib. 9.

[a] The pope had ordered the Irish bishops to excommunicate the Irish if they rose against Henry II. after having sworn allegiance to him. Vivian, the papal legate, had promulgated an admonition to the same effect; but the sentence of excommunication does not appear to have been in those ages

John VII. threatened Charles the Fat, if he did not restore the property of a certain monastery. When Alphonsus, king of Spain, was about to marry the relation of his wife, Gregorius VII. ordered a threat of excommunication to be pronounced against him. Many similar examples of the lenity of popes in punishing the guilty could be produced, but I omit them at present for brevity's sake.

Is it possible that so kind a mother would have departed from her constant course of mercy to crush Ireland by her severity, and involve the innocent in ruin, without the slightest intimation of the impending woes? The horrors of the punishment would press less heavily on Ireand, if she had been openly convicted of some heinous crimes. The just punishment of crime must be borne with cheerfulness and fortitude.

"Pain on the guiltless to inflict is pain."

But how excruciating must have been the agony of being condemned, absent and unheard, when the Roman laws themselves enacted that no sentence should be pronounced on any person in his absence, and that if pronounced, it should be invalid. The senate even decreed that no judgment should be pronounced on king Philippus in his absence. In fine, St. Augustinus reproves Secundus, primate of Tigisitan, for not preventing persons from being condemned in their absence.

That Ireland was never degraded by crimes of an atrocious die appears from this single fact, that while all other Catholic kingdoms were, at some time or other, laid under excommunication or interdict by the pope,[a] according to the nature of their offences, Ireland alone never incurred his ecclesiastical censures.

Let us begin with Scotland, as it is the nearest neighbour of Ireland. In the year 1186, William, king of Scotland, obstinately opposed pope Alexander III., by not only preventing John, the lawfully appointed bishop of St. Andrews, from taking possession of his see, but even by

carried into effect, though the Irish certainly did defend themselves against the English adventurers.

in gravissimam Pontificis offensam ita incidit, ut Pontificis jussu rex excommunicationis, et regnum ejus interdicti vinculis illigaretur. Anno quoque post Christum natum 1216,[5] "Alexandrum" Secundum "Sualo Legatus Apostolicus ultimo Ecclesiæ mucrone fulminavit, et Scotorum regnum sub interdicto posuit quousque damna Anglis illata resarciret, et Carliolum ab Anglis nuperrime ademptum restitueret." Anno salutis 1318, "Legati Cardinales Robertum Scotiæ regem quod pactis non staret,[6] et arma interdicta in Edwardum Angliæ regem movisset anathemate percusserunt, atque universæ Scotiæ sacris interdixerunt."

Ut autem in Angliam concedam, ea non semel hoc fulgure flagravit.[7] "Edwardum enim seniorem sub annum 905, Romanus Pontifex sacris interdixit, quòd politia ecclesiastica in occiduâ regni plagâ apertè nutaret. Eugenius Tertius omni cessante appellationis obstaculo, in Stephani regis terram, interdicti sententiam præcepit ab omnibus Episcopis authoritate Apostolica exerceri."[8] Simile quoque sidere Joannem regem Innocentius Tertius afflavit. Ita ut universa Anglia sex annos, et quatuor decem hebdomadas interdicti pœnam passa fuerit, Ecclesiis solummodo conventualibus eum favorem assecutis, ut semel in hebdo-
[200] mada, divina | mysteria celebrarentur,[9] ita tamen ut januas interim clausas fuisse oportuerit. Quo tempore "corpora defunctorum de civitatibus, et villis deferebantur, et more canum in biviis, et fossatis sine orationibus, et sacerdotum ministerio sepeliebantur."

Ex Anglia in Galliam transeamus, in qua Lotharium Imperatorem

[4] Baronius an. 1180. [5] Major, lib. 4, c. 7. [6] Baronius ad Ann. 1318. [7] Camde. p. 169. [8] Epitom. Baro. 1148, nu. 9. [9] Antiq. Oxoni, p. 86, nu. 160, Paris an. 1208.

[b] The Irish annalists viewed this interdict in a somewhat singular light, as it regarded their own country. "In 1207, or 1208, John, bishop of Norwich, was sent by the king of England into Ireland as lord justice; and the English were excommunicated by the successor of St. Peter (Innocent III.) for sending the bishop to carry on war in Ireland; so that the English (in Ireland) were without mass, baptism, extreme unction, or lawful interment for a period of (two) or three years." Four Masters; Annals

expelling him from his kingdom. He appointed his own chaplain, Hugh, and placed him by force of arms in the see of St. Andrews, whereby the pope was so deeply offended, that he excommunicated the king and laid his kingdom under an interdict. Again, in the year 1216, "Swalo, the pope's legate, launched the final bolts of the church against Alexander II., and laid the kingdom of Scotland under interdict until the injuries inflicted on England were repaired, and Carlisle restored to the English, from whom it had lately been taken." In the year 1318, "the cardinal legates fulminated the thunders of the church against Robert, king of Scotland, and laid his whole kingdom under interdict, because he violated his treaties and waged forbidden war against Edward, king of England."

Passing now to England, we find it more than once visited with the same punishment. "Thus, about the year 905, the Roman pontifi laid an interdict on Edward the Elder, on account of some flagrant disorders in ecclesiastical discipline in the western parts of the kingdom. And Eugenius III., quashing every obstacle from appeal, ordered the sentence of interdict to be pronounced, by the authority of the pope, on the land of king Stephen." Innocent III. visited king John with a similar punishment, so that all England was under an interdict during six years and fourteen weeks, the conventual churches alone being allowed to have the sacred mysteries celebrated once only in the week, and even then with doors closed. During that time "the bodies of the dead were carried out from the cities and towns and buried like dogs, in the bye-ways and ditches, without prayers or the ministry of the clergy."[b]

Let us go now from England to Germany, where Lothaire, emperor

of Clonmacnois. It does not appear elsewhere that the grievances of the mere Irish subjects of John were the cause of this interdict. Cox, pr. 483. There had been a council at Kilmallock about the year 1210 or 1211: the acts of which are lost. Mansi. Supplement to Concilia, II. p. 818. It is certain that in 1213, after John had done homage to the pope for England and Ireland, a papal letter was addressed to the Irish, commanding them to be loyal to John, as there was now peace between the crown and the church in England. Liber Hiberniæ, p. .

et regem excommunicationis laqueis Nicolaus primus irretivit, ob Valdradam pellicem uxori legitimæ Therbergæ superinductam.[10] Robertus rex commatri suæ, et affini matrimonio copulatus à Gregorio V. excommunicationis telo confixus est. Hinc omnes ab ejus lateribus sic discesserunt, ut ei solum duo servuli ad victus obsequium adhæserint, qui ipsi tanto sui ministerii fastidio tenebantur,[11] ut vasa è quibus cibos ac potum rex sumebat igni tradiderint. Philippus primus cum legitimam uxorem Bertham à se arceret, et Bertradæ pellici jungeretur, ab Urbano II., anathematis jaculo confixus est.[12] Ivo Cardinalis Innocentii II., legatus regnum Galliæ interdicto subjecit, quod Rodulphus Viromundiorum comes, propria uxore dimissâ, reginæ sorori se conjunxerit; et quod Ludovicus VII. Pontificis summi mandatis obstinate reluctatus fuerit.[13] Sed ista Philippum Augustum à Gereberga uxore repudianda, et Agnete quadam sibi per nefas copulandâ nequaquam abduxerunt. Et ob hanc causam (inquit Baronius) "tota terra regis Francorum arctissimo est interdicto conclusa.[14] Ita etiam ut clausis Ecclesiis, nusquam in cœmiteriis sepelirentur corpora mortuorum, sed super terram servarentur ubilibet insepulta." Huic autem interdicto Gallia octo menses supposita perstitit. Tum in actis et publicis tabulis (uti jam sub Philippo primo fieri cœperat) regnante Christo scriptum accepimus.

Nec Hispania immunitatem ab hoc malo nacta est.[15] Nam Innocentius III. regem Legionensem sibi filiam regis Portugalliæ, conso brinam suam copulasse resciens, tam ipsum regem Portugalliæ quam

[10] Alberti Stradem. [11] Ex Pithæo. [12] Baron. 1094. [13] Epito. Baron. 1142. [14] 1198. [15] Florus Gallicus 1, c. 14.

[e] "Il ne s'agissait ici ni des possessions contestées ni d'attaques contre les droits du saint siege, mais de cette grande question; le prince est il soumis aux lois du Christianisme, qui reglent les relations purement humaines?—Il s'agissait de decider si la volonté d'un prince peut etre capable de s'élever au dessus de la volonté reconnue alors comme la force qui constituait l'unité de la chretienté; ou bien, si devant celle ci la prééminence temporelle devait s'abaisser et disparaître.—Dans tous les temps, il y aurait danger à prétendre blâmer la conduite suivie par Innocent, au

and king, was excommunicated by Nicolas the First for associating Veldreda, a concubine, with his lawful wife Therberga. King Robert also was excommunicated by Gregorius V. for marrying a relative of his mother, within the degrees of affinity. So completely was he abandoned by all his friends, that only two poor slaves remained with him to serve his table; and yet so loathsome was even that simple duty, that they burned all the vessels in which the kings meat and drink were served up. When Philippus the First repudiated his lawful wife Bertha, and took Bertrada his concubine to wife, he was excommunicated by pope Urban II. Ivo, cardinal legate of Innocent II., laid the kingdom of France under interdict, because Rodolph, count of Verdun, divorced his wife and married a sister of the queen, and because Louis VII. contumaciously opposed the orders of the sovereign Pontiff. These examples, however, were not sufficient to deter Philippus Augustus from repudiating his lawful queen Gereberga, and forming a criminal connexion with Agnes; but to punish that crime,[c] "the whole territory of the king of the France," says Baronius, "was laid under the strictest interdict, so that all the churches were closed and the bodies of the dead were never buried in cemeteries, but left rotting in all quarters over the earth." France lay during eight months under this interdict, and then, as had already happened, under Philippus the First, all the public documents and deeds were dated, as I have heard, in the reign of Christ.

Spain itself has not been exempt from these visitations. When Innocent III. was informed that the king of Leon had married his cousin, the daughter of the king of Portugal, he excommunicated the

sujet du divorce de Philippe Auguste; il y aurait danger, car un semblable jugement serait la destruction de tout lien entre le pouvoir et le devoir, et de ce blame on pourrait logiquement deduire l'affranchissement de toute obligation morale." Hurter. Histoire du Pape Innocent III. vol. I. pp. 160. 161. The reader may infer from our author's reasoning, supra, p. 483, what would have been the consequences to the social state of Europe, if the popes had not, during the middle ages, resisted the passions of princes, on questions regarding the inviolability of the marriage contract.

incestuose conjunctos excommunicationis sententia innodavit,[16] et eorum regna supposuit interdicto. Sancius rex Portugalliæ filiam Tarsiam et Adelfonsum regem Galleciæ nepotem suum matrimonio junxit. Quare Cælestinus III. regem Galleciæ refragantam excommunicavit,[17] et terram ejus interdicto subjecit. Tandem post tres filios, quinque annorum spatio ex ea susceptos eam dimisit.[18] Lusitania in interdicti luto duodecem annos hæsit, nec aliam ob causam, quam quod rex Alfonsus, spreto conjugio, pellici adhæserit. Julius II., Pontifex Navarræ regnum anno integro sacris privavit.

Nec minus hæc censura Poloniam infestavit. Gregorius enim Septimus universam Gnesnensem Provinciam, sub cujus metropoli Cracovai erat, generali interdicto supposuit,[19] ob cædem S. Stanislai: et Bolislaum regem omni honore, et dignitate regali privavit. Cælestinus etiam Tertius Ducem Austriæ Leopoldum ob contumaciam diris devovit, ejusque terram interdicto subjecit. Quid memorem Imperatores Germaniæ? Henricum III., Henricum IV., Fredricum II. et Henricum V., anathematis fulgetro sæpius perstrictos,[20] et Henricum III., ac Fredericum II., à summis Pontificibus Imperiali fastigio deturbatos ita fuisse, ut omnes illorum imperiis antea obsecuti religione juramenti illis olim præstiti, soluti fuerint?

In ipsa quoque Italia Neapolitana civitas ab Adriano II. anathemate innodata est. Caput Italiæ Roma Cardinalem vulnere, et Florentia Episcopum suspendio affectum, pari pœna luerunt, in illam, Alexandro III., in hanc Sixto IV., execrationes immittente. Jam etiam olim S. Catherina Senensis à Gregorio XI., impetravit ut Florentinis interdicti veniam faceret. Et ut rem paucis contraham, nulla est in Europa regio, quam hoc malum, ob atrocius aliquod flagitium non afflixit. In solam Hiberniam summus Pontifex hunc gladium nunquam distrixit.

[16] Epitome Baro. 1198. [17] Id. Ann. 1191. [18] Mariana hist. Hisp. lib. 13, c. 12. [19] Epit. Baro. 1029. [20] 1195.

[d] There can be very little doubt that some Irish practices regarding marriage, if obstinately persisted in, would have been punished with papal excommunication. St. Gregorius VII. wrote to Lanfranc, "Inter omnia et *præ omnibus*, nefas quod de Scotis audivimus, quod plerique videlicet proprias uxores non solum deserunt, sed etiam vendunt, *omnibus modis* prohibere contendat. Ad hæc enim auctoritate apostolica fultum esse volu-

incestuous couple and the king of Portugal himself, and laid their kingdoms under an interdict. Again, Sanchez, king of Portugal, having married his daughter Tarsia to his nephew Adelphonso, king of Gallicia, Celestinus III., excommunicated Adelphonsus, and laid his kingdom under interdict, until after a lapse of five years, during which three sons were born to him; he at last dismissed her. Portugal was under an interdict during full twelve years, for no other reason, than the repudiation of his wife by king Alphonsus, and his cohabiting with a concubine. The kingdom of Navarre, also, was interdicted during one year by pope Julius II.

Poland also suffered under these penalties. Gregorius VII. placed the whole province of Gnesen, the metropolitan of Cracow, under a general interdict, on account of the murder of St. Stanislaus, and deprived king Boleslaus of all regal honors and authority. Celestinus III. also anathematized Leopold, duke of Austria, for disobedience, and subjected his territory to interdict. Need I mention the emperors of Germany, Henry III., Henry IV., Frederic II., and Henry V., who were often smitten with the thunders of the church, and Henry III. and Frederic, who were, moreover, deposed from their Imperial thrones by the popes, and beheld all their subjects absolved from that oath of allegiance which had once bound the people religiously to their masters.

Even in Italy, the city of Naples was laid under anathema by Adrian II. Rome herself, the head of cities, suffered a similar punishment for wounding a cardinal; and Florence, also, for hanging a bishop. Rome was punished by Alexander III.; Florence by Sixtus IV. But long before that period, St. Catharine of Sienna had prevailed upon Gregorius XI. to relieve the Florentines from the sentence of interdict. Thus, to sum up in one word, every country in Europe was punished by those scourges, for some heinous crime. Ireland alone never compelled the pope to wield the spiritual sword against her,[d] for

mus ut non solum in Scotis hoc scelus, sed etiam in aliis." L'Abbe Concilia, p. 535. A Scottish council, held in 1076, under Malcolm III., which cites the injunctions of St. Gregorius VII., decrees, among other things, "Illicita etiam novercarum conjugia, similiter et uxorum fratris defuncti

Utpote quæ semper in ejus obsequio sancte perstitit, ut ullâ contumaciâ elata, ejus voluntati nunquam obstitit. Cujus reges nunquam adeo se gravi scelere contaminarunt, ut summi Pontificis indignatione, aut execratione contractâ, subditos obsequio suo subduci promeriti
[201] fuerint. |

Nonnulli tamen Hibernos aliquibus vitiorum maculis aspergunt, ut aliarum gentium, vel odium, vel contemptum illis concilient, et ansam suggerant, qua summa suæ patriæ potestas illis abripi debuerit. Multa opprobria in Hibernos congesta supra exhibui, et maculas quas earum contumeliarum authores infigere contendebant, pro viribus abstersi. Quidam vero nuperus scriptor avorum nostrorum memoria exortus est, qui spurcitiam ante inauditam illis exprobravit. Concilium Casseliense an. Domini 1172 habitum "præcepit ut infantes ante fores Ecclesiæ cathechizentur,[21] et in sacro fonte in ipsis Baptismalibus Ecclesiis baptizentur." Huic articulo laciniam hanc ille assuit dicens, in eo "Concilio statutum fuisse ut pueri baptizentur in Ecclesiis à sacerdotibus. Nam ante, in multis Hiberniæ regionibus, statim ut puer nasceretur,[22] à patre, aut quovis alio ter mergebatur in aqua, si ex paupere, in lacte, si ex divite natus esset." Non dubito quin vanum se potius conjectorem, quam verum narratorem Cantabrigensis orator hic se præbuerit, ut qui nullum veteris memoriæ testem ea quæ narrat asserentem produxerit. Conjectura quidem vero propior esse videtur, concilii Caseliensis Patres illius legis condendæ causam inde arripuisse, quòd qui baptismo infantulos admovebant non in Ecclesiæ aditu sistere, sed ad ipsos sacros fontes recta progredi subinde consueverint. Cantabrigensem autem veritatem conjectando minime assecutum vel hinc perspicimus, quod plebeiorum etiam ultimos lactis copia deficere non potuerit, "in insula lactis et mellis divite," et gente "ex bestiis

[21] Hibern. Exp. lib. 1, c. 34. [22] Antiq. Cantabrigenses, lib. 1, p. 243.

fratrem superstitem ducere, quæ ibi antea fiebant, nimis ostendit execranda." Mansi. supplementum ad Concilia, vol. ii. p. 26. These are disorders precisely the same as those charged against the Irish: a clear proof that some strange regulations on marriage, found in the Brehon

she has at all times devotedly persisted in her obedience to him, and never raised her own rebellious will against his authority. Neither were her kings ever contaminated by crimes heinous enough to excite the indignation of the pope to excommunicate them, and to absolve their subjects from the oath of allegiance.

Still, some persons with the view of exposing the Irish to the hatred or contempt of other nations, and discovering some pretext for the subversion of their national independence, charge Ireland with some heinous crimes. Many specimens of those foul accusations have been already produced by me, and the stains which the authors of the calumnies would thereby brand on my country have, to the best of my abilities, been removed. But a late writer, who flourished in the last generation, has invented a novel means of blasting their fame. The council of Caiseal, held in the year 1172, enacted, "that infants should be catechized at the porch of the church, and baptized in the sacred font in the chapels of baptism." But our author gives the following version of that canon: "the council decided, that children should be baptized in the churches, by the priests, a custom having previously prevailed in many parts of Ireland, of the father or any other third person immersing the infant immediately after its birth, three times in milk or water, according to the wealth or poverty of the parents." This Cambridge orator exhibits here, most assuredly, his talent for conjecture rather than his fidelity as a historian, because he produces no ancient authority to confirm his statement. A more probable conjecture regarding the occasion of that canon of Caiseal is, that the persons who carried the infant to be baptized did not stop at the porch of the church, but proceeded directly to the baptismal font, an abuse which the fathers of the council wished to correct.[e] But the absurdity of the conjecture of our Cambridge writer is obvious from one simple fact, that even the humblest plebeian had plenty of milk, in an island which was rich in milk and honey. "Among a people, who

laws, which, for the present, I abstain from mentioning, were part of a code common to some of the Albanian and of the Irish Scots.

[e] Or perhaps from negligence, the parents may have had the ceremony performed in private chapels, or oratories, or in their own houses. See Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 214.

solum"[23] ut Giraldus loquitur "vivente: tenuioris enim fortunæ hominibus, vel paucæ sunt vaccæ, vel opulentorum largitiones lactis copiam ad tam nobile ministerium proculdubio[24] suppeditabant." Nam rationi absonum est ditiores homines, qui in advenas quosque esculenta, et opulenta pene dixerim, profundebant, lactis vasculum vicinis, ac clientibus suis tam insigne officium obeuntibus non subministrasse.

Quod si Hibernos vini potius quam lactis balneo, in baptismate infantulis recenter natis conferendo usos fuisse dixisset, majorem veri similitudinem ejus præ se ferret oratio, quandoquidem par sit credere nobiliorem eos liquorem, quam vulgatiorem, et abjectiorem, tam solemni ablutione peragendæ adhibuisse. Cum præsertim illum magno, hunc minimo loco habuerunt, quòd vinum aliunde importatum rarius, lac domi natum abunde suppetiverit: ut illud proinde quòd rarum, ideo præclarum extiterit.[25] Vinum tamen in Hibernia non adeo rarum fuit quin ejus usus ab incolis satis superque frequentaretur. Nam Hibernia, ut ait Cambrensis, "vinis dives est insula. Vina quidem transmarina ratione commercii tam abunde terram replent, ut vix propaginis, proventusque naturalis in aliquo defectum percipias.[26] Pictavia enim de plenitudine sua ei copiose vina transmittit." Tantum autem abest ut Hiberni liberos suos sacro lavacro tincturi vino immerserint, ut potius eos vini guttam undis lustralibus immiscuisse nunquam legerim.[27] Cum tamen in Anglia morem istum quandoque usurpatum fuisse Canones Egberti Eboracensis Archiepiscopi conquerantur.

Nec in ulla re magis conjecturæ suæ vanitatem scriptor iste prodidit; quam cum dixit: patrem, aut alium quemque proli nuper in lucem editæ baptismum impertiisse. Quò enim spectabant sacri fontes in quibusque Parochialibus Ecclesiis collocati, nisi ad quosque baptismo initiandos? S. Patricii regulam Hibernicè scriptam in membraneo libro Moeltulliorum Sueki amnis, et Belathnaslux accolarum legi quæ parocho

[23] Beda lib. 1, c. 1. [24] Topog. d. 5, c. 10. [25] Top. d. 1, c. 52. [26] Spelman in Conc. Panbrit. p. 263. [27] Can. 42.

[f] "Or they might have used both for a different reason; namely, adherence to a custom in the western church, in the days of St. Patrick, of giving milk and wine to the newly baptized." St. Hieronimus et Concil.

lived only by beasts," to use the phrase of Giraldus, "even the poorest men must have had a few cows, or at all events, could procure from their more wealthy neighbours milk enough for so solemn a sacrament." It is contrary to common sense, to suppose that those wealthy men whose tables were supplied with food of all kinds in lavish profusion, for the stranger, would refuse to their own neighbours and perhaps dependants a small measure of milk for so sacred a purpose.

Had he said that the Irish used to baptize their new born children in wine, rather than in milk, the conjecture might appear more probable, as they would naturally prefer the more precious and costly liquor, to a cheap and common one, for so solemn an ablution.[f] Wine they must have highly prized; milk, but little; the former, being an import from foreign countries, was more rare; the latter, the spontaneous growth of the soil, was in every house: the rarity of the wine must have raised its value. Wine, however, was not so very rare in Ireland. It was imported, perhaps too abundantly, by the natives. "Ireland," says Cambrensis, "is an island rich in wines." Wine is imported by merchants in such enormous quantities from lands beyond the sea, that you never can feel the want of its not being an indigenous production of the Irish soil." Poitou discharges on the shores of Ireland the surplus wines of its own exuberant soil. Now so far from baptizing their children in wine, the Irish did not, as far as I can learn, mix even one drop of wine with the water of the baptismal font; though such a custom prevailed at one time in England as we learn from the canons enacted against it, by Egbert, archbishop of York.

But the most glaring falsehood in the conjecture of this writer is, that the father or any other third person administered baptism to the new born infant. Why, I ask, were baptismal fonts placed in all parochial churches, if not for the administration of the sacrament of baptism?[g] I read the rule of St. Patrick, written in Irish, in the

Carthag. 3, can. 24. apud Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 216.

[g] See apud Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 270, a canon of the synod of Dublin, A.D. 1187, on baptismal fonts. It implies apparently either that baptismal fonts

leges indicens ait: "debere habere ab illo baptismum, communionem, recitationem officii defunctorum, orationem pro vivis, missam qualibet dominicâ, et quolibet festo primario, et recitationem divini officii mane, et vespere, videlicet 150 Psalmorum, nisi servitium, aut negotium animarum, aut prædicationis labor impediat." Politicæ quoquæ Hibernicæ leges (ut Tulgnius Conrius in Hibernicæ jurisprudentiæ versatissimus literis significavit) vetabant aut publicum præsidium aut consuetos red-
[202] ditus Ecclesiæ illi exhiberi, | in qua sacerdos præsto non erat ad consueta Sacramenta, eo accedentibus administranda. Lego in vita S. Grillani Okelliorum patroni majores natu illius familiæ debuisse olim in Ecclesia S. Grillani baptismum percipere. Ubi ergo sacerdotes baptismo conferendo destinati, et designati fuerunt, ibi consuetudo invaluisse non valuit ut munus suum in ipsis quilibet è vulgo præripuerit. Nec Hibernos ea institutione primi Catholicæ religionis in Hibernia satores imbuerunt, qui Christi monitis obsecuti monentis Apostolos "ut euntes docerent omnes gentes baptizantes eos, etc.,"[28] baptizandi munus ipsi, non profani ulli homines cumulatè obierunt, non immemores Salvatorem dixisse:[29] "Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto non potest introire in regnum Dei." Ut cum ipsi nullo alio liquore præterquam aquâ baptismo initiatos perfuderint, ipsos per varia temporum intervalla secuti ab exemplis creberrimè præeuntibus tam procul recessisse non sunt censendi, ut ad baptismum conferendum alios ministros quam sacerdotes, aut alium liquorem quam aquam adhibuerint. Nullus enim quod non didicerat, exercet.

S. Patricius multa hominum millia in Corcafamnia salutari unda tinxit.[30] "Septem etiam filii Amhlaich cum duodecem millibus homi-

[28] Math. 28. [29] Joan 3. [30] Vita trip. part 2, c. 69, in Triad. Joceli. c. 69.

had not been generally used, or that they were of different forms, and material, and in different positions from those prescribed in that canon.

[h] This rule is not known to the editor. Of all the valuable Irish publications during the last twelve years, very few give any additional information on the ritual observances or religious practices generally of the ancient Irish church; though, judging from the titles and specimens of many manuscripts, we should be inclined to

paper copy of the book of the O'Maeltuiles (Tullys), who live on the banks of the Suca, near Baile-na-sluagh; and among others, the following duties are prescribed for the parish priest:[h] "that he was bound to administer baptism and communion, to recite the office for the dead and the prayer for the living, to celebrate mass every Sunday, and on all principal festivals, to recite the Divine office, morning and evening, namely 150 Psalms, unless the spiritual service, or good of souls, or the labor of preaching, prevented it." Tuileagna O'Maelconaire (Tully Conry), who has an intimate knowledge of Irish jurisprudence, informs me by letter, that the civil laws of Ireland enacted,[i] that neither the protection of the state, nor the usual revenues should be allowed to any church, in which a priest was not always ready to administer sacraments to those who applied for them. In the life of St. Grillan also, patron of the O'Keallaighs, I find that all the heads of that family were bound to receive baptism in the church of the Patron Saint. Priests being thus appointed and set apart for the administration of baptism, how could a custom be possibly introduced of allowing all persons to usurp indiscriminately that sacred function? That was not the ordinance established among the Irish by the founders of the Irish church. In obedience to the orders of Christ to his Apostles, "go teach all nations, baptizing them;" they did not entrust to laymen the sacrament of baptism, but administered it with their own hands: for they knew, "that unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter the kingdom of God." Now, as they never baptized their neophytes in any liquid but water, their successors in all ages cannot be supposed to have departed so far from primitive usage, as to admit any but priests as ministers, or any liquid but water as the matter of the sacrament. No person practises what he has not been taught.

St. Patrick baptized many thousand persons in the saving waters at Corco-famnia. "The seven sons of Amhlaidh, with 12,000 other be-

hope that they are of considerable value.

[i] The relations of Irish civil law to church law in ancient times is a subject on which very little has been published. A work on the plan of the third volume of Turner's "Anglo Saxons," is yet a great desideratum in Irish history.

num in Christum credentes baptisati sunt" à S. Patricio qui duos è regia Lageniensium prosapia principes Ailillum, et Illandum, duasque Aililli filias Muganiam, et Fethlimiam limpidi fontis juxta Nasiam unda intinctos baptizavit. SS. Mochaum, Benignum, et Grillanum cœlesti lavacro expiavit.[31] S. Grillanus Eugenium Sriabh filium Duachi Galach regis Connaciæ, S. Brindanus S. Maclovium baptismo lustravit. Muliebris proles ad S. Abbanum delata è salutari lavacro mascula educta est. Nemo igitur adeo mente captus erit, ut gnarus solo baptismo tam ad militantem quam triumphantem Ecclesiam ingressum patere,[32] prolem suam à recta cœli via sciens et prudens abducat, et in re seria ludos agens, itinere ad infernum tendente præcipitem ferri per risum sardonicum patiatur.[33] Id denique sciscitor, si proles patre conferente baptismum percipiat, quare patrini in Hibernia tam sanctè coluntur, ut per eorum manus jurare omnis præteritæ memoriæ consuetudo tulerit.[34] Certè Giraldus homo ad levissimas quasque Hibernorum maculas evulgandas vigilantissimus, tam memorabilem spurcitiam non præteriret.

Nec Hibernos minus præpostero baptismo, quam matrimonio usos fuisse Cantabrigensis ait:[35] dum Cassellienses Concilii sanctionem statuentem "ut fideles per Hiberniam repudiato cognatorum et affinium contubernio legitima contrahant matrimonia," alio quam longissimè detorquet dicens: in eo Concilium constitutum fuisse ut Hiberni,[36] "quas vellent uxores jure Ecclesiastico ducerent, nec ut ante quot vellent, nec cognatas, aut germanas, nec obvias, aut promiscuas haberent." Vide ut Hibernos polygamiæ, et promiscuæ libidinis cum obviis quibusque mulieribus, etiam sororibus insimulet? Ut pravissimis ferissimarum quarumcumque gentium, ac ipsarum belluarum moribus potius quam Christianis disciplinis eos imbutos fuisse persuasum habuerit. Cautius

[31] Trias. Tha. p. 156, c. 16. [32] Joce. c. 37, 39. [33] Vita ejus, c. 33. [34] Camde. de moribus Hibernorum. [35] Hibern. exp. lib. 1, c. 34. [36] Antiq. Cantab. Ubi supra.

[k] Dr. Lanigan discusses in considerable detail, and with his usual judgment, these and other ridiculous errors regarding the administration of baptism in the ancient Irish church, vol. iv. pp. 205–216.

lievers in Christ, were baptized by St. Patrick." He also baptized Ailil and Iland, two princes of the royal line of Leinster, and Morgania, and Fethlimia, two daughters of Ailill, in the stream of a limpid well near Nas. He purified SS. Mochau, Benignus and Grillan, in the same laver of regeneration. S. Grillan baptized Eugenius Sriabh son of Duach Galach, king of Connacht; and St. Brendan, baptized St. Maclovius. St. Abban baptized a female infant, who, upon being raised from the font, was changed into a boy. It is impossible that any person, with the conviction on his soul, that baptism alone was the gate of the church, militant and triumphant, would knowingly and deliberately withdraw his own child from the only road to heaven; and not only sport with so vital an interest, but directly precipitate his hapless offspring with a sardonic laugh into the abyss of hell. But in fine, I ask, if the father administered baptism, whence comes it that the godfathers are held in such veneration in Ireland, that it has been customary in all past ages to swear by their hands? Had such an abuse existed, Giraldus, who was so vigilant in exposing the slightest faults of the Irish, would certainly have discovered one so deservedly reprehensible.[k]

Irish marriages, according to the author of the Cambridge antiquities, were as irregular as their baptisms. The canon of the council of Caiseal, which enacted, that "the faithful in Ireland should cease to cohabit with their kindred in blood or affinity, and contract legitimate marriages,"[l] is perverted by him in the most outrageous manner, as if the council had intended to say, "that henceforth the Irish should choose their wives in accordance with the laws of the church, not as heretofore, when they took as many as they pleased, even their own cousins and sisters, and all women they happened to meet, and even wives in common."[m] The Irish are here accused of polygamy and promiscuous cohabitation, with every woman that fell in their way, and even with their own sisters. Verily, so far from having any principles of Christian

[l] The terms of the canon referred to are, "Primo statutum est, quod universi fideles in Hibernia constituti, repudiato cognatorum et affinium contubernio, legitime contrahant matrimonia et observent."

[m] There is not the least authority, native or foreign, for some of those loathsome calumnies.

profecto ac mitius ipse Cambrensis, licet infestissimus Hibernorum adversarius dixit: "Fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis fratrum defunctorum uxores ducere." Quanquam veri limites, in hac asseveratione illum transiliisse supra indicavimus, tamen non eo progressus est ut affirmaverit Turcarum instituta in Hiberniam transmeasse, ac Hibernos tot adscivisse uxores, quot res eorum familiaris alere potuit. Præterea Cambrensis has et superiores spurcitias à Cantabrigensi oratore Hibernis improperatas missas penitus facit. Ut necesse sit has calumnias nullo alio quam unius testimonii fulcro nitentes collabescere, et penitus corruere.

Ille quidem Casseliensis Concilii Canon vetans ut affines, et cognati matrimonia inter se ineant, innuit ejusmodi connubiis aliqua conjugum paria nonnunquam juncta fuisse. "Aptantur enim jura" inquit Felinus "ad ea quæ frequenter accidunt." Sed quis post homines natos audivit regnum universum libertatis, et fortunarum omnium jacturâ, paucorum
[203] aliquot delictum | luisse? Rectius sacræ literæ quæ præcipiunt, "Ut anima quæ peccaverit ipsa moriatur. Et impietas impii super eum.[37] Filius non portabit iniquitatem patris." Ejusmodi connubia vel rescissa, vel Pontifice indulgente coalescere permissa sunt. Sufficientem exemplorum copiam etiam in majorum gentium Principibus id demon-

[37] Ezech. c. 18.

[n] Whether our author has succeeded in refuting the charge, the reader may infer from several preceding notes.

[o] Many of them, in accordance with the old discipline of the Irish church, and with that tolerated among the Anglo-Saxons by St. Gregorius the Great after their conversion. Some of the principal canons regarding marriage are here subjoined from Villaneuva's Synodi et opuscula S. Patritii, Can. xix. "Mulier Christiana quæ acceperit virum honestis nuptiis et postmodum discesserit à primo, et junxerit se adultero; quæ hoc fecit excommunionis sit." xxii. "Si quis tradiderit filiam suam viro honestis nuptiis, et amaverit alium et consentit filiæ suæ et acceperit dotem; ambo ab ecclesia excludantur." p. 4. cap. xxvi. "Audi Dominum dicentem: qui adhæret meretrici unum corpus efficitur" Item "adultera lapidetur" id est huic vitio moriatur, ut desinat crescere quæ non desinit mœchari.

morality, they must have been more debased that the most savage nations, and even the beasts of the field. Cambrensis, though a most virulent enemy of the Irish, was more cautious and less severe. He only charges the Irish, " with marrying, in several parts of Ireland, the wives of their deceased brothers." Even in that assertion, he transgressed the bounds of truth as I have already satisfactorily proved; but he never went so far as to insinuate,[n] " that the morals of Turks were imported into Ireland, and that the Irish took as many wives as they could afford to support." This and the preceding calumnies of the Cambridge author against the Irish derive not the slightest authority from Cambrensis, and must fall to the ground and utterly vanish, since they have no other support but the assertion of a single writer.

The canon of the council of Caiseal, which prohibits marriages between persons within certain degrees of blood or affinity, proves, I allow, that some marriages of that kind were occasionally contracted.[o] " For laws," as Felinus remarks, " are made against offences which frequently occur." But was it ever heard since the creation of this world, that a whole nation was deprived of its liberty, and of all its property, for the crimes of a few individuals? Far more just is the award of sacred Scripture; " The soul that sinneth, the same shall die—the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the

" Item si adulterata fuerit mulier, numquid revertitur ad virum suum priorem?" Item " non licet viro dimittere uxorem nisi ob causam fornicationis, ac si dicat, ob hanc causam: unde si ducat alteram, velut post mortem prioris, non vetant." cap. xxix. " De consanguinitate in conjugio. Intelligite quid lex loquitur, non minus nec plus. Quod autem observatur apud nos, ut *quatuor genera* dividantur, nec vidisse dicunt nec legisse." p. 109, 1. " De eo quod non repudianda sit, sterilis, si deformis est; si ætate vetula, si fœda, si temulenta, si iracunda, si jurgatrix, tenenda sit, *velis nolis:* qualiscunque accepta sit, tenenda est." II. " Omnis adulter, sive a concelebratione, sive a communicatione mensæ, sive a conloquio, sive a comitatu, usque dum pœniteat, excludendus est." p. 144, V. " Si alicujus uxor fornicata fuerit cum alio viro, non adducet aliam uxorem quamdiu viva fuerit uxor prima. Si forte conversa fuerit et agat pœnitentiam, suscipiet eam, et serviet ei in vicem ancillæ, et annum integrum in pane et aqua permansura pœniteat, nec in uno lecto permaneat." p. 159.

strantium non ita pridem exhibui, quæ aliorum cuneo corroborari non pigeat.

Fredericus II., Imperator[38] "per legatos Apostolicæ sedis ob vinculum consanguinitatis ab uxore separatus est." Gregorius nonus matrimonium inter Henricum Castiliæ regem, et Leonoram Alfonsi noni filiam solvit,[39] quod cognatione se attingebant. Ejusdem Pontificis jussu divortium inter Jacobum regem Siciliæ, et Mariam filiam Alfonsi decimi regis Castiliæ factum est "ob consanguinitatis gradum, erat enim sororis filia."[40] Carolum Philippi pulchri filium ab uxore sua Clemens V., propter cognationem spiritualem disjunxit.[41] Innocentius IV., matrimonium inter Henricum filium Alfonsi regis Castiliæ, et filiam regis Portugalliæ ratum habere nunquam voluit, "quia se consanguinitatis linea attingebant." Maroneus filius Chilperici avunculi sui uxorem matrimonio sibi copulavit:[42] Alfonsus filius regis Arragoniæ duxit filiam Henrici regis Castiliæ neptem suam, sed hac repudiatâ, fuit postea junctus Blanchæ filiæ regis Neapolitani. Philippus II., duxit neptem suam filiam Mariæ sororis suæ, et Maximiliani Imperatoris. Paschasius II., audito conjugio incestuoso inter Uracam filiam Alfonsi regis Castiliæ,[43] et Alfonsum Arragonum regem tertio gradu consanguinitatis inter se junctos, pœna excommunicationis, et regni privatione indictâ, ejusmodi conjunctionem divelli jussit. Gregorius VII., à Mathilda comitissa, Azonem Marchionem Estiensem sejunxit, quod prioris ejus viri consanguineus fuerit. Sabiensis Episcopus legatus Apostolicus Jacobum IV., ab Eleonora, ob consanguinitatem segregavit. Eleonora filia Ducis Aquitaniæ discedere jussa est à Ludovico VII. rege Galliarum, quod se consanguinitate attingant,[44] quæ postea nupsit Henrico II., Angliæ regi. Duci vero Burgundiæ ut avunculi sui comitis Nevernensis viduæ nuptiis astringeretur. Joanni, Gusmano Assidonensi Duci, ut duabus successive sororibus, Emanueli Portugalliæ regi, ut duabus item sororibus, quarum prima nepotis ejus defuncti uxor erat, ac tertio conjugio nepti se jungeret indultum est. Alexander VI. Ferdinando regi Neapolitano indulsit, ut Joannis avi sui filiæ, ac patris

[38] Otho. Frisigen. [39] Histo. Castellæ. [40] Vita Feder 4. [41] Albertus arguit. Rodericus lib. 9. [42] Marian. [43] Epitom. Baron. 1109. [44] An. 1151.

father." Such marriages were either dissolved or permitted to stand by the dispensation of the pope. Many examples of the kind have been already produced by me even among princes of the highest rank, and the list can be still further swelled by the following accessions.

The emperor, Frederic II., was separated from his wife by the authority of the apostolical see, on account of the impediment of consanguinity. Gregorius IX. dissolved the marriage between Henry, king of Castile, and Leonora, daughter of Alphonso IX., because they were within the forbidden degrees. The same pontiff ordered a divorce between James, king of Sicily, and Maria, daughter to Alphonso X., king of Castile, on account of consanguinity, for Maria was his niece. Clement V. compelled Charles, son of Philippus the Fair, to separate from his wife on account of spiritual kindred. Innocent IV. would never consent to sanction the marriage between Henry, son of Alphonso, king of Castile, and the daughter of the king of Scotland, because they were kindred within the forbidden degrees. Maroneus, son of Chilperic, married the wife of his uncle. Alphonso, son of the king of Arragon, married his niece, the daughter of Henry, king of Castile, but afterwards divorced her, and married Blanche, daughter of the king of Naples. Philippus II. married his niece, the daughter of his sister Maria and the emperor Maximilian. When Paschasius II. heard of the incestuous marriage between Uracha, daughter of Alphonso, king of Castile, and Alphonso, king of Arragon, who were related in the third degree of consanguinity, he ordered them to separate under penalty of excommunication and deposition from their kingdom. Gregorius VII. divorced the countess Matilda from Azo, marquis of Este, because he was a cousin of her former husband. The bishop of Saba, apostolical legate, separated James IV. from Eleonora, on account of consanguinity. Eleonora, daughter of the duke of Aquitaine, was ordered to separate from Louis VII., king of France, because they were within the forbidden degrees, and she was afterwards married to Henry II., king of England. The duke of Burgundy was allowed, by dispensation, to marry the widow of his uncle, the count of Nevers. John Gusman, duke of Assidon, was also allowed in succession to marry two sisters, one of them a widow of his nephew, and his third marriage was to his niece. Alexander gave a dispensation to Ferdinand, king of Naples, to marry

alia matre sorori copularetur. Videmus hodie Philippi IV., Hispaniarum regis suam neptem uxorem esse. Itaque jam patet aliarum gentium affinia cognataque matrimonia vel dirempta fuisse à summo Pontifice vel commissa. Cum autem Hiberni aliis gentibus delicti similitudine juncti fuerint, credibile profecto est similem eos culpæ vel pœnam vel gratiam retulisse. Par enim non est, ut aliis gentibus levissimas criminis sui pœnas dantibus, solis Hibernis supplicium acerbissimum, ob simile facinus irrogetur. Cum præsertim eorum protervia nunquam tanta fuerit, ut vel minimam iracundiam summo Pontifici moverit.

Imo eorum obsequia summis Pontificibus, et officia viris Ecclesiasticis exhibita, Pontificem ad multam benevolentiam iis impertiendam sæpius incitarunt. Certe venerationem qua præsules, et viros numinis cultui sacratius addictos, Hiberni prosequi consueverint supra non semel attigi. Nunc Stanihurstum audire non pigeat dicentem :[45] " Sacerdotes apud illos magnam obtinent dignitatem ; quorum salutari admonitione (ut est hominum genus tenerum et flexibile) auditorum conscientiæ facillime mordentur. Si omnia bello ardeant, religiosi tanquam feciales caducæo ornati, utrobique rusticari incolumes possunt. Nefas esse arbitrantur, vel teruncium de sacerdotis bonis, in ulla direptione attingere,

[45] Lib. 1, p. 49.

[p] May not the inflexibility of the popes, during the middle ages, in enforcing, even by excommunication and deposition, the canons on marriage, with regard to kings and emperors in the greatest states in Europe, be turned against our author's reasoning in this place. For nearly a century at least before the invasion, the common discipline of the church on marriage had been promulgated in Ireland by Gillibert, the papal legate. He addressed himself to the "bishops and priests of all Ireland," and in obedience to their orders, "vestræ cupiens parere piissimæ jussioni." His doctrine on marriage is, "Conjugatorum est, nullam usque in sextam vel etiam septimam progeniem sanguine sibi conjunctam, aut illi quam habuerit, aut quam habuit sibi proximus, vel commatrem, ducere uxorem." This discipline, it may be reasonably presumed, was approved in the numerous councils held subsequently in Ireland, by papal legates, before the invasion. In the synod of Keanannus laws certainly were made on marriage. Yet, notwithstanding all those laws, it would ap-

the daughter of his grandfather, his own father's sister, by a different mother. To-day we see Philippus IV., king of Spain, married to his niece. It is evident, therefore, that in other nations the marriages of persons within the forbidden degrees of blood or affinity were annulled or dispensed by the popes. Now, as the Irish shared the guilt of such unions with other nations, it is probable they received the same punishment or favor. It were unjust that other kingdoms should suffer only a slight punishment for their crimes, and that Ireland alone should be doomed to the most excruciating penalties for a similar offence, especially when their impudence was never so great as to excite in the least degree the indignation of the pope.[p]

Nay, their devoted obedience to the head of the church, and their constant beneficence to all ecclesiastics, frequently induced the popes to bestow on them several marks of their favor. I have alluded more than once to the veneration with which the Irish habitually regard their prelates, and all who are more specially dedicated to the worship of God. Let us hear now the evidence of Stanihurst on that subject: "The priests are highly honored amongst them; by their salutary admonitions (so docile and tender are they naturally) the consciences of the auditors are easily moved to remorse. Though the flames of war wrap every thing in ruin, the clergy, like heralds protected by the caducæus, may dwell safely in both the enemies' quarters. An awful crime, they deem it, to touch one ounce of a priest's property in any foray, much more do they execrate whoever would wound them."

pear, from the authorities already cited, that they were not generally observed in Ireland; and consequently, according to the notions prevalent in those days, the punishment of the Irish princes, even by deposition, would not appear so extraordinary. Some words in pope Alexander's letter to the legate, Christian, bishop of Lismor, and to the other bishops, imply apparently that Irish irregularities had been frequently reported to the holy see, "Ad notitiam apostolicæ sedis *plerumque* pervenit." The strict observance of the discipline prohibiting marriage within the seventh degree, would have been socially and politically the greatest benefit conferred on Ireland at that time: it would have gradually destroyed, or, at least, neutralized the undoubted evils of the clan system; and have aided in moulding the Irish into what they were not, one nation.

multo magis execrantur eorum corpora vulnerare."[46] Imo ait O'Sullevanus "non modo Episcopos, et sacerdotes violare, sed etiam ad eorum nutum, et imperium non omnia facere summum nefas ducunt."[47] Quin etiam "odia et inimicitiæ" (inquit Lumbardus) "quæ aliis omnibus
[204] rationibus frustra attentatis non possunt conciliari facile deponuntur, | interventione, et monitione alicujus religiosi, vel presbyteri, qui in verbo Domini loquatur ad offensos." Et paulo infra: "Ecclesiasticas omnes functiones, et dignitates universi sic suscipiunt, tanquam non illis tantum quæ sunt Dei, sed etiam in hoc mundo illustriores multo sint, et sublimiores, quam quæcumque potestates seculares."[48] Ad illud ni fallor Divi Bernardi alludens dicentis: quod "sedes Armachana in tanta ab initio cunctis veneratione haberetur, ut non modo Episcopi, et sacerdotes, et qui de clero sunt, sed etiam regum ac principum universitas subjecta fuerit Metropolitano in omni obedientia, ut unus ipse omnibus præfuerit."

Per ea vero et multa deinde secuta tempora, non solum Ecclesiæ sed etiam Reipub. et privatorum hominum controversias (ut uberius supra exposui) ad viros Ecclesiasticos decidendas referebant, et prolatam ab iis in lite sententiam ratam habebant.[49] Ut non frustra Lumbardus dixerit: "In omnibus suis actionibus, cum spiritualibus, tum temporalibus, etiam in administrandis quibuscunque suis rebus, eos cupere per sacerdotes dirigi, et adjuvari." Neque ista venerationis ordini Ecclesiastico deferendæ censuetudo pene iis innata à peregrinâ ullâ sed à majorum institutione ad illos promanavit.

"Templa" (inquit O'Sullevanus) "miro cultu venerantur et pro asylis inviolata habent usque adeo ut hostibus ad ea fugientibus veniam dent. Satis est exploratum, in quodam Hiberniæ populo fuisse duas

[46] Hist. p. 37, c 4. [47] Coment. Hibern. p. 114. [48] Vita S. Malachiæ, c. 7.
[49] Ubi supra.

[q] This political influence of the primates does not appear very prominently in our history, until about the period at which St. Bernard was writing.

[r] It is but natural to suppose that the native Irish, after the invasion, and of course still more after the Reformation, would become more deeply attached to their clergy: as both

"Nay," says O'Sullivan, "it is a crime in their eyes not only to hurt a bishop or priest, but even to manifest the slightest repugnance to their wishes or commands." "Even their hatred and dissensions," says Lombard, "which defy all other remedies applied to reconcile them, are heartily renounced on the interference and advice of any monk or priest, who speaks the words of God to the offended parties." And again, "All ecclesiastical functions and dignities of the church are universally regarded by them, not only in the spiritual order, but even as compared with the great things of this world, as far more exalted than any secular dignity whatsoever." This is probably an allusion to the words of St. Bernard, "that from the beginning the see of Ardmacha was held in such universal admiration, that not only bishops and priests, and other ecclesiastics, but even all the kings and princes were subject to the metropolitan in all obedience, so that all were under his command."[q]

During that period, and for many succeeding centuries, not only ecclesiastical controversies, but even affairs of state and of private individuals, were referred, as I have abundantly proved, to the decision of ecclesiastics, whose judgment was always reverenced as conclusive. Lombard has truly observed, that in all their actions, both spiritual and secular, and in the management of all their concerns, without exception, they are desirous of being directed and assisted by a priest."[r] This innate propensity to defer with reverential respect to the ecclesiastical order was not derived from any foreign source, but from the principles of their ancestors.

"They have a most extraordinary veneration," says O'Sullivan, "for their churches, which are regarded as inviolable sanctuaries, where even an enemy is certain of security."[s] It is a well known fact, that among

priests and people were then subjected to oppressions, which, in both periods, were the same in principle, but different only in degree. See vol. i. pp. 224, 281.

[s] It is, nevertheless, true, that in Ireland as in other countries, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, churches did not always escape the horrors of war. See a list of those sacrileges collected with pious industry in "Primate Colton's visitation," p. 93.

factiones vicinorum parvi nominis,[50] sed inexpiabili odio, et inimicitiâ acerrimas. Qui ubicumque fiebant obvii, utrique alteros ferro dire ac crudeliter excipiebant, præterquam quod diebus festis, induciis factis, in unum templum coeuntes pacifice sacrorum solemnibus intererant." Hiberni autem quam in exhibendo viris Ecclesiasticis honore, ac templis cultu seduli, tam in religione Catholica mordicus retinenda constantes erant,[51] quam vita potiorem habebant, hanc sibi quam illam abripi malentes. Hinc Baronius ait: "Hiberniam fuisse Christianæ fidei tenacissimam:" et Sanderus: "Hibernicæ gentis homines præ multis esse Catholicos:" et Bozius: "in Hibernia semper Catholicam religionem perstitisse."[52] Nimirum omnis ætas, ordo, sexus, et conditio, etiam ultimæ sortis plebei, et ipsa seculariorum turba, circumforaneaque mendicabula, licet contrariis aliarum rerum studiis plerumque ferantur, in re tamen religionis adeo conspirabant, ut omnes Ecclesiæ Catholicæ tenaciter adhæreant, quæ est "Ecclesia Dei vivi, columna et firmamentum veritatis." Ita ut ipsa Hiberniæ aura, non aliam afflare religionem, res inanimæ non aliam sapere, et belluæ ipsæ non aliam quam Catholicam spirare videantur. Hinc Jacobus rex cum equum præstantissimum à Cicestrio Prorege sibi dono missum, ex Hibernia esse resciret,[53] mox subjunxit, Papistam esse oportere; innuens non solum hominibus, sed etiam jumentis ipsis, si fieri possit, propensionem ad fidem Catholicam innatam esse. Arthurus etiam Cicestrius Hiberniæ Prorex dixit: "Se nescire undè ista proveniat Romanæ religionis tenacitas in præcordiis Hibernorum,[54] nisi vel gleba sit infecta, vel pollutus aer, vel ipsum clima constupratum immundiciis et fæcibus fidei Pontificiæ, cui cætera omnia post habenda, et fidelitatem erga regem, et observantiam erga ejus ministros, et curam posteritatis, totumque statum suum, summa pertinacitate decreverint."

Huc accedit quòd cum advenæ hæresis macula infecti commorandi sedem in Hibernia fixerint, plerumque vel se ultrò Catholicis aggregaverint, vel saltem ipsorum soboles fæcem hæresis à patre haustam

[50] Ubi supra. [51] Anno. 1053. [52] De Schismate Ang. De signis Ecclesiæ. Ad Tim. c. 3, v. 15. [53] Annalle. p. 68. [54] Ibidem p. 203.

a certain sept of Irishmen there were two factions, not very illustrious in rank or fame, but notorious for their inextinguishable hatred and envenomed hostility. Whenever they chanced to meet, the swords were mercilessly wielded against each other, except on festival days, when they assembled peaceably in the same church, and observed a truce during the celebration of the sacred mysteries." But if the Irish were always devoted in their reverence for ecclesiastics and their respect for churches, they were equally distinguished for their inviolable fidelity to the Catholic faith, which they prized more highly than life itself, preferring death to the renunciation of the Catholic faith. Hence, Baronius has said, "that Ireland was most tenacious of the Catholic faith;" and Sanders, "that the men of the Irish nation are Catholic beyond most others;" and Bozius, "the Catholic faith has always held its ground in Ireland." For persons of every age, rank, sex, and condition, down even to the very dregs of the populace, nay, even, the mob of worldlings, and the strolling beggars themselves, though generally divided on all other points, were unanimous in a determined attachment to the Catholic church, "the church of the living God, the pillar and the ground of truth." The very air of Ireland inspires no other religion; no other is suggested by inanimate nature; the very beasts themselves appear to be impregnated with the Catholic faith. Thus, James I. hearing that a beautiful steed presented to him by Chichester, lord lieutenant, was bred in Ireland, exclaimed, "then it must be a papist," intimating thereby, that not only men, but if possible, the very beasts themselves were carried by natural instinct to the Catholic faith. The same Arthur Chichester, viceroy of Ireland, also remarked, "that he could not know how this attachment to the Catholic faith was so deeply rooted in the hearts of the Irish, if it were not that the very soil was infected, or the air tainted, or the whole climate polluted by the impurities and stench of the Popish faith, which the Irish obstinately preferred to all things else, to allegiance to their king, to respect for his ministers, to the care of their own posterity, and to all their hopes and prospects."

Moreover, as soon as Protestant settlers fix their abode in Ireland, they for the most part embrace Catholicity, or at least their children renounce the heretical doctrines imbibed from their parents, and enter

evomens, Catholicam religionem imbiberint. Quippè istam Hibernico cœlo, soloque indolem ingenitam esse aliqui censent, ut in incolarum animis Catholicam fidem ut plurimum generent; quæ Hibernorum animis adeo alte insedit, ut quamvis plebei convellerentur, opulenti degluberentur, ingenui infestarentur, proceres conculcarentur, civitates et oppida juribus et privilegiis spoliarentur, tota natio despicatui haberetur, ab honoribus, dignitatibus, et magistratibus deturbaretur; nullus indigenis vel ad honorificum, vel ad quæstuosum gradum et locum accessus pateret; potentiam omnem, et emolumentum peregrini homines hæresim professi ferrent, opesque regni exhaurirent, religio superstitionis nomine sugillaretur, fides in Deum perfidiæ probro notaretur,
[205] constantia in fide obstinationis, et contumaciæ | notâ inureretur: tamen ab arcto Catholicæ religionis amplexu nulla eos, vel blanditiarum, vel terroris vel jacturæ machina avellere potuit.

Ut Fitzsimon apposite dixerit: "Majorem avitæ fidei inter tot fluctus adversos tenacitatem; majorem erga res divinas,[55] in tanta pastorum paucitate, in media vero luporum multitudine, rabieque pietatem; majorem in fidei cognitione, expulsis fidei præconibus, ac exclusis librorum documentorumque adminiculis perspicacitatem se nunquam percepisse. Quis facile credat, quod certo certius constat in tota illa gente sexaginta annorum spatio, nec pœna atrocissima, nec præmio amplissimo, totos

[55] Britannomachiæ, lib. part 8, c. 5.

[t] Several such examples are recorded during the century that preceded the publication of our author's work. Among others may be mentioned that of a son of the Captain Slingsby, who was commissioned by Carew to blow up the castle of Dunboy, the last stronghold of the Catholics in Elizabeth's wars. His son, Francis Slingsby, who inherited from his father a considerable portion of the confiscated estates of the Catholics, embraced the Catholic faith; was imprisoned for some time in Dublin castle; was liberated on the intercession of the countess of Kildare; and died in 1641-2 in the Jesuit noviciate at Naples. The various memoirs of him, compiled after his death, prove that, in the opinion of his associates and superiors, he had attained no ordinary degree of holiness. By his mother's family he was closely connected with the duke of Northumber-

the fold of the Catholic church.[t] Accordingly, some are of opinion that there is some quality in the soil and climate of Ireland which developes the Catholic faith in the minds of her inhabitants; so deeply is that faith rooted in their hearts, that though the plebeians are transplanted; the rich severely taxed; the gentry harassed; the nobles insulted; the cities and towns despoiled of their rights and privileges; the whole nation treated with contempt; the natives deprived of honors, of dignities, and of the magistracy; all places and offices of honor or emolument closed againt them: wealth and honors monopolized by foreign professors of heresy, and the resources of the country drained; religion derided as superstition; fidelity to God denounced as treason; constancy in the faith branded as obstinacy and rebellion; yet not all these, nor any other engines of terror or ruin, nor smiles of conciliation, could ever tear or seduce them from the close embraces of the Catholic church.

Fitzsimon[u] has most truly written, "that he had never witnessed greater tenacity of the old faith amid so many storms of persecution; greater veneration for religion, where pastors were so few, and wolves so numerous and so ferocious; or a more profound knowledge of the principles of faith, even when its teachers were banished, and all the aids of books and instructions proscribed. It is an almost incredible, but yet a most indubitable fact, that during full sixty years[v] neither the most atrocious penalties, nor the most tempting rewards, have been able to seduce into the ranks of heresy more than 200 persons in that whole country. Who could ever anticipate that even the lowest order of the people, most of them ignorant, would renounce fortune, liberty, and

land, who was executed for the Catholic rebellion in the reign of Elizabeth.

[u] An Irish Jesuit: like many other members of the Irish branch of that order, he had been a Protestant. He wrote several works, for which see Irish writers, &c.

[v] Commencing with Elizabeth's reign. This is a question which has been in latter times debated with great warmth, but on which the public has as yet no means of pronouncing an unexceptionably accurate opinion. A few more publications, like that of Shirley's "Original Letters on the Church in Ireland," would set the point at rest. He stops at the year 1567, within three or four years of a crisis, second in importance only to that of Elizabeth's first Irish parliament.

ducentos in hæreticorum hactenus sententiam concessisse? quis vel ex ipsius vulgi magna ex parte rudioris, tantam in religione Catholica stabilitatem esse existimet, ut fortunas, libertatem, vitam sibi eripi malit, quam momento uno abire in concilio impiorum, aut stare in peccatorum via. Usque adeo ut nec eorum qui de capite periclitantur, saltem unus ex fæce populi reperiretur, qui primo Februarii 1613, sacrilegas manus in unctos Domini plectendos quacumque pœna, quocunque præmio injicere, aut carnificis vice defungi tentaret? quis denique credat honestiores omnis gradus, omnisque sexus, extremam fidei causa inopiam oblatæ lautissimæ fortunæ, si forte servire consentirent, anteferre?"

Paucos quidem aut avaritiæ ardor, aut dignitatum sitis, aut libidinis œstrum a semita veritatis, non tam sponte sua; quam alieno impulsu in hæresis brevia, et syrtes subinde abduxit: qui ipsi sub vitæ vesperam senectute, vel morbo correpti, cum æternitatis aut pœnam, aut gloriam perpetuam conferentis conditionem cogitatione percurrerent, quasi receptui canentes hæresim execrati, peccatorumque sordibus confessione expiati, in tutum Ecclesiæ asylum se receperunt; gnari se nisi militantis Ecclesiæ gremio fotos, in triumphantis Ecclesiæ societatem à cœlitibus non adscitum iri. Cujus rei nonnulla documenta in Analectis de rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia exhibentur pagina 68 et sequentibus.

Post hæresim ad potestatis fastigium in Hibernia evectam, ob nullum aliud religionis Catholicæ caput, Hiberni magis agitabantur quam quod summum Pontificem supremam Ecclesiæ militantis authoritatem in terris referre semper asseveraverint, et primatus regii (ut vocant) juramento se obstringere constanter detrectaverint. Quamvis hæretici omnes ingenii potentiæque nervos intenderint ut Hibernos nuntium authoritati Pontificiæ remittendum adigerent.

Consuetudo in Hibernia ferebat regum indulto pridem collata ut urbes, et mancipia è suis civibus, ac municipibus aliquem, collatis suffragiis ad magistratum Reipub. suæ gerendum designarent, qui si

[w] Alludes to the execution of the bishop of Down and Connor in Dublin. The Four Masters record the event at the year 1611; O'Sullivan in 1612 (old style). See ibid. p. 304, a very interesting account of the trial and execution. A Protestant soldier, a strong man, in the vigor of youth,

life, rather than walk for one instant in the counsel of the ungodly, or stand in the way of sinners; that not even among criminals under sentence of death, among the vilest dregs of the populace, even one man could be induced, by any reward or any punishment, to lay sacrilegious hands on the Lord's anointed, who were to suffer on the 1st February, 1613, or to act as executioner on that day?[w] who, in a word, could believe that the respectable persons of every rank and sex would prefer the most pinching poverty in the cause of their holy faith, to the most splendid fortune granted as a reward of external conformity to the established religion?"

A few, no doubt, were seduced from the paths of truth by the promptings of avarice, or a thirst of honors, or the madness of lust; it was not their own deliberate act, but the influence of others that led them away into the shoals and quicksands of heresy; for when the evening of life was darkening around them, and old age or disease threatened their life, and the thought of that eternity, which brings joy, or misery never ending, loomed upon their souls, they retraced their steps, renounced their heresy, purified themselves by a confession of their sins, and took refuge in the secure asylum of the church, well knowing that they could never be inscribed among the citizens of the church triumphant, without having been nurtured in the bosom of the church militant. Several instances of those facts are recorded by the author of the Analecta of Catholic affairs in Ireland, p. 68, et seq.

When heresy first acquired its political ascendancy in Ireland, there was no point of Catholic doctrine for which the Irish were more persecuted, than for their constant profession that the pope was the supreme visible ruler of the church militant, and for their unflinching refusal to take the oath of the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, though the heretics exhausted all the appliances of force and persuasion to compel them to renounce the authority of the pope.[x]

In Ireland, the cities and municipalities were authorized by an an-

consented, it is said, to act as executioner, in order to save his own life.

[x] This is true rather of the reign of Elizabeth and of James I. than of the reign of Henry VIII., during which the great majority of the Irish princes took the oath of supremacy. Cox, Hibernia Anglicana, vol. i. pp. 253, 272. "The common people, never-

magistratum primatus juramento non præstito inire ausus fuisset, mox Dublinium abreptus carcere coercebatur, et in sententia supremam militantis Ecclesiæ potestatem penes pontificem esse continuo permanens,[56] è carcere pedem efferre non ante permissus est, quam magistratu primum amoto, mulcta quæ fortunarum ejus vires plerumque superabat irrogaretur.

Municipalis nostræ jurisprudentiæ candidati, postquam multam operam, et plurimos sumptus juri percipiendo impenderunt, non solum à tribunalibus,[57] et judicum officio, sed etiam à patrociniis clientium suscipiendis, et causis agendis arcebantur, quod regi Primas in Ecclesia juramento astruere, et Pontifici abrogare constantissimè renuerint. Ista nimirum consensio de primatu Ecclesiæ summo Pontifici deferendo

[56] Analec. p. 46, et seq. [57] Ibidem.

theless, during that reign, were as zealous for the pope, as the saints and martyrs were for the truth." Archbishop Brown to Cromwell, ibid. p. 246.

[y] According to Peter Lombard, this was not enforced in municipalities down to the period at which he was writing, A.D. 1601. The old Catholic oath was still taken. "Ad hæc, quamvis profanum, de quo paulo antea, juramentum de profitenda, et credenda suprema dictorum regum auctoritate, cum in temporalibus, tum in spiritualibus, sic præscriptum et præceptum esset ab eorum consiliis, tanquam quod deberet exigi ab omnibus, qui in Hibernia ad officia publica assumerentur; hic tamen *passim* civitates, oppida, aliæque communitates juramentum istud suscipere nunquam voluerunt; nec ab iis petere, quos ad magistratum, aliaque officia eligunt et assumunt. Imo quoad religionis causam, non aliud in iis præstatur juramentum quam olim Catholico tempore exigi solebat in abnegationem et detestationem hæreseos et hæreticorum omnium, ac proinde quod revera iisdem regibus, eorumque religioni adversatur potius quam ullo modo favet." Commentarius, p. 286.

[z] In the first place, he (James I.) despatched through the provinces some men called "presidents," who, vested with military power and martial law, possessed a stimulus to violence which they evidently did not need. These officers proceeded through the different towns, and made known his "majesty's express pleasure" for enforcing the two acts of Elizabeth, 2. chaps. 1. and 2., though the same had never before been enforced since enacted in Elizabeth's reign. Finding this not attended with the required

cient privilege conferred on them by the king, to elect from among their citizens or burgesses a magistrate to watch over the common interests. But if he presumed to enter on his office without having previously taken the oath of supremacy,[y] he was carried off to Dublin, and lodged in prison; and, when he persisted that the pope was the supreme visible head of the church militant, he was detained in prison until he abdicated his office, and was condemned to a fine, which generally was greater than all his wealth.[z]

Students of our common law, after great labor and enormous expense incurred in the study of the law, were not only debarred from ever sitting as judges in the courts and tribunals, but were, moreover, prevented from pleading even in civil or criminal cases, because they firmly refused to renounce the pope and take the oath of the king's ecclesiastical supremacy.[a] This unanimity in maintaining the supremacy of

effect, his majesty sent over to the presidents "a special command under his own signature," and forthwith they took other proceedings against those who had incurred "the payne and danger of his majesty's high indignation, and the infliction of his majesty's power." They fined, in sums of from £40 to £100 each, the mayors, burgesses, merchants, and principal inhabitants of the several corporations: they sold their goods and chattels for payment of those fines; and they adjudged the sufferers to "imprisonment during pleasure." All these penalties were directly contrary to law, and not warranted by any act of these persons; but the presidents were wholly indifferent on this account, and they therefore freely state, that such penalties were "for contempt against his majesty's commandments." Even in the case of William Sarsfield, mayor of Cork, already deposed from office, and fined £100, but who, being afterwards unwilling to attend the president at his council table, was fined the additional sum of £500, and imprisoned during his majesty's pleasure, it was certified that such punishment was for "contempt of the state and authorities of the table." Gale's Corporate System of Ireland, p. 43, and contemporary authorities, ibid. pp. xxxiii. xl. appendix. His assertion, that the act of the 2nd Elizabeth, prohibiting the public worship of the Catholics, was not enforced during her reign, is not correct. See also vol. i. p. 32.

[a] See O'Sullivan, Historiæ Catholicæ, p. 282, Dublin, 1850, and MSS. letters, first published by the editor, ibid. pp. 271, 340. In his Alithinologia, our author confesses (with pain) he says (dolens dico) that more priests than lawyers had renounced the Catholic faith. The lawyers of the pale had

Hibernorum animis dudum inolevit. Imo sub ipsa hæresis in Angliâ exortæ initia, ubi primum Henricus VIII. à Pontificis authoritate se subduxit, Joannes Traversius Hibernus Theologiæ doctor libro edito supremum Ecclesiæ Primatum summo Pontifici luculenter asseruit,[58] et sciscitantibus judicibus quis libri author fuerit, ingenuè fassus "est digitos se suos" (pollicem, indicem, et medium dextræ digitum judicum aspectui objiciens) "ad librum exarandum abhibuisse, addiditque se nunquam impensi in eo scripto laboris pœnitentia captum iri." Cujus egregii facinoris pœnas iniquis judicibus ita volentibus abscissæ manus igne dederunt, ita tamen ut tres illi dextræ manus digiti integri foco educti postea in veneratione à Catholicis habiti fuerint. |

[206] Quid multis? nulla est Europæ regio Acatholico regi obnoxia, in quâ numerosior hominum copia in avitâ fide, et summi Pontificis obse-

[58] Surius an. 1539.

given, in the reign of Elizabeth, considerable trouble to Sir John Perrott, and defeated his project for the enactment of the English penal laws in Ireland. Vol. i. p. 32. They were the founders and directors of the numerous associations, or boards, or committees, which, under different titles, existed, with little intermission, in Ireland from the time when Barnwall, the king's sergeant, led the opposition of the proctors in Henry VIII.'s parliament; and of which the present generation is not likely to see the last. The existence of such directing bodies had not escaped the keen glance of Sir William Petty in his "Political Anatomy." "There are *always* about twenty gentlemen of the Irish nation and popish religion, who, by reason of their families, good parts, courtly education, and carriage, are supported by the Irish to negotiate their concernments at the court of England, and of the viceroy of Ireland. These men raise their contributions by the priests, who actually and immediately govern the people." In Elizabeth's reign, it was remarked that lawyers were generally selected for municipal offices, note y, supra, p. 610. "Another thing also, at this time, was noted in the townes, namely, that all the chief cities made choice of professed lawyers, to be their mayors, magistrates and chief officers, and such as before were ringleaders of their corporation. These prepensed elections, whether they were made for fear, lest they should be called to account for their former faults, both in assisting the rebels, and resisting the soldiers, or to maintain the towns in obstinate superstition (i.e. the Catho-

the pope had long since taken firm hold of the souls of the Irish. Even at the very birth of the English heresy, when Henry VIII. first revolted from the authority of the pope, John Travers, an Irishman and doctor of divinity, published a work strenuously advocating the supremacy of the pope over the church. When asked by his judges who was the author of the book? he held out the thumb, index and middle finger of the right hand before his judges, "these fingers," he nobly avowed, "wrote that book, and I shall never forget the labor it cost me." For this heroic deed, his unjust judges ordered his right hand to be cut off and cast into the fire, but the three fingers were taken out unhurt from the flames, and preserved afterwards by the Catholics with religious veneration.[b]

What need of more? of all the countries in Europe subject to heretical kings, there is not one in which a greater number of subjects have persevered in the old faith, and in obedience to the sovereign

lic religion), which before was much augmented by these instruments, or for some other hidden cause known only to themselves, I cannot certainly determine, but sure I am it proceedeth not from any dutiful or loyal disposition." Amongst these lawless lawyers thus elected, there was one Geoffrey Galway, mayor of Limerick, a man that had spent many years in England, in studying of the common laws, and, returning to Ireland about three years since, did so pervert the city by his malicious counsel, and perjurious example, that he withdrew the major, alderman, and generally the whole citie from coming to the church, which before they sometimes frequented. Pacata Hibernia, p. 196. For this and other offences, namely, his defence of ancient corporate rights, "the lawless lawyer" was fined £400, which was designed for the repair of her Majesty's castle of Limerick. See also, complaint of Brady, bishop of Meath, 1564, writing to Cecil: "O what a sea of troubles have I entered into, storms rising on every side, the ungodli laious (lawyers) are not only sworn enemies to the truth, but for lack of due execution of law, the overthrow of the country." Shirley, Original Letters, p. 135.

[b] See O' Sullivan, Historiæ, p. 77, 94, Dublin, 1850, and Moore, History of Ireland, iii., p. 304. The statement, ibid. p. 305, is not correct. "The English, throughout every part of Ireland, where they extended their power, were persecuting and banishing the Orders; and particularly, they destroyed the monastery of Monaghan, and beheaded the guardian and some of the friars." Four Masters, A.D. 1540.

quio perstitit quam in Hibernia. Ut non immerito Cardinalis Bentivolus dixerit: Hibernos Romanam Catholicam fidem cum lacte suxisse videri.[59] In aliis correptis hæresi ditionibus, plerique regem suum vel supremam aliam Reipub. suæ potestatem imitati, à pristina religione et obedientia Pontifici præstanda desciverunt. In Hiberniâ affirmare non dubito, non decimum, aut centesimum, sed vix millesimum à priori religione ad hæreticorum partes transiisse. Ut Orlandinus non frustra dixerit:[60] "Intactam Catholicam fidem, et sincerissimam erga Romanum Pontificem obedientiam animo ac voluntate Hibernos servasse." Et Bozius: "quantum ex historicis colligimus, nulla è Borealibus gentibus constantior illâ (scilicet Hibernicâ) in eodem cultus unius consensu fuit." Ita ut quod de Romanis cecinit Virgilius simile mihi de Hibernis prædicare liceat:—

> "Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
> Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
> Orabunt causas melius,[61] cœlique meatus
> Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
> Hæ sed Hiberne tibi sint artes; rite memento
> Pontificum jussis parere, fidemque tueri."

Itaque huc apposité illud Analectes quadrat dicentis: quod in Hi-

[59] Literæ patris Petri Talbot. [60] Histo. societatis Jesu lib. 3, nu 45. De sig. Eccles. tom. 1, lib. 8. c. 1. [61] Æneid 6, 1845.

* Our author states in his Alithinologia, that the plan of the Catholic Confederation was generally attributed to Rothe, author of the Analecta. One of his letters which came into the editors possession is published here lest it should share the fate of many similar documents. It is addressed to the General of the Jesuits:—

"Revme. Pater,

"Ex quo Va. Rma. Ptas. assumpta erat ad universæ Societatis administrationem, frequens mihi cogitatio incidebat renovandi memoriam veteris nostræ, ne dicam, necessitudinis; et dum aptam salutandi materiam opperior, labuntur anni et lustra propemodum. Una nuper apparebat occasio bene opinandi, et de rebus nostris feliciter ominandi, si diu tractatum inter principes matrimonium (the Spanish match) annuente sede Apos-

pontiff, than in Ireland. Cardinal Bentivoglio has truly observed, "that the Irish would seem to have sucked in the Catholic faith with their mother's milk." In other countries smitten with heresy, the majority followed the example of the king or other governing power of the state, and renounced the old faith and the supremacy of the pope. But in Ireland, I do not hesitate to assert, that not the tenth, nor the hundreth, no nor the thousandth part revolted from the faith of their fathers to the camp of the heretics. Orlandinus might say, with perfect truth, "that the Irish had preserved in heart and soul the Catholic faith in all its integrity, and the most devoted obedience to the Roman pontiff." And Bozius also, "as far as we can judge from history, not one of all the northern nations has been more constant in the profession of the one faith." May I not then apply to the Irish what Virgilius sang regarding the Romans:—

"Let others better mould the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass;
And soften into flesh a marble face:
Plead better at the bar: describe the skies,
And when the stars descend, and when they rise.
But, Erin, be it thine, mark well! I pray,
Thy faith to hold, Christ's vicar to obey."

The following passage of the author of the Analecta may be appropriately introduced here.[c] "Though the authority of the pope has been

tolica lætum sortiretur exitum. Tunc utique cogitandum serio foret de stabili aliqua fundatione pro vestræ Societatis hominibus, ut quam nunc cursim per varias provincias et diœceses operam impendunt, sane frugiferam nationi, eandem navarent cum majori incremento et proventu, fixis hinc inde, sedibus et refugiis. Sed has cogitationes ad partum properantes, nedum intersecant, ut speramus, impediunt tamen et remorantur diuturnæ illæ et pendulæ nostrorum principum consultationes, quæ jam in Comitiorum fornace in Angliá coquuntur: ut ipsi etiamnum hæreamus incerti de conciliorum fine et negotiorum eventu: nec satis nobis constat quo tendant universa molimina, utrum ad exitium rei Catholicæ in nostris partibus (quod Deus avertat), an potius ad salutem, et solamen Catholicorum.

bernia "jamdudum proscripta et ablegata est ex omni foro, tribunali, et judicio legibus regni stabilito, authoritas Apostolica, quam tamen cordibus incolarum profundissimè inscriptam nulla vis potuit exterere, nullus metus obliterare.[62] Introducta est alia juris, disciplinæ, regiminis forma, ad quam tamen amplectendam in his quæ spectant ad religionem, nullo artificio induci, nulla violentia illi pertrahi potuerunt. Adhibitus est fucus ad descipiendum, lenocinium ad alliciendum, irritamentum ad provocandum, indago ad sollicitandum, minæ ad perterrendum, munera ad molliendum. Premunt, promunt, viam sibi præstruunt, aditum præmuniunt, cuniculo simul, et ariete oppugnant. Omnem machinam adhibent, sed omnia incassum, neque hilum proficiunt et magis illos ad nos attrahimus, quam attrahimur ab ipsis."

Vere igitur Andreas Thevetus dixit:[63] populum Hibernicum Christianam religionem integram tenuisse, invitis Anglis, qui omnes vires suas ad eos pervertendos, ac ad suam execrabilem sectam attrahendos intenderunt. Supremo Catholicorum Hiberniæ Concilio Nuncii Apostolici censuris obsequium an. Domini 1648, deneganti, pauciores Hibernorum adhæserunt, longé vero plures à Nuncii partibus steterunt: vulgus ipsum tam ardenti Pontificis colendi studio flagrabat, ut ministri ejus imperata non facere nefas inexpiabile putaverit. Hinc crebri

[62] Pag. 202. [63] Cosmog. to 1, lib. 16, p. 671.

Edictum proscriptionis nostræ, in Januario publicatum, et aliæ quædam subsecutæ machinationes terrorem injiciunt nostris; spei tamen meliorum temporum scintillam aliquam sub cinere fovent, sermones et signa quædam ambigua, quæ sollicitis animis trahuntur, in partem magis propitiam. Etenim, nos solatur fiduciæ vestigium de pacifici regis indole. Nostri adversarii metu anguntur; et sibi male augurantur. Interim moderate nostra munia peragimus. Quocumque autem vergat rerum nostrarum status, carere non possumus industria, pietate, et eruditione Societatis, quæ, ut in aliis hujus regni lateribus agnosci debet apprime necessaria; ita in ea civitate, diœcesi, (sic) unde utrique muneri, impar, ego nuncupor, opportunam eandem experior et salutiferam. Et, ni fallor in mentis augurio, non deerit ibidem, ubi poterit tabernaculum figere, quando tempora successerint prosperiora. Deus omnia ad suum honorem et gentis hujus salutem diri-

long since proscribed and condemned by all the public authorities and tribunals, and by the laws of the land, no violence could extinguish, nor fear obliterate, the ardent attachment to the vicar of Christ, which is deeply imprinted on the hearts of this people. Laws, discipline, and forms of government have been changed, but wherever they interfered with religion, no violence or artifice could induce the people to adopt them. Knavery was employed to deceive, seduction to allure, insult to provoke, intrigue to solicit, threats to terrify, rewards to conciliate. They oppress and they promise, they chalk out their approach, and seize all the avenues; they work both the mine and the battery; all machines are plied, but all in vain; they do not advance one inch; we gain more on them than they gain on us."

Truly hath Andrew Thevet asserted, "that the people of Ireland have maintained the Christian religion in all its integrity, in despite of the English, who exerted all their strength[d] to prevent and involve them in their own execrable sect." When the supreme council of the Catholics of Ireland refused obedience to the censures of the pope's nuncio, in the year 1648, the vast majority of the Irish adhered to him,

gat, et vestram Revmam. Paternitatem diu sanam et incolumem tueatur

Revmæ. Vestræ
Paternitatis
Deditissimus in Xto. Domino
David Rothus Ossoriensis E.
Pridie Kalendas Aprilis
Anno. MDCXXIV.

Revmo. in Xto. Patri P. Mutio
Vitellesco
Societatis Jesu. Præposito
Generali.
Romam."

The hope expressed in this beautiful letter was not long after realized. O'Sullevan, Historiæ Catholicæ, p. 297. Dublin, 1850.

[d] The enforcement of the statutes of the 2nd Elizabeth varied according to time, place, and circumstances. On May 23, 1561, John Parker, Esq., Sir John Garvey, archdeacon of Meath, James Nugent, Esq., sheriff of Westmeath, and Sir Thomas Nugent, Knt., were appointed by patent, commissioners for the county of Westmeath: to exercise, under the queen in said county, all authority concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to reform and order all such heresies, errors, schisms, abuses, and contempts whatsoever, which by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power may be reformed or ordered, pursuant to act of parliament, 2nd Elizabeth.

tumultus alicubi torrentis instar erumpebant, et contentiones tam privatæ quam publicæ sæpius exoriebantur. Supremus etiam fœderatorum

Why Westmeath was selected as the first field for the high commission of ecclesiastical causes the editor knows not. On December 6, 1652, commissioners were appointed by patent to execute the like jurisdiction in the province of Armagh and Meath; namely, Loftus, nominated archbishop of Armagh, Sir George Stanley, Sir Thomas Cusack, Terence, dean of Armagh, Sir George Garvey, archdeacon of Meath, and Henry Draycott, chief remembrancer. These commissioners had some means of enforcing their jurisdiction in Louth and Meath. On October 4, 1564, commissioners were appointed for the whole kingdom; namely, the bishops of Armagh, Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Leighlin, the earls of Ormond, Desmond, and Kildare, Sir Henry Ratcliff, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Sir George Stanley, Sir Thomas Cusack, John Plunkett, Robert Dillon, James Bath, Francis Agarde, Robert Cusack, dean of Armagh, Terence Donyll, the mayors of Dublin and Drogheda for the time being, John Garvey, archdeacon of Meath, and Henry Draycott, chief remembrancer. This commission had for a time *real* power in nearly half of Ireland. It was authorized to inquire by jury and by witnesses, and by all other means and ways, of all offences or misdemeanors contrary to the tenor and effect of two statutes, 12th January, 2nd Elizabeth, as also of all heretical opinions, seditious books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumors, libels, tales, misbehaviors, evil education and instruction of children by schoolmasters, slanderous words and sayings published and invented against said statutes, or against the laws, ordinances, or jurisdiction in causes ecclesiastical, now authorized in Ireland; to hear and determine all enormities, disturbances, and misbehaviors, committed in any church, chapel, or against any divine service or the minister of the same, and to punish such as obstinately absented themselves from divine service. They were directed to appoint Geoffrey Penchbecke, register of all their acts, and decrees, or in his absence, another sufficient person, with such allowance of the fines and profits as they think fit: and also to appoint a receiver of the said fines, with a stated allowance. Where and how far this commission was enforced may be partly inferred from Shirley's Original Letters, pp. 196, 204. Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh, admits that in the first years of the reign of Elizabeth many of the Irish, from ignorance, he maintains, attended the new service; but carried with them all the usual symbols, and practised the common devotions of the old church. "Quod tamen ad Hibernis sic fiebat, ut non alia secum ferrent, aut in templis usurparent religionis symbola, quam quæ præ se ferebant confessionem

and left but few supporters to the council. The common people were inflamed with so ardent a love of the pope, that they deemed it an

publicam Catholicæ fidei, et crucis Christi Salvatoris horas, et coronas Divæ Virginis matris, litanias et imagines Sanctorum. Sed postquam melius instituti intelligerent illicitum fore ejusmodi officia seu ceremonias frequentare aut præsentiâ suâ honorare, ex eo certè tempore cœperunt illa adeo aversari et execrari, ut usque in hodiernum diem, in totam ubicunque Hiberniam, schismatico aut hæretico ritu celebratur, non alii sint præsentes fere, quam externi quidam auditores, partim Angli, partim aliarum nationum." Commentarius, p. 282. Of these first years of Elizabeth, the Earl of Sussex writes, 22nd of July, 1562, "The pepel w^tout dysciplyne, utterly voyde of religyon, come to divine svyce as to a may game." Shirley, p. 117. Where the registers of Penchebecke, Pintchbacke, or Pinchback are, is not known at present. He was "a poore kynsman" of Sir William Cecil, and died before May 16, 1565, ibid. p. 190. In 1568, a commission for ecclesiastical causes was appointed, pursuant to the Act of Faculties, passed May 10th, 1536. The exercise of this office of Faculties was in 1577 entrusted to Drs. Ackerworth and Garvey, "Georgius Ackworth legum doctor, et Robertus Garvey legum baccalaureus destinati ab clerum Hibernicum titulo magistrorum ad facultates pro reformatione cleri, sed ecclesiæ potius perturbatio sequebatur." Dowling's Annals, p. 43. But next year, March 14, 1578, though the grant had been made to them under the great seal, their commission was revoked, "as well in respect of the mean quality of these two persons for so great an authority," as for other good reasons: and the commission of faculties of 1568 was restored. The last High Commission in Elizabeth's reign was appointed November 27, 1593. This revokes the preceding, and confers the same powers on the Bishops of Dublin, Armagh, Meath; the Earl of Ormonde, Sir Henry Wallpole, Sir Henry Bagnall, Sir Robert Gardiner, Sir William Weston, Sir Robert Napper, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Sir George Bourchier, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir John Norris, Sir Robert Dillon, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Nicholas Walsh, the mayor of Dublin, Charles Caltroppe, Roger Willbrahane, Robert Conway, Henry Ussher, archdeacon of St. Patrick's. At the date of its appointment, and for a short time after, this commission had effective authority over nearly three provinces: its proceedings are not fully known. Two passages from contemporary authorities, illustrative of this latter period, are here subjoined, in the hope that others, by collecting authentic information on Elizabeth's Irish reign, may put an end to an enormous amount of declamation on both sides of the question, Peter Lombard,

Catholicorum magistratus ad Pontificem provocatione factâ, causam integram retulerunt. Ita ut in Hiberniâ omnis omnium hominum ordo, summum semper honorem, et obsequium Pontifici quam studiosissime detulerit.

Nec solum avorum, patrum, ac nostra memoria Hiberni à vera religione, Pontificisque obsequio divelli non poterant, sed etiam antiquitus in fidei Catholicæ professione, et in summi Pontificis obedientia firmissimè persliterunt.[64] "Præ cunctis" enim (ait Lombardus) "potestatibus, et dignitatibus," Hiberni "sunt devoti, et addicti penitus imperio sedis Apostolicæ, se ac sua omnia non in spiritualibus tantum, sed etiam in temporalibus subjectos illi agnoscentes." Imo si vera Polydorus narret, Hiberni "jam inde ab initio post acceptam religionem Christianam sese ac omnia sua in Pontificis ditionem dederunt,[65] et constanter affirmaverunt non alium habere se Dominum præter ipsum Pontificem." Hoc idem iisdem etiam verbis Sanderus tradit, additque "illos quemquam alium supremum Principem,[66] præter Romanum Pontificem non agnovisse." Ketingus concessionem Hibernorum sub summi Pontificis ditionem ad

[64] Ibidem, p. 203. [65] Britannomachiæ, lib. 3, part. 8, c. 5. [66] Analec. p. 46, et seq.

speaking of Essex's government, "Hoc illi administrationis exordium, in qua toto deinceps reliquo tempore ita se gessit, ut in religionis causa, quasi connivens sive dissimulans, Catholicos permitteret liberius agere: unde in profanis ædibus et in sacellis, quæ parœchias non habent aperte satis, celebrata interim missa, et ministrata Catholico ritu Sacramenta, imo Sacerdotes aliquot eousque in vinculis sat diu detenti, sub eo donati libertate, et notorii quidam Catholici creati ab eo aurati equites. Sciebat enim probe, si aliter ageret, se non tantum nullos ex iis, qui jam desciverant, ad reginæ obedientiam reducturum, sed neque illos posse satis continere, qui usque ad illum diem sustinuerant, sub imperio ejus vivere." p. 413. The same policy was continued by Mountjoy and Carew, "by the necessitie of the time being constrained, and by the popish priests being licensed, they (the southern Irish) were contented for a time to live in subjection." August, 1601. Pacata Hibernia, p. 315. And when, after the surrender of Kinsale, the laws were enforced in Dublin, the lords of the council in England "wrote to command us to deale moderately in religion, I had before the receipt of yonr lordship's letters, presumed to advise such as

inexpiable crime not to obey the orders of his minister. Tumults frequently burst forth like a torrent in all quarters, and contentions were rife in public and private.[e] The chief men of the confederate Catholics themselves maintained the principle, for they appealed to the pope himself. Thus all orders have been, at all times, unanimous in Ireland in their profound reverence and obedience to the supreme authority of the pope.

But it was not in our own times alone, and in those of our fathers and grandfathers, that the Irish clung with invincible fidelity to the pope; they evinced, in ancient times, the same devoted attachment to the Catholic faith and to the head of the church. "The reverence of the Irish," says Lombard, "for the authority of the apostolical see, so far transcends their reverence for all other powers and dignities, that they bow to its authority, not only in ecclesiastical, but even in temporal affairs." If what Polydorus relates be true, "the Irish subjected themselves and all their rights to the dominion of the apostolical see, and invariably professed that the pope was their sole lord from the time that the Christian religion was first established among them." Sanders repeats the same assertion in nearly the same words, "that

dealt in it, for a tyme to hold a more restraynt hand therein; and we were both thinking ourselves, what course to take in the revocation of what was already done with least encouragement to them and others; since the fear that this course begun in Dublin would fall upon the rest was apprehended over all the kingdom—not that I think it fit that any principall magistrates should be chosen without taking the oath of obedience, nor tolerated in absenting themselves from publique divine service, but that we may be advised how we do punish, in their bodies or goods, any such onely for religion, as doe professe to be faithful subjects to her majestie, and against whom the contrary cannot be proved." Ibid. ii. p. 702. A.D. 1603. On the 10th of August of the same year, the Star Chamber (Cubiculum Castri) was created by patent; its proceedings are much better known than those of the High Commission: they are on the catalogue of Trinity College MSS. G. 3. 2.

[e] Our author, in his Alithinologia and Supplement, gives an elaborate defence of the supreme council against the Nuncio, to whose censures, and general policy, he attributes mainly the triumphs of Cromwell, and the ruin of the Catholic cause.

posteriora tempora protrahit.[67] Dicit enim Donatum Briani Borhomii filium (quem ille solus, regem Hiberniæ,[68] alii regem duntaxat Momoniæ, et eo etiam an. Domini 1064, exutum) Romam peregrin-
[207] ationis | obeundæ causa petiisse et supremum Hiberniæ imperium, procerum etiam Hiberniæ assensum ad idc onsecutus, summo Pontifici contulisse.

Quamvis autem multæ subsint causæ cur ista è Polydoro, Sandero, et Ketingo producta in dubium merito revocentur, et multa documenta suppetant, indicantia Hibernos Politicam Patriæ suæ administrationem Pontifici non detulisse; indubitatum tamen est, et penitus exploratum, illos inde usque ab Hibernia fidem amplexâ, omnes religionis colendæ rationes à summo Pontifice suspensas habuisse, et Ecclesiæ nostræ primipilos (ut ita dicam) proceres, per omnem secuti temporis vicissitudinem, ut suo muneri ritè obeundo authoritatem à summo Pontifice referrent Romam contendisse. S. Mansuetus Hibernus cum Ecclesia

[67] Lib. 2. [68] Annales Hibern.

[f] With the exception of the period of Edward Bruce's invasion, there do not appear any evidences of the popular belief, that Ireland was a fief of the Holy see. The papal bulls appear to have had as little effect subsequently, as they had when first issued. It was when Henry VIII. renounced the pope, that the people questioned his right to the sovereignty, independent to the pope; and Silken Thomas sent over to Rome documents to that effect. Henry, to remove the popular impression, assumed the title of king, which was confirmed by the almost unanimous assent of the Irish princes themselves. Subsequently, however, when Sanders was writing, and later, there were two parties among the Irish Catholics, one maintaining that popes could transfer, and had transferred by bulls what popes had conferred by bulls—dominion over the kingdom of Ireland. The two opinions are characteristically expressed in the words of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, to the Anglo-Irish and Catholic Lord Barry, and in that lord's answer: "My Lord Barry, your impietie to God, crueltie to your soul and body, tyrrannie and ingratitude both to your followers and country, are inexcusable and intolerable. *You separated yourself from the unitie of Christ's mystical body, the Catholic church;* you know the sword of extirpation hangeth over your head, as well as ours, if things fall out otherwise than well; you are the cause why all the nobilitie of the south, from the east part to the west

they never admitted any other supreme lord but the pope."[f] Keating refers this acknowledgement of the temporal sovereignty of the pope to a later period, when Donnchadh O'Briain, son of Brian Borumha, and king of Ireland according to him, but of Munster only according to all others, and even deposed from that throne in 1064, went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and, with the consent of all his chieftains, surrendered the supreme dominion of Ireland into the hands of the pope.

Though there are strong reasons to doubt the accuracy of those statements of Polydorus, Sanders, and Keating, and powerful arguments to prove that the Irish never surrendered the political supremacy of their country to the pope,[g] it is an undoubted and incontrovertible fact, that, from the moment the Irish received the faith, all their principles in religious affairs were subordinate to the power of the pope; and the great pillars of our church in all ages and conjunctures sought in Rome direction and authority for all their arrangements in ecclesiastical concerns. On the first dawn of the Christian faith, St. Mansuetus, an Irishman, went to Rome in the year 66, and met St. Peter, prince of

(you being linked to each one of them, either in affinitie or consanguinitie), are not linked together to shake off the cruel yoke of heresie and tyrranie, with which our souls and bodies are oppressed."—From the campe, this instant, Tuesday. Lord Barry replies: "I am undoubtedly persuaded in my conscience, that by the law of God and his true religion, I am bound to hold with her majestie; her highness hath never restrained me for matters of religion; you shall further understand, that I hold my lordship and lands immediately under God, of her majestie, and her most noble progenitors, by corporall service, and of none other, by very ancient tenour, which service and tenour *none may dispense withall*, but the true possessor of the crown of England, being now our sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth." This latter was the political creed, at least in practice of all the towns and corporations, of many of the old Irish, and of the vast majority of the Anglo-Irish nobility and population. It produced either the neutrality or the zealous and effective loyalty of the most wealthy, the most influential, and perhaps the most numerous portion of the Irish people: a loyalty of which Catholic apologists often reminded their rulers in succeeding reigns. The sequel proved whether O'Neill's prediction, of "the sword of extirpation" hanging over the loyalists' heads, was true or not. Pacata Hibernia, p. 36, 38.

[g] See note, supra, p. 435.

intra initia adhuc stetisset, Romam sub an. Domini 66, et divum Petrum Apostolorum coryphæum adiit,[69] " à quo" ut ait Saussaius " salutaribus undis tinctus, cum veteri homine exuto gentilitatis vocabulo, Mansueti (ab agni quem præferebat mansuetudine) nomen consecutus, ad Tullensem in Lotharingia civitatem facibus Evangelicæ veritatis illuminandam à divo Petro missus est." Sanctus etiam Kyeranus Episcopus Sagirensis anno post Virginis partum 382, " audiens famam Christianæ religionis in urbé Roma esse, deseruit Hiberniam, et adivit Romam, perveniensque illuc baptizatus est, et doctus in fide Catholica ibique viginti annis mansit, legens scripturas divinas, librosque eorum colligens, Ecclesiasticas regulas sedulus discens, ibi ordinatus est Episcopus."[70]

Præterea " videns S. Hilarius magnam sanctitatem S. Albæi, misit illum ad Dominum Papam, ut ab eo ordinaretur Episcopus, et sanctus Papa gavisus est in adventu ejus, mansitque apud eum uno anno et quinquaginta diebus;"[71] tunc autem viri sancti quinquaginta de Hibernia post S. Albæum Romam perrexerunt; cum ergo venissent ubi erat S. Papa, et Albæus; dedit eis Papa cellam seorsum, et misit S. Albæum cum eis, ut ipsis præesset, multi ex ipsis unius erant " nominis XII. Colmanni, XII. Coemgeni, XII. Fintani." Moram autem illam à S. Albæo ac cæteris supra memoratis Romæ contractam in annum salutis 397 Usherus refert.[72]

Eodem quoque tempore " in mente S. Declani" (ut in ejus vita legimus) " Romam ire venit, ut ibi mores Ecclesiasticos disceret, et licentiam prædicandi à sede Apostolica haberet, et ordinem et regulas secundum institutionem Romanam secum duceret. Veniens sanctus Declanus cum discipulis suis Romam, magna lætitia in adventu ejus gavisus est Papa,[73] et de nobilitate ejus, et sanctitate Romano populo indicavit: et in magnum honorem, et dilectionem apud populum Romanum et clerum invenit beatissimus Declanus."

[69] Vide Usherum in primord. p. 748, et seq.et p. 1038, et seq. [70] Colganus, 5 Martii. [71] Apud Usherum de Primord. p. 789. [72] Pag. 1090. [73] Ibidem 789.

[h] St. Mansuetus, an Irishman, was bishop of Toul, but not before the close of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century. Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 34.

[i] For SS. Kiaran of Os-raidhe, Ailbhe

the apostles, by whom, according to Saussaye, "he was baptized in the saving waters, and renouncing his old gentile name, with the old man, took the name Mansuetus, as a type of the lamblike gentleness of his character. He was then sent by St. Peter to enlighten, with the rays of divine faith, the city of Tulle in Lorrain."[h] St. Kiaran, bishop of Saighir, having heard in the year 382 of the " fame of the Christian religion established in Rome, left Ireland and went to that city, where he was baptized and instructed in the faith of Christ, and remained there twenty years studying the sacred scriptures, collecting its different books, and acquiring a full knowledge of all the details of ecclesiastical discipline, until he was consecrated bishop."

Again, " St. Hilarius, seeing the great holiness of St. Ailbhe, sent him to our lord the pope to be consecrated bishop. He was most graciously welcomed by the holy pontiff, and remained with him one year and fifty days." Now, there came at the same time 50 other holy men after St. Ailbhe from Ireland to Rome, and when they met the pope and St. Ailbhe, the pope appointed a monastery for themselves, and placed them under the government of St. Ailbhe. Many of them were homonymous; " thus, 12 Colmanns, 12 Caeimhghins, 12 Fintans." This residence of St. Ailbhe and his associates at Rome is referred by Ussher to the year 397.

About the same time, also, St. Declan, as his life informs us, conceived the design of going to Rome to learn the canons of the church, and to receive permission from the apostolic see to preach, and also to introduce the ritual and rules of the Roman church. Now, when he and his holy companions arrived in Rome, the pope received him with great demonstrations of joy, and proclaimed to the Roman people his high descent and his great virtue, so that the holy deacon was exceedingly honored and beloved by the clergy and people of Rome.[i]

of Imlaigh, Declan of the Deise, and Ibar of Wexford, the reader is referred to Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History, chap. 1. Ibar died A.D. 500; Ailbhe, A.D. 527. Declan's period is far less certain, but he was probably their contemporary. Of Kiaran "we may safely conclude that he belonged to the sixth century, became distinguished towards the middle of it, and died during its latter half." Dr. Lanigan's chronology of

Sanctus etiam Sezinus an. Domini 435.[74] Romæ sacrarum scripturarum scholas cœpit frequentare, illum postea Cælestinus primus Apostolica authoritate Episcopum renuntiavit, et S. Patricio expeditionis sacræ comitem addidit.

Postea S. Ibarus S. Abbanum discipulum itineris sibi socium adsciscens Romam concessit,[75] ipse deinde S. Abbanus "tribus vicibus in peregrinatione pro Christi nomine Romam perrexit." Romam quoque Endeus adiit sub. an Dom. 461. Scothinus S. Davidis an. Dom. 250 extincti discipulus,[76] "cum quædam Romæ peragenda haberet quæ accelerationem postularunt,[77] legitur uno die ex Hibernia Romam profectus, seu verius translatus, expeditisque negotiis altero die ad patriam rediisse."[78]

S. Cassanus Episcopus qui sub an. Domini 465, floruit, aliquot sociis comitatus, Romæ se contulit, utcum sodalibus "veram ibi doctrinam, et pietatem è fonte epotaret."[79]

S. Mocteus Episcopus circa Christi nati annum 480[80] Romæ "divinis incubuit studiis, Deo et hominibus gratiosus, fiebat indies seipso sapientior, vita et sermone alios ædificans: confluebantque ad eum discipuli, qui de sacro ejus pectore sapientiæ aquas salutares bibentes, facti sunt fide, verbo, et opere perfecti. Cumque literarum plenitudinem omni morum honestate perornaret, à summo Pontifice in Episcopum sublimatus est, postmodum Apostolica fultus benedictione, et authoritate, duodecem comitatus discipulis in Hiberniam reversus est."

[74] Colga. 6 Mar. [75] Ibidem, 15 Mart. [76] Ibidem, 20 Mart. [77] Ibid. 2. [78] Januarii, c. 8, vitæ. [79] Ibidem, 28 Mart. [80] Ibidem, 24 Mart.

these saints appears to be the only probable one; for this reason principally, that the dates of the deaths of Ibar and Ailbhe are as certain as any fact in early Irish history. The legends, which assert that these four saints were bishops in Ireland before St. Patrick, had their origin I strongly suspect in the old jealousy of Leath Mogha (southern Ireland), towards Leath Cuinn (northern Ireland), in which St. Patrick had fixed his primatial see. Kiaran and Ibar were the patriarchs of the greater part of Leinster, and Ailbhe and Declan of Munster. The legends, which state that they were bishops in Ireland before St. Patrick, state also that they were ordained in

St. Seizin also attended the scripture schools in Rome in the year 435, and was afterwards consecrated bishop by the apostolical authority of Celestinus the First, and appointed to accompany St. Patrick in his Irish mission.[k]

St. Ibar afterwards went to Rome, accompanied by his disciple, St. Abban, who, on three subsequent occasions, made the same pilgrimage in honor of Christ. St. Enda[l] also went to Rome about the year 461, and Scothin,[m] a disciple of St. David (who died in the year 550) having, on one occasion, some urgent business to be settled at Rome, is said to have journeyed, or rather to have been translated thither in one day from Ireland, and after dispatching all his business, to have returned to Ireland in the next.

St. Cassan, a bishop, who flourished about the year 465, took some companions with him to Rome, "to imbibe true piety and learning at the fountain head."[n]

St. Mochta, a bishop, "was engaged in his sacred studies in Rome in the year 480. He was a favorite of God and man, every day surpassing himself in wisdom, and edifying others by word and example. Disciples crowded around him, who imbibed from his holy soul the salutary waters of wisdom, and became perfect men in faith, and word, and work. His extensive erudition, adorned as it was by a life of unsullied purity, having induced the pope to exalt him to the episcopal rank, he returned to his own country with the authority and blessing of the pontiff, accompanied by twelve associates."[o]

Rome, and by the pope.

[k] Colgan is of opinion that Seizin is the same as Iserninus, or Serenus appointed bishop of Kill Chuilin by St. Patrick; others, that he is the Sezni, of Brittany, who died in the commencement of the sixth century, and from whom Guic Sezni is named. Lanigan, vol. i., p. 261.

[l] St. Enda of Arran Isles, probably; he died about the year 542. See in Petrie's Round Towers, p. 136, an account of the gravestone where seven Romans, "VII. Romani," lie buried near the church of St. Brecan, on the great island of Arran.

[m] From whom, Tescoffin in the parish of Gowran, county of Kilkenny. He lived probably about the close of the sixth century. Lanigan ii., 323.

[n] The preceptor of St. Senanus, who appears to have lived in the west of the county of Clare in the commencement of the sixth century.

[o] Founder of the monastery at

Anno post Christum natum 522,[81] S Nemedius Episcopus "Romam petiit, et ad limina sanctorum Apostolorum, in magna ciborum, maxima
[208] vitiorum continentia | vitam duxit peregrinam." S. etiam Sennanus Episcopus ab aliquibus pro Archiepiscopo Armachano habitus,[82] "Romam profectus est, sacræ Apostolorum limina visitaturus." Floruit autem circa salutis annum 544. Sub annum eundem S. Carthacus senior Romam perrexit.[83]

Circa idem tempus "S. Barræus Episcopus duodecem comitatus sociis, inter quos fuere S. Eulogius, et S. Moedocus Fernensis, peregrinatur in Britanniam, et indè cum S. Davide Menevensi eorum se societati jungente,[84] Romam ad limina Apostolorum visenda profecti sunt." S. Fridianus seu Finnanus an. Dom. 555. "Apostolorum

[81] Ibidem, 28 Jan. [82] Ibidem, 8 Martii. [83] Ibidem, 5 Martii.

(Lughmhagh) Louth; died A.D. 535. Lanigan i., p. 308, 496.

[p] There were several saints of this name, Nennidh, in the sixth century: one was bishop of Inismacsaint in Fermanagh; another a friend of St. Brighid's. See Lanigan, vol. i. p. 452.

[q] St. Senanus of Iniscathaigh died about the year 544. There were many saints, named Senach, one of whom was archbishop of Ardmacha, and died A.D. 610.

[r] Pupil, and some say successor of St. Kiaran of Saighir; afterwards bishop in Kerry. Died about the year 580. Still famous in the popular legends of Killarney, especially as connected with the old church of Innisfallen "sicut propriis auribus in ipsa insula accepi."

[s] Died about the year 623. Of his visit to Rome Dr. Lanigan observes, "Many a Roman journey of this kind, that never took place, is spoken of in the lives of our saints of those times." ii. p. 316. Judging from the silence of our native annalists of Ulster, of Innisfallen, of Donegal, &c., this assertion would undoubtedly be correct. For they very seldom chronicle visits to Rome. It must be remembered, however, that they are equally silent regarding the Irishmen who visited other parts of the continent; and who were, nevertheless, certainly famous in foreign countries, though apparently unknown at home, as Dr. Lanigan himself proves. Of the few dozen pilgrims whom our author mentions here, it would be difficult to prove on unexceptionable testimony that all went to Rome: but the wonder is, not that the number recorded is so

In the year 522, St. Nennidh, a bishop, went to Rome to visit the tombs of the apostles, and during his pilgrimage great was his fasting, and greater still his abstinence from all sin.[p] St. Senanus also, who by some is supposed to be the archbishop of Ardmacha, "went to Rome to visit the tombs of the apostles."[q] He flourished about the year 544. Nearly at the same period, St. Carthac the Elder also visited Rome.[r]

St. Barr, bishop,[s] with twelve companions, amongst whom were St. Eulogius and St. Maidoc,[t] of Fearna-mor (Ferns), having gone on a pilgrimage about this time to Britain, proceeded thence, accompanied by St. David of Menavia, "on a pilgrimage to Rome to visit the tombs of the apostles." St. Fridian or Finnan, "visited the tombs of the apostles in 555." His learning and piety, his high rank and singular beauty of person, secured

great, but that it is so very small; when we consider that, before the close of the eighth century, numerous establishments had been founded by the Irish, both in France and in Germany, for the accommodation of Irish pilgrims, supra, p. 244; and also, that, before the same period, pilgrims from Rome had retired to Ireland. In the Litanies of Ænghus, A.D. 800, we have, among other foreigners, the following Roman pilgrims invoked. "The holy Romans who are buried in Achadh Galma, in Ibh-Echia, I invoke to my assistance, through Jesus Christ, &c. &c. the holy Romans of Leter Erca, I invoke, &c. the holy Romans who are buried in Achadh-Dalrach, with Cursecha, daughter of Bronach, I invoke, &c. the holy Romans of Cluain-chinne; the holy Romans who are buried in Cluainn-Dartadha, with St. Aid, I invoke, &c. &c. the holy Roman pilgrims, who came over in 150 boats, with SS. Elias, Natalis, Neman, and Corcnutan, I invoke, &c. &c. the 150 holy pilgrims, Romans and Italians, who accompanied St. Abban to Ireland, I invoke, &c." Now as this litany mentions Egyptian, Gallic, Saxon, and British pilgrims, and distinguishes between Italian and Roman pilgrims, the inference is, that the latter were natives of the city of Rome itself. If the places, where those pilgrims from Rome were buried, could be identified, it might be useful in tracing the progress of religion and of the arts in ancient times, as well as in testing the authenticity of traditional legends regarding pilgrims to Rome. See Petrie's Round Towers, p. 134, supra, p. 241, and St. Columbanus' letter to St. Gregorius, circa finem.

[t] Perhaps the St. Aid mentioned in the Litanies in the last note; Aid and Maidoc. Aidan &c. being only different forms of the name.

limina petiit: ibi religionis, et literaturæ intuitu, nobilitatis etiam, et speciositatis respectu à Papa Pelagio honorificè suspectus est.[85] Cum quo tribus mensibus moram faciens, consuetudines Ecclesiasticas cum Apostolica ut erat ardentis ingenii memoriæ commendavit. Accepta itaque (ut moris est) à summo Pontifice benedictione, ad terram suam remeare curavit."

Sub annum Domini 599, S. Daganus Abbas postea Episcopus, "Pergens Romam duxit secum regulam quam sanctus Molua ordinavit et dictavit monachis suis, et legens S. Gregorius Papa illam regulam,[86] dixit coram omnibus: ille sanctus cujus est hæc regula, circumsepsit sepem circa familiam suam usque ad cœlum, et mandavit S. Gregorius Papa suam orationem et benedictionem S. Moluæ."

Anno post virginis partum 628, S. Lasreanus "cum sanctis quinquaginta viris Romam concessit, et summus Pontifex eum præsulem ordinavit et consecravit,[87] et revertenti legationis in Hibernia officium commisit." Nimirum dum controversia de Paschate in Concilio Lethninensi disceptaretur, nec facile decideretur: "visum est" ait Cumineus "senioribus nostris juxta mandatum,[88] ut si diversitas oborta fuerit super causam et causam, et variaverit judicium inter Lepram, et non Lepram, irent ad locum, quem elegit Dominus: ut si causæ fuerint majores, juxta decretum synodicum, ad caput urbium sint referendæ: misimus quos novimus sapientes, et humiles esse, prosperum iter in voluntate Dei habentes, et ad Romam urbem aliqui ex eis venientes tertio anno ad nos usque pervenerunt," quorum coryphæus S. Lasreanus erat. Sub an. Domini 630. "S. Caidocus cum S. Richario quem

[84] Ibidem, 31. Jan. [85] Ibidem, 18 Mart. [86] Ibidem, 12 Mart. [87] Ibid. 24 Februa. [88] Usher in Sylloge, p. 11.

[u] Bishop of Lucca: about the close of the sixth century. Our author appears, with Colgan, to make him the same as Finian of Moville. See Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 25.

[v] Dr. Lanigan, without the slightest authority, rejects, on his own conjecture, all this account "as a mere flourish, made up by some monks of Molua's order." Vol. ii. p. 209. Cluainfearta Molua (Clonfertmulloe or Kyle), the chief foundation of St. Molua,

for him an honorable reception from pope Pelagius, with whom he remained during three months, having in that short space of time made himself perfect master of the ecclesiastical and apostolical discipline: for he was a man of brilliant genius. Having received, according to the usual custom, the pope's blessing, he returned to his own country.[u]

About the year 599, St. Dagan, abbot, but afterwards bishop, "going on a pilgrimage to Rome, brought with him the rule which St. Molua had prescribed and dictated for his monks. When pope St. Gregorius read that rule, he said before all present, 'the saint that composed that rule made a bulwark around his monks that raised them to heaven.' So pope St. Gregorius sent his prayers and his blessing to St. Molua.[v]"

In the year 628, St. Laisrean "went to Rome with fifty holy men, where he was ordained and consecrated bishop by the pope, and appointed apostolical legate on his return to Ireland." For when the Paschal controversy was discussed in the synod of Leith-ghlinn, (Leighlin) and could not easily be decided, "it was decreed," as Cumin relates, "by our seniors, according to the command, that if any difference arise between cause and cause, and opinions vary between leprosy and no leprosy, they should go to the place which the Lord hath chosen;" and if the cause was one of the "causæ majores,[w] 'that it should be referred to the head of cities, according to the synodical canon.' We, accordingly, sent men of tried wisdom and humility, who, by the favor of God, had a prosperous journey, and some of them arriving in the city of Rome, returned thence to us in the third year." St. Laisrean was the principal

was in the Queen's County.

[w] The Rev. W. G. Todd translated those words, "every important question." Church of St. Patrick, p. 89—a version as substantially correct, perhaps, as can be made of a technical or law term in one language into another. The "majores causæ" were a certain class of important questions well known then and now in church law. Julius I., contemporary of St. Patrick, writes to the Eastern bishops citing the xviii. of Nice: "Cujus (Apostolicæ sedis) dispositioni omnes majores ecclesiasticas causas, antiqua apostolorum, eorumque successorum atque canonum auctoritas reservavit." L. Abbe Concilia, tom, iii. p. 9. Pope Innocent I., in 404, writes to Victritius, bishop of Rouen, "si autem majores causæ in medium fuerint devolutæ, ad sedem Apostolicam sicut synodus statuit, post episcopale judicium referantur." Ibid. Pope Zozi-

à seculi unitate abduxit Romam profectus est."[89] Et circa idem tempus S. Monon Romam tetendit. Anno post Christum natum 648 "summus Pontifex enixè à S. Fursæo postulavit ut Romæ remaneret,[90] et in Dominorum (ut vetus legenda loquitur) curiæ Romanæ, id est Cardinalium numerum se sineret adscribi. In quam voluntatem cum nullis precibus adduci potuisset ut descenderet; Pontifex communicatâ illi omni sua authoritate, impertitisque variis sanctorum reliquiis, et pastorali quodam pedo non absimili peregrinorum scipioni, quo multi ante ipsum Romani Pontifices usi fuerant, illum et sanctum Foillanum in Episcopos consecravit."[91] Additque Molanus de S. Foilano quod "Romam iverit petiturus à Martino Pontifice Episcopalem benedictionem ad infidelium conversionem."

S. Indractus regis Hiberniæ filius, cum novem sociis Romam profec-

[89] Surius 18 c. [90] Desmaius, c. 14, vita S. Fursæi 19 Febru. [91] ApudUsherum de prim. p. 967.

mus, A.D. 417, wrote to the same effect to all the bishops of Gaul, "Sane quoniam Metropolitanæ Arelatensium (Arles) urbi, vetus privilegium minimè derogandum est, ad quam primum ex hac sede Trophimus directus est—ad cujus notitiam si quid illic negotiorum emerserit, referre censuimus, nisi magnitudo causæ etiam nostrum requirat examen." Ibid. p. 410. As the paschal question was certainly a major causa, regarding the general law of the church, does this last authority explain why the south of Ireland assembled in synod and referred to Rome, without any known reference to the archbishop of Ardmacha.

[x] Lanigan, vol. ii. pp. 389, 402. This Laisrean was abbot of Old Leithghlinn where the synod was held. There were several of the same name. Cummian gives the following account of the measures taken immediately before the decree mentioned in the text. "A year, therefore, having elapsed, as I said before, I asked my fathers, that they might declare to me and my elders, that they might tell me" (the successors of our primitive fathers, namely, of Ailbhe, bishop, of Kiaran of Cluainmicnois, and of Brendan, Nessan, Lugid) "what they thought of our excommunication, by the aforesaid apostolic sees. But they having met together, some in person, others by delegates sent in their place, decreed at Campo Lene, (A.D. 630,) and said, 'Our predecessors ordered us by trustworthy witnesses, some still living, others who have died in peace, that we should, without scruple, humbly adopt the good and excellent things (meliora et potiora) sanctioned by the fountain of our baptism, and by the successors of the

of those legates.[x] About the year 630, St. Caidoc renounced, with St. Richarius, the vanity of the world, and retired to Rome. St. Monon retired thither also, about the same period. In the year 648, "the pope earnestly entreated St. Fursa to remain at Rome, and consent to be enrolled among the lords of the Roman court (to use the old words of the legend) that is, the college of cardinals. But no importunities could induce him to accept the offer. The pope then invested him with all his authority, and gave him different relics of saints, and a pastoral staff, resembling in shape the pilgrim's staff, which had been used by several popes before himself, and also consecrated him and St. Foilan bishops."[z] Molanus also records of St. Foilan, "that he went to Rome to obtain the blessing of the pope for the conversion of the infidels."

St. Indracht, son of the king of Ireland, "went to Rome with nine companions, but returning thence in the year 678, was martyred.[a] St.

apostles of our Lord.'" Dr. Lanigan assumes that the Brendan mentioned in this passage is St. Brendan of Birr; though Brendan of Cluainfearta was more ancient probably, and certainly more distinguished "the father of a thousand monks" and the author of a rule, believed to have been dictated by an angel. He died in the year 577, in the 94th year of his age. Nessan of Mungret died in 552. Kiaran of Cluainmicnois, in 549. Lugid, Dr. Lanigan asserts, is Molua of Cluainfearta, who died A.D. 605–8. But would Cummian, writing about thirty years later, cite him as one "priorum patrum nostrorum?" Of these five fathers of the south, St. Ailbhe alone was a bishop: but it does not follow that their successors were not bishops.

[y] Distinguished in the territory of Ponthieu, Picardy, died A.D. 630, cir. Momon mentioned next is, perhaps, the abbot of Cathair Fursa (Peronne), who died in 774; Four Masters. Or Mono, famous in Belgium in the eighth century.

[z] Founders of Irish monasteries at Peronne, Lagny, and at Fosse. Fursa died A.D. 650; Foilan, A.D. 655. Beda has a long account of St. Fursa; Ecc. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 19; but does not mention his visit to Rome: an omission, however, which does not prove so conclusively as Dr. Lanigan thinks, that such a visit was never made: as Beda may not have known, and probably would not record all the events of the saints' life during fifteen years after his departure from England. The old act states that he left England with the intention of visiting Rome.

[a] Several Irishmen of this name: the person mentioned in the text is

tus est, sed inde postea reversus martyrio vitam an. Domini 678 terminavit.[92] Sanctus quoque Kilianus "à verbo prædicationis abstinuit, donec se Romam an. Dom. 686, Romano Pontifici, Cononi præsentaret,[93] ut apud Romanam sedem, et integrum Christianæ religionis dogma, et licentiam prædicandi acciperet."

Quod si in concursibus quos Romam Hiberni per citeriora secula faciebant enarrandis orationem meam latius excurrere paterer; ante verba me quam exempla deficerent. Et dicendi prolixitate tædium lectori proculdubio crearem. Quare ut rem paucis contraham. Nec minimus quidem in re religionis tumultus apud Hibernos ortus unquam fuit, ad quam sedandam mox Romam non accurrebatur. Nam inde Hiberniam vivendi præcepta, credendi oracula, et tanquam à matre filiam, tanquam à capite membrum, et tanquam à religionis principe religionem hausisse, totaque mente conbibisse constat; sicut etiam et Hibernos summum Pontificem in dubiis adhibuisse arbitrum, in certis magistrum, in Ecclesiasticis Principem, in temporalibus defensorem, in omnibus judicem, in singulis sane consultorem, in ambiguis oraculum, ac demum in periculis propugnaculum. Alios venerationis Apostolorum vestigiis exhibendæ ardor, alios obsequii sui Papæ deferendi studium, alios authoritatis ad sua munia obeunda ab eo impetrandæ necessitas eò
[209] attraxit. |

Itaque Thomæ Rivii hominis Catholicam religionem vehementer aversati conatus, non solum inanis sed etiam fatuus fuit,[94] lectori persuadere contendentis quod "ante Henrici II., in Hiberniam adventum Romano more in Hibernia non vivebatur, sed magis Græco." Ad tam absurdam sententiam effutiendam adductus, quod S. Bernardo dicente;

[92] Colgan. 5. Febru. [93] Vita. S. Kiliani. [94] Defensio regiminis Anglicani contra Anale. et en. p. 57, lib. 3.

probably confounded with an abbot of Iona, martyred in the beginning of the ninth century by the Danes.

[b] Martyred in 689. See Lanigan, vol. iii. pp. 116, 117. Kilian was revered especially at Wurzburg, in Franconia; and it was chiefly to honor his memory that monasteries were in later ages founded there for the Irish, supra, p. 413. For criticisms on all these pilgrims to Rome, the reader is referred to Dr. Lanigan.

Kilian also abstained from preaching the word of God until he had presented himself to pope Conon in Rome, in the year 686, in order to receive from the see of Rome the entire deposit of Christian doctrine and authority to preach it."[b]

If I allowed myself to detail at length the intercourse of the Irish with Rome in former ages, my page would swell to unreasonable limits, and exhaust my power of language, though not the subject itself. Such prolixity would also, no doubt, weary the patience of my reader. To sum up then in a few words; no dissension on religious matters ever arose in Ireland which was not instantly referred to Rome for adjudication.[c] From Rome Ireland had her precepts of morality and her oracles of faith. Rome was the mother, Ireland the daughter; Rome the head, Ireland the member. From Rome the fountain head of religion, Ireland undoubtedly derived, and with her whole soul imbibed, her faith. In doubtful matters, the pope was ever the arbiter of the Irish; in things certain, their master; in ecclesiastical matters, their head; in temporals, their defender; in all things their judge; in every thing their adviser; their oracle in doubt, their bulwark in the hour of danger. Some hastened to Rome to indulge their fervor at the tomb of the apostles; others to lay their homage at the feet of the pope, and others to obtain the necessary sanction of his authority for the discharge of their functions.

How vain, how foolish then was the attempt of Thomas Ryves, who, in his malignant hatred of the Catholic religion, would persuade us, "that before the arrival of Henry II. in Ireland, the Irish followed the customs of the Greek, not of the Roman church." He vents this absurd opinion on no less an authority than the words of St. Bernard: "before St. Celsus, predecessor of St. Malachy, there were eight mar-

[c] The direct interference of the pope, in the affairs of the Irish church, from the sixth to the eleventh century, does not appear by any means so great, as this paragraph would lead the reader to suppose. The right of such interference, however, and its application in the only case known to us, which required it, according to the essential discipline of those times, was, as our author asserts, distinctly admitted by a fundamental law of the Irish church, supra, p. 631.

"octo extiterunt ante Celsum" S. Malachiæ decessorem "viri uxorati" in Armachana sede Episcopi, more (si diis placet) Græcorum, quorum Episcopi, et sacerdotes matrimonio vinciuntur. Nimirum ut fucum lcetori faceret, verba proxime secuta "absque ordinibus" consulto reticuit. Cum tamen iis verbis sanctus Bernardus innuerit octo viros istos quæstum, et nomen Episcopi, non ordinem Episcopalem, sed ne clericalem quidem retulisse. "Nam mos pessimus" (inquit Bernardus) "inoleverat quorundam diabolica ambitione potentum, sedem sanctam obtentam iri hæreditaria successione. Nec enim patiebantur Episcopari, nisi qui essent de tribu, et familia. Et eo usque firmaverat sibi jus pravum, ut etsi interdum defecissent clerici de sanguine illo, sed Episcopi nunquam." Discrepabant igitur à more Græcorum Hiberni,[95] quod illi etiam conjugati, sacris ordinibus initiati fuerint, hi uxoribus innexi clericatu abstinuerint, sed Archiepiscopatus opibus semel potiti, ad sacra ministeria obeunda veros Episcopos adhibuerint. Familia enim à S. Bernardo memorata censibus, et honoribus, non Episcopali ordini sedis Armachanæ inhiabat; quam sibi proinde abripi, aut aliis conferri non patiebantur; Danis in hoc similes, qui adeo voluerunt ad Archiepiscopatum Lundensem promoveri Æschillum non alia ratione quam quod à familia præcedentium Archiepiscoporum esset,[96] dicentes non se passuros Archiepiscopatum in alienam familiam transferri et Ericum regem contranitentem interfecerint.

Sed ut perfidiam Rivii magis perspectam habeas,[97] adverte illum ob pravam istorum octo consuetudinem, Hibernicam Ecclesiam ad Ecclesiæ

[95] Trias Thaum. p. 302, co., 2. [96] Grantz. lib. 5, c. 20. [97] Histo. Danicæ.

[d] This evil was by no means confined to Ireland; it was the evil of the age. "Sancimus præterea, ne quis ecclesiam sibi, sive præbendam paterna vendicet hæreditate, aut successorem sibi in aliquo constituat beneficio ecclesiastico." Can. v. Concilii Londinensis, A.D. 1125. Every country had evils of its own. Canon xxv. of another London council, A.D. 1111, had enacted, "Ne quis illud nefarium negotium quo hactenus in Anglia, solebant homines sicut bruta animalia venumdari, deinceps ullatenus facere præsumat." They sold their own children as slaves. Turner,

ried men, bishops, in the see of Ardmacha." According to the custom of the Greeks (bless the mark!) whose bishops and priests were married. To palm this falsehood on his readers, he deliberately suppresses the words, "not in orders," which St. Bernard uses, to intimate, that though they enjoyed the revenues and title of bishops, they had not received episcopal, nor even clerical ordination. "An abominable practice," says St. Bernard, "had been introduced by the fiendish ambition of some nobles, of keeping the succession of the holy see in one family. No bishop was allowed but one of that tribe or family.[d] And so inveterate was that usurped right, that though that family sometimes had no clerics, it always had bishops." The difference, then, between the Irish and Greeks was this, that the latter promoted married men to orders, while the former excluded them from orders, leaving, it is true, the revenues of the archbishropric to the layman, but delegating to true bishops the sacred functions of the office. It was the wealth and honors, not the episcopal duties of the see of Ardmacha, that were the objects of the ambition of this family mentioned by St. Bernard. They would not allow the temporalities to be taken from themselves and conferred on others, like the Danes, who insisted that Eschillus should be promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Lund, for no other reason than that he was of the family of the former bishops. "Never," said they, "shall the archbishopric pass into another family." They even slew king Eric for attempting to resist them.

But mark now the treachery of this Ryves.[e] Because eight men adopt a certain custom, he assimilates the Irish to the Greek rather than to the Latin church,[f] without ever taking into account nearly one hundred men,

Anglo-Saxons, iii. p. 92. This slave trade alone can account for the extraordinary fact stated by St, Boniface himself, an Englishman, in a letter to Bishop Cuthbert, A.D. 745. "Perpaucæ enim sunt civitates in Longobardia, vel in Francia, aut in Galliă, in qua non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum; quod scandalum est et turpitudo totius ecclesiæ vestræ." Bonifacii opera omnia, vol. i., p. 92. Another thing prohibited by canons was their Tartar partiality for horse flesh. Ibid. p. 25.

[e] Ryves, the author of the reply to the Analecta, was afterwards knighted. See Harris' Writers.

[f] The Greek church did not, in the

Græcæ similitudinem potius retulisse, quam ideo Ecclesiæ Latinæ adscripsisse, quod alii penè centum omnes cælibatu, plerique sanctitate insignes Armachanam sedem insederint. Aliâ etiam notâ, Hibernicam Ecclesiam à Latina segregare idem contendit dicens: "Hiberniam ante Henrici II., in eam ingressum, suis legibus et moribus contentam,[98] Romanas semper consuetudines, et canones fuisse aspernatam." Ea duntaxat ratione nixus, quod Hiberni nescio qui cognatas sibi matrimonio copulaverint, nulla legis id vetantis habitâ ratione. Quod si flagitiosorum aliquot incestuosa conjugia nationem integram ab Ecclesia diducat, nulla Europæ natio Ecclesiæ Latinæ adnumerabitur. Cum in singulis gentibus, ut supra significavi primores aliquot incestuosis se connubiis inquinaverint.

Miror Rivium Ecclesiam Hibernicam Græcanicæ non ideo attexuisse, quod Hiberni feriam quartam Græcorum ritu faciunt ἀποκρέως id est,[99] ut idem interpretatur, carnisprivium.

Sed bene Usherus postea observavit à S. Augustino in Epistola 86 ad Cassulanum affirmari, quartâ, sextâ feriâ, et Sabbatho frequenter Romanam plebem ipsius tempore jejunasse. "Ut inde ritum suum à S. Patricio in Hiberniam traductum fuisse fiat verisimillimum," et non ab Ecclesia Græcorum hausisse. "Imo veteres et primitivi Christiani non modo feria sextâ, et Sabbatho abstinebant à carnibus, sed etiam feriâ quarta, ut docet victor Antiochænus ad cap. 14, Marci,[100] quam abstinentiam retinet adhuc Hibernia" inquit Petrus Redanus. Ita ut non solum antiquæ fidei plerisque Europeis communi, sed etiam veteri carnium die Mercurii non manducandarum consuetudini ab omnibus derelictæ Hiberni adhuc mordicus adhæreant.

Sed ut sermonem rursus eo referam unde Rivius illum avulsit, tacebo Hibernos non viritim, sed catervatim in Britanniam, Galliam, Belgium et Germaniam confluxisse; ut earum regionum incolas ad religionis

[98] Ubi supra. [99] Usherus de prim. p. 882. Pag. 1063. [100] Comment. in Mach. p. 464.

time of St. Patrick, nor at any time since, allow bishops or priests to marry after their ordination; married men were not excluded from the episcopacy, but they were and are bound by the discipline of the Greek

who, in conformity with the discipline of the Latin church, were unmarried, and many of them even eminent for sanctity in the see of Ardmacha. Another reason assigned by him, for the difference between the Irish and Latin church, was, "that before the arrival of Henry II., Ireland was content with her own laws and customs, and constantly rejected the canons and discipline of Rome." His only proof of this assertion is, that some Irish married some of their kindred, notwithstanding the laws against such marriages. But if the incestuous marriages of a few individuals separate a whole nation from the church, not one nation in Europe can be considered a member of the Latin church. In every one of them, as I have already proved, some of the principal men were guilty of incestuous marriages,

I am astonished that Ryves did not found an argument for the conformity of the Irish and Greek churches, on the fact that the Irish keep Wednesday, *ἀποκρεως*, or as he interprets it, meat-less.

But Ussher has well observed, that St. Augustin, in his letter 86 to Cassulanus, asserts that the people of Rome often fasted in his day on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, "whence most probably the origin of the custom introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick," and not from the Greek church. "The primitive Christians themselves, in days of old, abstained from flesh meat not only on Fridays and Saturdays, but also on Wednesdays, as we learn from Victor of Antioch, on the 14th chap. of St. Marc, a custom observed to this day in Ireland," as Peter Rodan observes. Thus the Irish have clung with desperate fidelity, not only to the old creed, once the creed of all the nations of Europe, but even to the discipline of keeping Wednesday as a day of abstinence, long after the custom has been abandoned by all other nations[g].

But to return now from the digression into which Ryves has led me. All the world knows that the Irish went over, not one by one, but in crowds, to Britain, to Gaul, to Belgium, and to Germany, to convert the inhabitants of those regions to the Christian religion, and

church to continency: priests, if married before their ordination, are allowed, since the year 692, to live with their wives.

[g] Rodan's Commentary on the Macchabees was published at Lyons

Christianæ cultum, et Romani Pontificis obsequium allicerent. Quod planè indicavit Henricus Antisiodorensis ad Carolum Calvum scribens his verbis : "Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine,
[210] pene totam cum grege Philosophorum | ad littora nostra migrantem quorum quisquis peritior est, ultro sibi indicit exilium, ut Salomoni sapientissimo famuletur ad votum." Eodem S. Bernardi verba spectant dicentis : Ex Hibernia "in exteras regiones quasi inundatione facta sanctorum examina se effuderunt;" Walfridus etiam Strabo scripsit "Scotis," id est, ut sæpius monui Hibernis, "consuetudinem peregrinandi in naturam conversam esse."[1] Ut proindè Osbernus apposite dixerit : quod mos peregrinandi "vehementer manet Hibernos. Quia quod aliis bona voluntas in consuetudinem, hoc illis consuetudo vertit in naturam."[2] Quin etiam singulari quodam ritu, et aliis gentibus vel penitus inusitato, vel valde modicè frequentato, ejusmodi profectiones Hiberni adornarunt. Ubi enim aliquis præstantioris notæ monachus ad sacram hujusmodi expeditionem suscipiendam animum adjunxisse perhibebatur, mox duodecem ejusdem instituti homines ei se comites itineris tanquam duci adjungebant,[3] cui consuetudini S. Patricius initium fecisse videtur ; duodecem sociis sibi adscitis, qui opem in Hibernis è paganismi tenebris ad veræ fidei lucem educendis, naviter ei ferrent. S. Riochus S. Patricii nepos per virtutum avunculi vestigia decurrens,[4] navigationem ad exteras nationes et regiones duodecem ejusdem instituti collegis comitatus instituit. S. Ruperto quem veræ religionis imbre irrigandos proficiscenti duodecem viæ, laborisque sodales

[1] Vita S. Galli. lib. 8, c. 46. [2] Usherus in Sylloge, p. 164. [3] Colga. 1, Martii. p. 436. [4] Ibidem.

in 1651. It was not until the year 1671, that the pope, at the request of the Irish bishops, allowed in Ireland the use of flesh meat on Wednesdays, and of eggs on Fridays, contrary to the previous custom of the Irish church. The mass of the Irish regarded the indulgence as dangerous and uncalled for; and during fifty years many adhered, as usual, to the old custom: Ogygia, p. 320; as their fathers clung to the old Pasch.

[h] Abbot of Inisbofinne, in Loch Ribh, about the middle of the

bring them under the obedience of the Roman pontiff. A signal testimony to this fact is found in the letter of Eric of Auxerre to Charles the Bald. "Need I mention Ireland; she, despising the dangers of the deep, emigrates to our shores, with almost the entire host of her philosophers; the most eminent amongst them become voluntary exiles, to minister to the wishes of our most wise Solomon." Such, also, is the testimony of St. Bernard, "from Ireland, as from an overflowing stream, crowds of holy men descended on foreign nations." Walfridus Strabo says, "that the habit of emigrating had become a second nature to the Scoti," namely, the Irish, as I have already proved; hence the just observation of Osborne, that the habit of emigrating "had taken the strongest hold of the Irish. For what the piety of other nations has made a habit, they have changed from habit into nature." Those holy emigrants of the Irish were distinguished by a peculiarity, never, or but very seldom found among other nations. As soon as it became known that any eminent monk had resolved to undertake one of these sacred expeditions, twelve men of the same order placed themselves under his command, and were selected to accompany him; a custom probably introduced by St. Patrick, who had been ably supported by twelve chosen associates in converting the Irish from the darkness of paganism to the light of the true faith. St. Rioch,[h] nephew of St. Patrick, and walking in his footsteps, was attended in his sacred missions to foreign tribes and regions by twelve colleagues of his own order; and when St. Rupert,[i] who had been baptized by a nephew of St. Patrick, apostle of Ireland, departed to draw down the fertilizing dews of true religion on pagan Bavaria, twelve faithful companions shared the perils and labors of his journey and mission. St. Finnian, bishop of Cluain-irard, selected twelve from the thronged college of his disciples, to devote them, in a special manner, to establish and to animate the principles of the Christian religion among the Irish; and

sixth century, according to Dr. Lanigan. He is mentioned in the litanies of Ænghus. "SS. duodecem socios S. Riochi transmarinos invoco." Ussher admits two of the name, one a nephew of St. Patrick.

[i] Probably not an Irishman: bishop of Worms; died A.D. 719.

latera cinxerunt.[5] S. Finnianus Clonerardensis Episcopus è numerosissima discipulorum turba duodecem potissimum selegit, qui præter cæteros, Hibernis Christiana religione,[6] et pietate imbuendis sedulo incumberent, quos proindè posteritas duodecem Hiberniæ Apostolorum titulo insignivit.[7] S. Columbam in Albaniam Evangelii propagandi causa se conferentem duodecem monachi prosecuti sunt.[8] Manipulus etiam duodenarius S. Barrio transmarinas terras petenti se aggregavit.[9] Alii quoque duodecem S. Maidocum Fernensem Episcopum peregrè abeuntem comitati sunt. Præterea Colmano Finnio duodecem cingi discipulis volupè fuit. "In Gallia vel ob frequentiam hostium externorum,[10] vel ob negligentiam præsulum, religionis virtus pene abolita habebatur; fides tantum manebat Christiana, pœnitentiæ vero medicamentum, mortificationis amor vix vel paucis in illis reperiebatur locis." Ad quem teporem amovendum,[11] et purissimæ pietatis faces Gallis subdendas, S. Columbanus duodecem sociis stipantibus Gallias adiit. S. Eloquius ad Belgas veræ fidei radiis illustrandos ex Hibernia tendens,[12] duodecem comitum subsidio se munivit; S. Willibrordus ex Hibernia duodecem sociis adhibitis, in Germaniam solvit;[13] cum S. Farannano in Belgium pergente monachi duodecem itineris et consilii societatem iniverunt. Et S. Maccallannum è patria discedentem duodecem socii stiparunt.[14] Hiberni autem idcirco forsitan huic mori adeo mordicus affixi fuerunt, quod eum à Salvatore nostro, in duodecem Apostolis sibi adsciscendis institutum,[15] et à sede Apostolica in duodecem comitibus S. Palladio Hiberniam petenti addendis usurpatum viderunt.

Nec duodecem solum contubernio clarorum virorum peregrè ad

[5] Ibidem, et 17 Mart. [6] Ibidem. [7] Ibidem. [8] Ibidem. [9] Ibidem. [10] Jonas in vita Columbani. [11] Colga. Ubi supra et p. 273. [12] Ibid. et Beda c. 5, 3. 11. [13] Colga. [14] Ibidem, 21 Jan. [15] Colg. Ubi supra.

[j] The school of Cluainirard, under Finnian, supplies a subject for an interesting work on the primitive Irish church. The labors of many of his most distinguished scholars were confined to Ireland.

[k] See their names in Lanigan, ii. p. 157. They landed in Scotland, A.D. 563.

[l] To Rome, according to the legendary life. Seven foreign pilgrims are mentioned in the litanies as buried in Inispuinc, which is probably the same as Inispich, or Inispicht, in Muskerry.

Columba was accompanied in his apostolical mission to Scotland by twelve monks.[k] Twelve followed St. Finnbar in his pilgrimage beyond the seas,[l] and twelve St. Maidoc, bishop of Fearna-mor, in one of his foreign missions.[m] St. Colman Finn was never seen without his college of twelve disciples.[n] When the ceaseless eruptions of foreign enemies, or the negligence of the bishops, had well nigh extinguished the virtue of religion in Gaul, and left nothing but the Christian faith—when the medicine of penance and the love of mortification were found nowhere, or but with a few, " then," says Jonas, " St. Columbanus descended on Gaul, supported by twelve associates, to arouse her from her torpor, and to enlighten her sons with the beams of the most exalted piety."[o] Twelve disciples followed St. Eloquius from Ireland to illumine the Belgians with the rays of faith ;[p] twelve accompanied St. Willibrord from Ireland to Germany,[q] the pilgrimage and labors of St. Farannan, in Belgium, were shared by twelve faithful brothers of the cowl ;[r] and the same number were fellow-exiles with St. Maccallann.[s] Perhaps the reason, why the Irish clung with such invincible attachment to this custom, was the number of the apostles chosen by our Saviour, and the same number of disciples appointed by the apostolic see to accompany Palladius to Ireland.

But it was not in companies of twelve, alone, that great men went forth from Ireland to plant or to revive sound doctrine and discipline in foreign lands. Bodies, far more numerous, are also mentioned. St.

[m] In Wales probably, Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 337. Some foreign pilgrims were buried in Cluainmor, one of his principal foundations in Wexford.

[n] Among the great number of Colmans, many of whom were eminent, it is not clear to which our author refers. A Colum Finn, an anchorite, died A.D. 771.

[o] Arrived in Burgundy, A.D. 589–90. See the names of his twelve Irish associates. Lanigan ii. p. 264.

[p] A disciple of St. Fursa, and abbot of Lagny.

[q] Willibrord was a Saxon, but educated in Ireland. Some of his associates were Saxons also. They sailed from Ireland in 692.

[r] Bishop and abbot of Vassor, near the Meuse, between Dinant and Givet, A.D. 970.

[s] Abbot of Vassor and St. Michael's, A.D. 964, cir.

saniorem doctrinam et disciplinam aliis nationibus pandendam discedentium, sed etiam numerosiores turmæ se tradiderunt.[16] S. Albertus undeviginti comitibus vallatus peregrinatum ivit? "Sexaginta comitati sunt S. Brendanum in exquirenda terra promissionis." S. Guignerus regis Hiberniæ filius nobili septingentorum septuaginta septem hominum comitatu[17] instructus in Britanniam trajecit. S. etiam Blathmacum regis Hiberniæ filium, Britanniam adeuntem "monachi non pauci" secuti sunt.[18] S. Donnanus quinquaginta duos socios è patria eduxit. S. Albæi jussu viginti quatuor ejus discipuli fidei disseminandæ causa in Thylen commigrarunt.[19] S. Emilianus cum discipulorum caterva S. Fursæum Latiniaci convenit, et in animis hominum gratiâ divinâ perfundendis mirificè juvit. S. Scizinus septuaginta discipulos in Britanniam Armoricam adduxit.[20] S. Florentius cum SS.
[211] Arbogasto, Theodato, et Hildulpho Alsatiam adiit. |

Præterea modici quoque sanctorum Hiberniæ[21] cœtus transmarinas partes non raro frequentarunt, et fidei, virtutumque rore cumulatè irrigarunt. In Italia, Fesulis SS. Donatus,[22] Andræas, et Brigida Opacensis: in Galliæ regione Pontina, SS. Caidocus, et Fricoræus, dictus alter Adrianus; Remis, SS. Gibrianus Tressanus, Hælanus,[23] Abramus, Germanus, Veranus, Petroanus, Promptia, Possenna, et Truda; Parisiis

[16] Colg. 8, Januar. et 22 Mart. p. 721. [17] Ibidem, 23 Febru. [18] Idem indice morali. [19] Idem, 2 Febru. p. 241. [20] Idem, 6 Martii. [21] Surius, 7 Novemb. [22] Colgan. 1 Febru. [23] Idem, 24 Jan.

[t] Bishop of Imlaigh; famous in Germany; buried at Ratisbon. Flourished at the close of the seventh or in the beginning of the eighth century.

[u] Brendan was in Brittany. His famous voyage, of which very little is certainly known, was marked on the Irish calendar as "egressio familiæ S. Brendani."

[v] Or Fingar; martyred in Great Britain: by some supposed to be a disciple of St. Patrick's. Lanigan i. p. 225.

[w] Martyred (by the Danes) while celebrating Mass, in Iona, A.D. 824.

[x] Dobdan? a bishop who accompanied St. Virgil to Bavaria.

[y] St. Ailbhe was not allowed by his king to go: but, from various notices in the Irish annals, it is very probable that his disciples went to Ice-

Albert was accompanied by nineteen disciples.[t] Sixty accompanied St. Brendan in his voyage in search of the land of promise.[u] St. Guigner, son of the king of Ireland, passed over to Britain, with a noble band of 777 associates;[v] and St. Blaithmac, son of the king of Ireland, was followed thither by a good number of monks.[w] St. Donnanus led away from his country fifty-two associates.[x] Twenty-four disciples of St. Ailbhe were sent by him to propagate the faith in Iceland.[y] St. Emilius brought to the aid of St. Fursa at Lagny, a large body of their countrymen, and gave him wonderful aid in instilling the grace of God into the souls of men.[z] St. Seizin was accompanied by seventy disciples to Bretagne,[a] and Alsace welcomed St. Florentius,[b] with Arbogastus, Theodatus, and Hildulph.

Irish saints are also found toiling in strange lands, in smaller numbers, and fertilizing them abundantly with the dew of their faith and of their virtues. In Italy there were Donatus of Fiesole, Andrew, and his sister, St. Brighid of Opaca;[c] in Picardy, SS. Caidoc and Fricorius, otherwise Adrian;[d] at Rhemes, SS. Gibrian, Tressan, Hælan, Abram, German, Veran, Petroan, Promptia, Possenna, and Truda;[e] at Paris,

land.

[z] Passed over to France, A.D. 646, cir. and became abbot of Lagny.

[a] See preceding note, p. 627.

[b] Arbogastus and Florentius probably accompained king Dagobert on his return from Ireland to France: Arbogastus died bishop of Strasburg, A.D. 679. Florentius died bishop of the same see, A.D. 687. He had founded two monasteries: one in the forest of Hasle, where the river Bruscha issues from the Vosges; another in Strasburgh for the Irish. There is another Irishman named Florentius, revered at Amboise. He flourished in the latter half of the sixth century. Florentius and Florentinus are only Latinized forms of the very common Irish name Blaithmac. It appears doubtful whether Hildulph was an Irishman.

[c] Donatus died A.D. 861. Andrew his disciple survived him, having founded the monastery of St. Martin, near the river Mensola, at the foot of the Fiesole hills; Brighid died A.D. 880, in her retreat in the forest above Fiesole.

[d] See preceding note, p. 633. While the editor was in the Irish college, Paris, a curé from Picardy applied more than once for information regarding those saints, especially their characteristic emblems.

[e] Coeval probably with the con-

Claudius, Clemens, et Joannes: inter Marinos SS. Vulganius, Quilianus, et Obodius.[24] In Bellovacensi territorio, SS. Maura, et Brigida Virgines ac Martyres, et earum frater Hispadius. Fusciriæ SS. Matildis virgo, et frater ejus Alexander.[25] In Germaniæ regione Kleggoniâ S. Northberga, cum S. Xista aliisque novem liberis;[26] Ratisbonæ SS. Marianus, Joannes, Candidus, Clemens, Murcherdachus, Magnaldus, et Isaacius. In Austrasia SS. Killianus, Cohonatus, et Totnanus.[27] Walcedori S. Cathro cum sociis vel populis recta institutione informandis incubuerunt, vel patrandis miraculis egregie irradiarunt.

Ne vero nostratium nomina,[28] qui peregrè ostentis, et vitæ sanctimonia singuli fulserunt, sigillatim edere quam est præ multitudine fastidiosum, tam esset ingratum piaculum,[29] aliquorum nomina in medium non proferre: prætermissis iis quæ per majorem Britanniam meritis venerationem promeruerunt,[30] iisque qui turmatim per varias continentis plagas Divini numinis cultum suique nominis famam latè diffuderunt. Nomina enim illorum antehac, horum proximè recitavimus.[31] In Italia Tarentini, S. Cathaldum: Lupenses, Donatum ejus Patrem.[32] Faventini S. Emilianum; Luccenses Frigidianum Patronorum suorum cultum, Papienses Joannem Albinum Academiæ suæ

[24] Idem, 7 Febru. [25] Idem, 20 Mart. [26] Ibidem, p. 633, et 377. [27] Idem, 26 Janu. [28] Idem, 17 Janu. [29] Idem, 16 Janu. [30] Idem, 24 Febru. [31] Colgan. 12 Mart. [32] Ibidem, 5 Febru. [33] Ibidem, 1 Febru.

version of the Franks under Clovis I. See Dr. Lanigan ii. p. 488.

[f] John is the well known Scotus Erigena. Clement had scholars entrusted to his care by Charlemagne, and is said to have been the founder of the university of Paris. A Claudius flourished under Louis le Debonnaire. See Lanigan iii. p. 217.

[g] St. Vulgan is buried in the Collegiate church of Lens, diocese of Arras; St. Kilian in Montreuil: they belong to the first half of the seventh century.

[h] No satisfactory account of those names occurs, or of a few immediately following.

[i] Two of this name were famous on the continent; the Chronicler, surnamed Scotus and another, supra, p. 401.

[k] Another Magnoald, disciple of St. Gall, but probably not Irish.

[l] Several of these associates of Marianus in Germany, during the 11th and 12th centuries. See preceding notes, pp. 402–3.

[m] For Kilian see preceding note, p. 634. Totnan and Cohonat or Colman

hence they were styled by posterity the twelve apostles of Ireland.[j] St. Claude, Clement, and John;[f] among the Morini (of Boulogne), SS. Vulgan, Kilian, and Obod;[g] in the territory of Beauvais, SS. Maura and Brighid, virgins and martyrs, and their brothers Hyspad;[h] at Fusciria, SS. Matilda, virgin, and her brother Alexander. In Kleggon, a district in Germany, St. Northberga, with Sista, and nine others of her children. At Ratisbon, SS. Marian,[i] John, Candidus, Clement, Murcherdach, Magnoald,[k] and Isaac.[l] In Austrasia, SS. Kilian, Cohonatus, and Totnan;[m] and St. Cathro and his associates at Walcedor.[n] These devoted their lives to the instruction of the people, and were celebrated for the miraculous favors obtained by their intercession.

Though it would be too tedious to mention, in detail, the great number of our countrymen who were distinguished on the continent for their marvellous works, and for the sanctity of their lives, it would be unpardonable to omit them altogether. Not taking into account those who were canonized in Britain, nor those who went over to the continent in large bodies, we have in Italy, St. Cathaldus, patron of Tarentum,[o] St. Donatus, patron of Fiesole,[p] St. Emilian, patron of Faventum,[q] and St. Frigidian of Lucca.[r] Pavia honors John Albinus as the founder of her university;[s] and St. Cumean is, above all other Irish saints, the favorite patron of Bobio.[t]

In Gaul, St. Mansuetus is patron of Tulle;[u] St. Finlag, abbot of St. Simphorian, patron of Metz;[v] and St. Præcordius of Corbie, situ-

were his associates in martyrdom.

[n] i.e. Vassor, supra, p. 643. Cathro was probably a British Scot.

[o] See preceding note, p. 241.

[p] See preceding note, p. 645.

[q] None of that name occurs but the disciple of St. Fursa.

[r] See preceding note, p. 630. Educated probably by St. Finnian of Moville. His parents it is said were Pagans. After an episcopacy of 28 years, he died at Lucca, where his remains were discovered in the reign of Charlemagne. Italian writers assign his death to the year 588; a confirmation of our author's assertion on pilgrimages to Rome.

[s] Passed over to France with Clement, note supra, p. 646, and was sent thence by Charlemagne to Pavia.

[t] Died A.D. 743–744, aged 95 years. See his epitaph in Lanigan iii., p. 175.

[u] See preceding note, p. 624.

[v] Probably St. Fingan, abbot of St. Felix. Metz, who died A.D. 884.

fundatoris honore;[33] Bobienses S. Cumianum, inter cæteros cœlites Hibernos summa veneratione prosequuntur. In Gallia Tullenses Mansuetum, Metenses S. Finlagenum Abbatem S. Symphoriani;[34] Corbeienses inter Ambianum, et Peronam siti, S. Præcordium;[35] Ambasienses S. Forcensium, Pictavienses, S. Fridolinum Monasterii S. Hilarii Abbatem, Engolismenses S. Hæliam,[36] Vesuntii S. Anatolium, Meldenses, S. Fiacrium, Perona, et Auge urbes, illa S. Fursæum, hæc S. Laurentium; Leodienses S. Momonem, Argentinenses S. Florentium et Abrogastum unice colunt. Britannia Armorica SS. Seizinum,[37] Jaovam, Tenanum et Gildasium, Briochum et alios plures summe veneratur. Fines ipsi Rhæmenses SS. Gibrianum, Heranum, Germanum,[38] Veranum, Abranum, Petranum fratres, et eorum sorores Fraudiam, Pompam et Passimam in magna veneratione habent.[39] "Per S. Columbanum Burgundiæ maximus in Dei vinea accrevit fructus, in ea namque quam plurima cœnobia ædificavit, collegia monachorum multiplicavit, Dei servitia adauxit, Deicolum, Columbinum, et Anatolium eidem reliquit." Ibidem quoque S. Maimbodius martyr

[34] Usher. p. 760. [35] Colg. 6 Mart. [36] Idem, 5 Febru. p. p. 257, nu. 11. [37] Suri. 18 Octob. [38] 7 Nov. [39] Flodoard. in Histor. Rhemen. lib. 4, c. 9.

[w] Fricorius? note d, supra, p. 645.

[x] Firminius, first bishop of Amiens, was said to be an Irishman, but without authority.

[y] Died March 6th, but in what year is uncertain: according to Lanigan in the close of the seventh or in the beginning of the eighth century. ii. p. 479.

[z] Preceptor of Eric of Auxerre, died A.D. 875-876.

[a] His relics were enshrined in the church of Salins in the diocese of Besançon: the time of his death is unknown.

[b] Died A.D. 670 cir. Churches dedicated under his name in many parts of France.

[c] See preceding note, p. 633.

[d] In Normandy: when the editor visited Eu in the autumn of 1840, the beautiful church in which the remains of St. Laurence are preserved was in a half ruinous state, but it has since been restored. On the walls of the little oratory, which marks on the hill over the town the spot where the saint exclaimed "hæc est requies mea, etc.;" the names of several Irishmen were then inscribed.

[e] The same probably as mentioned in preceding note, p. 633.

ate betweea Amiens and Peronne.[w] Amiens honors St. Forcensius[x] and Poitiers, St. Fridolinus, abbot of the monastery of St. Hilarius.[y] St. Elias is patron of Angouleme.[z] St. Anatolius of Besançon,[a] St. Fiacre of Meaux,[b] St. Fursa of Peronne,[c] and St. Laurence of Eu.[d] Liege honors St. Momo,[e] and Strasburgh SS. Florentius and Arbogastus.[f] In Bretagne, SS. Origin, Joava, Tenan, Gildas, Brioc, and many others are revered as patrons.[g] In Rhemes and the surrounding district; SS. Gibrian, Heran, German, Veran, Abran, Petran, and three sisters, Frauda, Tompa and Passima, are held in the highest veneration.[h] In Burgundy, the vineyard of the Lord yielded an abundant harvest to the zeal of St. Columbanus, who founded there a great number of monasteries and colleges of monks, restored the true service of God, and left there after him Deicolus, Columbinus, and Anatolius.[i] In Burgundy, also, St. Maimbod is honored as a martyr.[k]

In Belgium, you have in Brabant, SS. Rumold,[l] Fredegand,[m] Himelin,[n] Dympna,[o] and Gerebernus.[p] In Flanders, SS. Levin,[q] Guthagon,[r]

[f] See preceding note, p. 645.

[g] Brieuc, Gildas, were Britons; Joava and Tenan (recte Renan) Irish, who retired to Brittany in the beginning of the sixth century.

[h] See preceding note, p. 645.

[i] Deicolus founded the monastery of Luthra, now Lure in the district of Besançon, died A.D. 625, cir.; was succeeded in the government of the monastery by his disciple Columbinus. Anatolius is not found among the companions of Columbanus. Lanigan ii., p. 264.

[k] Killed in the church of Domnipetra, eight miles from Besançon, in which diocese his memory is honored on January 23. The year of his death is unknown.

[l] Not quite certain that he was an Irishman. Martyred A.D. 775.

[m] He was a disciple of St. Fursa at Lagny.

[n] Buried at Vissenack, a village near Tillemont in Brabant. Lived in the latter half of the eighth century.

[o] Gerebern accompanied St. Dympna from Ireland and was martyred wlth her, about the year 600, according to the Bollandists. Her relics are preserved at Gheel.

[p] See last note. Lanigan, vol. ii., p. 475.

[q] Martyred A.D. 656. "His memory has been and is still greatly revered in Belgium." Lanigan ii., p. 469.

[r] His shrine was preserved at Osstkerk near Bruges. Flourished in the eighth century.

cultu afficitur.[40] In Belgiis, Brabantia SS. Rumoldo, Fredegando, Himelino, Dympnæ, ac Gereberno: FlandriaSS. Levino, Guthagono, Columbano: Artesia, SS. Luiglio, Luigliano, Kiliano,[41] Vulganio, Fursæo, et Obodio: Hannonia, SS. Ettoni, Adalgiso, Abeli, Wasnulpho et Mombolo; Namurcia, SS. Forannano, et Eloquio;[42] Leodio, SS. Ultano, Foillano, et Bertuino: Geldria, SS. Wironi, Plechelmo, et Othgero; Hollandia, S. Hieroni; Frisia, SS. Switberto, et Accæ debitum Patronis tutelaribus honorem deferunt. Germania sanctis nostratibus passim quasi consita est. S. Albuinus aliàs Witta, Turingios,[43] S. Desibodus Trevirenses, S. Erhradus Alsatiam, et Bavariam, S. Fridolinus Flaconenses Helvetiæ, S. Gallus Suævos, Helvetios et Rhætos; S. Joannes Michaelburgenses; S. Kilianus Herbipolenses, S. Rupertus Boiorum gentem fidei et virtutum disciplinis excoluit. Culti ipsi vicissim singuli à singulis illis populis, et Apostolorum suæ cujusque gentis honore affecti. Nec horum tantum patrocinia precibus efflagitant Germani; aliis præterea civibus nostris tutelarium divorum reverentiam exhibent.[44] Nimirum S. Alberto Ratisbonenses, S. Deicolæ et S. Fintano Constantienses, S. Eusebio Curienses et aliis alii: Sangallensis urbis initium et nomen à S. Gallo nostro consecutæ "Monasterium"
[212] (inquit | Munsterus) "fuit primo nobilium et ignobilium schola, ex qua multi docti viri prodierunt, ut etiam aliquando sesquicentum studiosi et fratres illic fuerint enutriti."[45] Itaque Hibernia, et scien-

[40] Albertus le Grand. [41] Colgan. 29 Janu. [42] Vita S. Manbold 23 Janu. ex Bolando. [43] Verulæus de sanctis Hibernis per Belgium. [44] Cosmog. lib. 3, c. 79. [45] Cosmog. lib. 3, c. 79.

[s] Died A.D. 959. His relics are preserved in the church of St. Bavo at Ghent.

[t] See preceding notes, pp. 633, 646: and for Luglius and Luglianus, White's Apologia, p. 42, 63.

[u] Associates of St. Fursa at Lagny.

[v] See preceding notes, p. 643.

[w] Bertuin, disciple, Ultan and Foillan brothers and associates of St. Fursa.

[x] Wiro died in the diocese of Liege A.D. 650. His relics were preserved at Ruremond. Plechelm and Othger were Anglo-Saxons, educated by the Irish.

[y] One of the twelve associates who went from Ireland with St. Willibrord.

[z] Anglo-Saxons educated in Ireland.

Columbanus;[s] in Artois, SS. Liugluio, Liuglianus, Kilian, Vulgan-Fursa, and Obodius;[t] in Hainault, SS. Etto, Adalgisus, Abel, Wasnulph, and Mombolus;[u] in Namur, SS. Farannan and Eloquius;[v] in Liege, SS. Ultan, Foillan, and Bertuin;[w] in Gueldres, SS. Wiro, Plechelm, and Othger;[x] in Holland, St. Hiero; in Friesland, SS. Suitbert and Acca.[z]

But Germany, especially, was the most flourishing vineyard of our saints. St. Albuin, or Witta, is honored as apostle in Thuringia;[a] St. Disibode, at Treves;[b] St. Erhard, in Alsace and Bavaria;[c] St. Fridolin, in the Grisons of Switzerland;[d] St. Gall, among the Suabians, Swiss, and Rhætians;[e] St. John, in Mecklenberg;[f] St. Virgil, at Saltzburg;[g] St. Kilian, in Franconia;[h] St. Rupert, in part of Bavaria:[i] From these saints, these different places received the grace of faith, and the sacred discipline of Christian virtue, and afterwards honored the memory of their benefactors, as the apostles of their nation. But these are not the only saints to whom the Germans send up their filial prayers; equal honors are paid by them to some others of our countrymen. St. Albert is honored at Ratisbon,[k] SS. Deicola and Fintan at Constance,[l] and St. Eusebius in Coire.[m] The town and canton of St. Gall took their name from our countryman, St. Gall. "This monastery," says Munster, "was the school of the noble and of the peasant, and the nursery of a great number of learned men; at one period it contained no less than one hundred and fifty students and brothers." Ireland was, therefore, both the athenæum of learning, and the temple of holi-

[a] Appointed bishop of Buraburgh in Hesse by St. Boniface in 741.

[b] Founded a monastery at Mentz, died A.D. 674, 675, cir.

[c] Flourished in the eighth century. See Lanigan, vol. iii., p. 106.

[d] Surnamed the Traveller. See note y, supra, p. 648.

[e] Disciple of St. Columbanus, died A.D. 645.

[f] Martyred by the Sclavonians, A.D. 1065.

[g] Rests at Salzburgh, where he died A.D. 785.

[h] See preceding note, p. 634.

[i] See preceding note, p. 641.

[k] See preceding note, p. 644.

[l] See preceding note, p. 630.

[m] A monk of St. Gall, died A.D. 884.

tiarum Athenæum, et sanctitatis delubrum fuit, non minus orbem eruditis, quam cœlum beatis implens. Ut simul et mundi Academia et cœli colonia videretur. Huc apposité facit Erici Antisidorensis oratio dicentis: "Quid Hiberniam memorem contempto pelagi discrimine, penè totam cum grege Philosophorum ad nostra littora migrantem, quorum quisquis peritior, ultro sibi indicit exilium, ut Salomoni sapientissimo famuletur ad votum."

Hinc plurimum Pontificum in Hibernos studium magnopere enituit, perspicientium eos in amplectenda fide ferventes, in exercenda sedulos, in retinenda constantes, et in edocenda sollicitos fuisse; ac eam animo sententiam imbibisse, ut à visibili Ecclesiæ capite se divelli nunquam paterentur. Ne si veræ religionis, pietatisque succus ad ipsos ab eo continuè non promanaret, tanquam putrida membra marcescerent, et exarescerent, ac succisa æternis flammis addicerentur.[46] Alio enim fundamento niti noluerunt, nisi eo quod posuit Jesus Christus, qui in persona Petri, non magis ipsi quam successoribus dixit:[47] "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam et tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, et

[46] 1 Cor. 3. [47] Math. 16.

[n] Oh! how is she that from her temple throne
Ruled over the gentiles, now become
A widow in her dreary home!
Her fondest friends of other years
Have now become her foes.

The best epitome yet published of the labors of Irish saints on the continent is found in the Apologia of Stephen White, pp. 14, 24, 26, 28, 35, 44. "In this place I think it enough to tell my reader that among the names of saints whom Ireland formerly sent forth, there were, as I have learned from the trustworthy writings of the ancients, one hundred and fifty, now honored as patrons of places in Germany, of whom thirty-six were martyrs; forty-five Irish patrons in the Gauls, of whom six were martyrs; thirty at least in Belgium; forty-four in England; thirteen in Italy; and in Iceland and Norway eight martyrs besides many others."—p. 24.

[o] It appears from an ancient canon, that this emigration of holy and learned Irishmen was (theoretically at least) regulated by a certain principle, and was not the result merely of individual taste or caprice. Chapter XV. of an Irish synod is headed, "De relinquenda vel docenda patria," and enacts "Docenda patria prius per exemplum Domini, et de relinquenda postea, si non proficiat juxta exemplum

ness,[n] supplying the world with literati, and heaven with saints. Truly doth she appear the academy of the earth, and the colony of heaven. Was ever panegyric more appropriate than the words of Eric of Auxerre? "Need I mention Ireland, who, despising the dangers of the deep, emigrates to our shores, with almost the whole host of her philosophers: the most eminent amongst them become voluntary exiles to minister to the tastes of our most wise Solomon?"[o]

Accordingly, the popes have frequently evinced their affectionate solicitude for the Irish, in a remarkable degree, when they found them fervent in receiving the faith, faithful in observing, constant in preserving, and zealous in extending it to others, and, above all, so convinced in their hearts of this principle, never to allow themselves to be separated from the visible head of the church; lest, if the life sap of religion and of true piety should not circulate constantly amongst them, they should shrivel up and wither, and be at length cut off, and cast into eternal flames. They never dreamed of building on any foundation but on that which was laid by Jesus Christ himself, who said to Peter, and, in him, to all his successors, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsover thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in

Apostoli." Villaneuva, p. 106.

Our author has omitted a great number of Irish saints celebrated on the continent, such for instance as St. Colman patron of Austria; St. Paternus from whom Paderborn is called: St. Anmichad, St. Alto, &c. &c. It was the editor's intention to complete the list as nearly as possible, and to mark the places where the relics of those Irish saints are deposited, and where churches are erected in their honor: but some of the council of the society having decided that all Chap. XXV. must be included in this volume, space could not be conveniently found for such notes.

One singular and extraordinary fact may be noted here, namely, that to foreign sources almost exclusively are we indebted for a knowledge of those Irish saints; from our native annals we could not know even their names, with very few exceptions, such as St. Virgilius, &c. &c. a fact that ought to be taken into account, in weighing the force of a negative argument, sometimes urged in controversies regarding the creed of the ancient Irish church.

quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in cœlis, et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in cœlis."

Proindè summi Pontifices quandocunque res exegit, de Hibernis optimè meriti sunt. Cum enim meritorum omnium, beneficiorumque sit, certissimam salutis adipiscendæ normam tradidisse, id est, pro superstitione religionem, pro mendacio veritatem, pro errore fidem, pro tenebris lucem attulisse; aliud beneficium illo majus esse non potest, quod Hibernis summi Pontifices contulerunt, qui præter supra memoratos egregios duces signum Hibernis ad religionem tollere jussos, aliis præterea quam plurimis facem iisdem ad veram fidem præferre impetrarunt.

Ac primum in vita S. Albæi legimus[48] "venisse quendam Christianum sacerdotem missum à sede Apostolica ad Hiberniam Insulam, multis annis ante Patricium, ut fidem Christi ibi seminaret," qui S. Albæum jam puerum baptismo initiavit, cum autem Usherus S. Albæum an. Dom. 388, Romam petitiisse tradat, et ibi paulo post Episcopatu insignitum: sacerdotem illum in Christiana religione per Hiberniam propagandâ diu ante desudasse necesse est.

Deinde Palladius quem " Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalem, Possevinus, Nuntium Apostolicum" Leslæus, vel potius Robertus Turnerus appellant,[49] ut Prosper author est an. 431. " ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur à Papa Cælestino, et primus Episcopus mittitur." Ex hoc Prosperi loco tanquam è trunco plurimi difficultatum ramusculi pullulant: nimirum Scotosnè Hiberniæ, an Albaniæ incolas Palladius adjuverit? num illi Scoti ante crediderint quam ad eos Palladius accessit? Denique si nullus ante ipsum Episcopus in Hibernis fide imbuendis desudaverit?

[48] Trias Thaum. p. 250, col. 2. [49] Apparat. verti. Palladi. paren. Histor. Scotica.

[p] Who admits, however, that the Ailbhe's preaching the faith in Ireland before the coming of St. Patrick cannot be reconciled with the Irish annals. Index Chronolog. ad an. 527. Ailbhe, Declan and Ibhar, but especially the two last, it is said, formed a great friendship between themselves and their successors for ever. They also, as well as St. Ciaran, it is said, for a time disputed the authority of St. Patrick. An angel alone could induce Ibhar to submit, because he would admit no foreigner as

heaven; and whatsoever thou shall loose on earth, shalt be loosed in heaven."

Whenever occasiou required, the popes were, therefore, ever ready to bestow their choicest favors on the Irish. For, as the greatest of all blessings and favors is to point out the most certain path to salvation by substituting religion for superstition, truth for falsehood, faith for error, and light for darkness, so the greatest of all benefits was conferred on the Irish by the popes, who commissioned many others to feed the lamp of true faith amongst them, in addition to those many illustrious men, whom we have already described as laboring in the same noble work.

And first, we read in the life of St. Ailbhe, "that a certain Christian priest came to Ireland many years before St. Patrick, with the authority of the Apostolic See, to propagate the faith of Christ." He is said to have baptized St. Ailbhe, while yet in his boyhood. Now as St. Ailbhe went to Rome, according to Ussher,[p] about the year 388, and was there consecrated bishop some time later, this priest must have been laboring long before that period in propagating the faith in Ireland.

Then Palladius, who is styled by Possevin, "Cardinal of the Roman church," and by Lesley, or rather Robert Turner, "Apostolic Nuntio,"[q] was, according to Prosper, A.D. 431, "ordained by pope Celestinus for the Scots believing in Christ, and sent over their first bishop." This passage of Prosper has been the prolific root of controversies, namely, whether the Scots to whom Palladius was sent were those of Ireland or of Albania?[r] whether these Scots were Christians before his arrival? finally, whether no other bishop had labored before him in converting the Irish to the Christian faith?

patron of Ireland, "nolebat enim patronum Hiberniæ de alia gente habere." Antiquitates, p. 418. These and other passages show clearly enough the animus of the southern legends regarding the priority of Ailbhe, Ibhar, Declan and Ciaran, and their consecration by the pope before the Mission of St. Patrick. It is a Leath Mogha legend.

[q] He was deacon or archdeacon of the Roman church.

Ac primum Scotos Hiberniæ non Albaniæ incolas à Prospero indicari cum multa suadent, tum illud penitus evincit, quod per ea tempora Scoti ex Hibernia in Albaniam nondum migrarint. Dicit enim Beda: "Britannia post Britones et Pictos, tertiam Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit."[50] Et postea 23° Theodosii junioris anno,[51] qui 446 Christi nati fuit, ut è capite 13 colligere est: "Revertuntur" inquit "grassatores Hiberni domum, post non longum tempus reversuri."[52] Picti in extrema parte Insulæ primum, et deinceps quieverunt." Bedæ autem adstipulantur Gildas, Paulus Diaconus, Wigornensis, et Huntingdonensis. Ad quorum classem referri possunt Sigonius asserens ad an. Dom. 446,[53] "Scotis in Hiberniam reversis, Pictos in Aquilonari insulæ Britanniæ parte, ultra murum domicilia posuisse." Genebrardus an. Dom. 444, "Britanniam" ait "à solis Britannis habitatam, donec tandem Picti, et Scoti partem ejus Septentrionalem desertam occuparunt."[54] Polydorus Virgilius disertè negat ante annum salutis 443, "Scotos Britanniam incoluisse." Thomas Bozius scribit, 450 annos et
[213] amplius à morte Julii Cæsaris effluxisse antequam "vel | Picti, vel Scoti Britanniæ partes Aquilonares occuparent." Ado etiam Viennensis, Sigebertus Gemblacensis,[55] et Fercultus Saxoniensis, Pictos aut Scotos ante annum 446 sedes in extrema Britanniæ parte non posuisse liquidò testantur. Et Josephus Scaliger ait: "Scotos in Britanniam ante Valentini tempora non trajecisse, fuisse vero tum adhuc in Hibernia: Et apud Senecam Scotos in Hibernia adhuc non in Britannia fuisse" in lib 4. Tibulli: ad versum, te manet invitus Romano marte Britannus. Ut impos mentis is esse videatur, qui Palladium Scotos in sede nondum ab iis insessâ indagasse, et eosdem in regione quam frequentes incoluerant neglexisse censeat.

[50] Lib. 1, c. 1. [51] Ibid. 14. [52] Trias Thaum. p. 239, 246. [53] De Occidentali Imper. lib. 13. [54] Historia Angli. lib. 13. [55] De signis Ecclesiæ lib. 22, signo 93, c. 71.

[r] That question needs no discussion in these days.

[s] See preceding notes, pp. 306, 357. The proof that the Scoti had not settled in Albania before the commencement of the sixth century, or the close of the fifth, is satisfactory enough, and confirmed by the Irish

In the first place, among the many arguments which prove that the Scots to whom Prosper alludes were those of Ireland, not of Albania, there is one decisive argument, namely, that the Scots had not emigrated at that period to Albania. Beda informs us "that after the Britons and Picts, Britain received a third nation of Scots in the territory of the Picts, and afterwards, in the twenty-third year of Theodosius the Younger, the year of our Lord 446, as we learn from the thirteenth chapter, "the Irish plunderers returned home, but only to renew their incursions in a short time." "Then was the first settlement of the Picts made in the extremity of the island, where they remained afterwards." Giraldus, Paulus Diaconus, Florence of Wigorn, and Henry of Huntingdon, agree with Beda, and Sigonius may be adduced as evidence on the same side: for he states, at the year 446, "that after the return of the Scots to Ireland, the Picts made a settlement beyond the wall in the northern part of the island of Britain." Genebrardus also says, "at the year 444, that Britain was inhabited exclusively by Britons, until at length the Picts and Scots occupied the northern part which had been deserted." Polydore Virgil expressly denies that "the Scots inhabited Britain before the year 443." Thomas Bozius states that more than 450 years had elapsed from the death of Julius Cæsar "before either the Picts or Scots occupied the part of Britain." Ado of Vienne, Sigebert Gemblacensis, and Fercult of Saxony, attest expressly that neither Picts nor Scots had formed any settlement in the northern extremity of Britain before the year 446. Joseph Scaliger states "that the Scots had not passed over to Britain before the reign of the emperor Valentinian; but that they were in Ireland before that time." From Seneca, on the "fourth book of Tibullus," at the verse "te manet invitus Romano Marte Britannus," we learn also that "the Scots were then in Ireland, but had not yet come to Britain."[s] It is, therefore, downright folly to assert that Palladius had gone to search for the Scots in a country where they did not exist, and to deny that they were in a country which was thickly peopled by them.

annals, provided we understand by Scoti the dominant race in Ireland, i.e. the Eiremonians, vol. i., p. 491, note d. but colonies of other races had long before emigrated from Ireland to Albania. The proof that the Picts

Quinimò Prosper ipse Palladium ad Scotos potius Hiberniæ quam Albaniæ profectum fuisse palam significat dicens: "Nec segniore cura ab hoc eodem morbo" Pelagianismo Cælestinus Papa "Britanniam liberavit,[56] quando quosdam inimicos gratiæ solum suæ originis occupantes, etiam ab illo secreto exclusit Oceani, et ordinato Scotis Episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam Barbaram, Christianam."[57] Nimirum ut ait Usherus Britanniam "Romaniæ," Hiberniam, et alias gentes à Romanorum ditione et cultu alienas "Barbariæ" nomine notatas fuisse Gildas asserit dicens: Britanniam "Romanum nomen tenuisse, ut non Britannia, sed Romania censeretur." Eò etiam Fortunati tendunt de Chariberto rege hæc carmina:

"Hinc cui Barbaries, illinc Romania plaudit,[58]
Diversis linguis laus sonat una viri."[59]

Itaque Prosper Scotorum insulam hanc, à Britannia disertè distinguens, de majore Scotia, id est Hibernia, non de minore, id est Albania (quæ neque tum temporis Scotia fuit, neque insula nunc est, sed pars insulæ majoris Britanniæ) necessariò intelligendus est. "Certè" inquit Richardus Vitus Basingstocus,[60] "Cum Prosper numero plurativo Britannias dixit, utique Romanam insulam vocavit Britanniam, et alteram quam dixit Barbaram, intellexit Hiberniam, quo Romana potestas armorum nunquam pervenisse creditur."

Imo plures veteres recentesque authores apud Colganum controversiam hanc extra dubium ponunt, disertis verbis affirmantes;[61] Palladium Scotis Hiberniæ, non Albaniæ incolis religione imbuendis operam navasse. Quibus alios eandem rem cumulatè præstantes adjungere licet. Ac primum Thomas Bozius ait: an. 434, "A Papa Cælestino

56 Contra collat. c. 11. 57 Pag. 798. 58 Lib. 6. 59 Epigra. 4. 60 Histo. Britann. not. 6. 61 Trias Thaum. p. 346.

had not settled in Albania before the retreat of the Romans is not so satisfactory. The destruction of Emania in 332, the great fort of the Irish

Moreover, Prosper himself clearly intimates that Palladius was sent to the Scots of Ireland, not of Albania. "Pope Celestinus," he says, "was not less diligent in liberating Britain from this same disorder (Pelagianism), when some enemies of grace, who held their ground in the land of their birth, were banished by him even from that secluded isle of the ocean, and a bishop was ordained for the Scots; thus while he labored to preserve the Roman island Catholic, he also made the barbarous island Christian." Ussher on this point appropriately remarks, that Britain was called "Romania;" and Ireland and all other nations not subject to the Romans, nor adopting their customs, were stigmatized as "Barbaria." Thus Gildassays, "that Britain got a Roman name, being called Romania, not Britannia." Such is also the meaning of the verses of Fortunatus on king Charibert:

> "The Roman and Barbarian worlds agree,
> To hymn, in different tongues, their praise to thee."

As Prosper distinguishes expressly between the island of the Scots and Britain, he must necessarily refer to the Scotia Major, or Ireland, not to Albania, which was not Scotia in his day, and never was an island in itself, but a part of the island of Britain. "Prosper," says Richard White of Basingstoke, "when he speaks of the Britains in the plural number, must certainly have designated Britain as the Roman island, and Ireland as the barbarian, to which, it is believed, the power of the Roman arms never extended."

Many authorities, ancient and modern, cited by Colgan, settle this controversy beyond the possibility of doubt. They declare expressly, "that Palladius was sent to convert to the true faith, the inhabitants of Ireland, not of Albania." I may be allowed to produce additional authorities. In the first place, Thomas Bozius, under the year 434,

Irians (or Picts), marks more probably one of the dates of the flight to Scotland.

[t] On the meaning of this word "primus" see Lanigan, vol. i., p. 36. "The same reading is found in a heap of chronicles mentioned by Ussher (p. 799), who, however, was inclined to

missus primus Episcopus Palladius in Scotiam, quæ tunc Hibernia erat, et ad Scotos, qui tunc in Hibernia degebant."[62] Et alibi an. Christi 434, "Palladius à Cælestino ordinatus Episcopus, et missus ad Scotos, tum vero Scoti Hiberniam tenebant." Albertus Miræus scribit: "Hiberniam insulam Scotiam dictam fuisse Isidoro, et Beda à Scotis incolis, &c. Christo autem nomen dedisse Scotos, seu Hibernos temporibus Cælestini Papæ, qui Palladium Episcopum ad eos misit,[63] et Palladio defuncto surrogatus est à Cælestino Patricius:" Camdenus etiam dicit: "Ad Scotos in Hibernia Palladium Episcopum misit Cælestinus Pontifex Romanus." Ad veritatem assertioni suæ addendam, superiorem Prosperi locum adducit: His Edwardus Matthew assentitur, qui post locum Prosperi uberius inculcatum dixit: "Per Romanam,[64] Prosperum intellexisse Britanniam, per Barbaram quam ordinato Scotis Episcopo fecit Cælestinus Christianam, Hiberniam denotari certum est." Tandem longum sermonem de hac re institutum hac coronide claudit: "Clarum igitur est, Palladium Scotis Hiberniæ insulæ fuisse ordinatum Episcopum, et ad eosdem missum."

Multis quidem admirationem non mediocrem movit, quod Prosper scriptum reliquerit Scotos Hiberniæ credentes ante fuisse, quam Palladius eos adiverit. Quam enim (inquiunt) ob causam iter Palladius ad eos susciperet, nisi ut è Paganismi tenebris ad religionis Christianæ lucem illos educeret? quâ si jam illustrati fuerint, nonnè opera in illis fide imbuendis supervacanea fuit, qui jam antè fidem imbiberant?[65] Hinc aliqui hanc Palladii profectionem obiter attingentes non ad "credentes" Scotos sed ad "convertendos" illum perrexisse scribunt. Ita conceptis verbis apud Colganum, Nennius et Probus; et apud Usherum Anonymus vitam S. Patricii tribus libris Latinè complexus.[66] Jocelinus

[62] De statu Italiæ, lib. 3. [63] East Burgu. et Belg. p. 728, et 729. [64] Appendi. Troph. aug. p. 95, et seq. [65] Trias Thaum. p. 247, 249. [66] Pag. 813.

prefer the reading of a certain copy of Prosper in which the word "primus" happened to be omitted. But he was too good a critic to rely on that single authority, and accordingly endeavoured to make it appear, that admitting the genuineness of that word, it might be understood of Pal-

states, "that Palladius was sent by pope Celestinus as first[1] bishop to Scotia, which was the name of Ireland in those days, and to the Scots who then inhabited Ireland." Again, under the year 434, "Palladius," he says, "was ordained bishop by pope Celestinus, and sent to the Scots, who in those days inhabited Ireland." Albertus Miræus states, "that the island of Ireland was called Scotia by Isidorus and Beda, from its inhabitants the Scots, &c., and that the Scotch and Irish were converted to the faith of Christ in the time of pope Celestinus, who appointed Palladius their bishop. After the death of Palladius, Patrick was substituted in his place by pope Celestinus." Camden also says, "Celestinus, the pope of Rome, sent Palladius bishop to the Scots in Ireland," and adduces the preceding passage of Prosper in confirmation of his assertion. Edward Matthew is of the same opinion, for after copiously explaining the passage in Prosper, he adds, "by the Roman island Prosper understood Britain, and by the barbarous island, which was made Christian by the bishop appointed by Celestinus, he must indubitably have understood Ireland." He closes a long dissertation on the subject with the following summary: "it is evident, therefore, that Palladius was ordained bishop for the Scots of the island of Ireland, and sent to them."

Prosper's statement that the Scots of Ireland were believers before Palladius preached to them, has excited general and no ordinary surprise. For, what they ask, could have been the object of his mission to them, if not to draw them from the darkness of paganism into the light of Christianity? if that light had already beamed on them, would it not have been a superfluous labor to preach the faith to those who had already embraced it? To avoid this difficulty, some persons, in their passing notice of the mission of Palladius, say that he was sent, "not to the faithful in Ireland, but to convert the Irish." Nennius and Probus, as cited by Colgan, make the statement in express terms, as also the anonymous author of the Latin life of St. Patrick in three books (Tripartite), cited by Ussher. According to Jocelyn, Palladius

ladius having been the first of the two bishops appointed by Celestinus for Ireland, St. Patrick being the second, or that "primus" may be explained "primarius" or "chief bishop."

[214] vero Palladium prædicandi gratia, S. Evinus "ad | prædicandum;" Hibernos ut Platina loquitur, "Christi fidem optantes," ut Sabellicus "fidei indipiscendæ cupidos adiisse dicit."

Quod autem S. Prosper non ineptè tradiderit "Scotos credentes fuisse" ante Palladium Hiberniam ingressum necessario persuademur: cum per tempora Palladium præeuntia plures egregios præcones fidem Christianam in Hibernia propagasse constet, qui operam adeo lusisse non sunt censendi, quin in agro religionis ab ipsis exculto, plurimæ si non segetes, saltem spicæ Christianorum provenerint.[67] Etenim Josephus Pellicer Hispaniarum regi ab Historiis, multa dicit suppetere testimonia, et documenta, sanctum Jacobum Apostolum Evangelium in Hibernia promulgasse, plurimis Juliani Archipresbyteri S. Justæ locis ad hoc evincendum adductis quos è Philippi O'Sullevani Tenebriomastyge contra Camerarium scripto desumptos hic subjicio.[68] "Num. 136, Legi apud Dextrum Barchinonensem S. Jacobum ex reditu ab Hispaniis in Hibernia prædicasse.[69] Ascendit navem in portu Galleciæ Bragantino, profectus cum Aristobolo, vel Zebedæo patre illius, qui dicitur ibidem relictus, primus Episcopus. Deinde transiit in Britanniam: reliquit in Hibernia Episcopos, et presbyteros et diaconos. Num. 167, S. Jacobus rediens ex Hispaniis, Gallias et Britannias adiit, et in Hibernia prædicat. Solvit in portu Dubliniensi, fecit templum B. Mariæ, et in iis provinciis Christianos effecit. In Hibernia septem Comites Torquatum, Chtesiphonem discipulos, et veluti Apostolos constituit. Num. 208, Ex traditione constanti, veteribusque monumentis Hispaniæ constat S. Jacobum Zebedæi filium, cum septem discipulis, et aliis in Hiberniam insulam (quæ quondam ex Hispania gente habitata est) delatum cum discipulis posuisse prima fidei Christianæ documenta. Num. 434, Hic idem Apostolus scripsit primam Epistolam, et scrip-

[67] In Lectionibus cum Polyphemum. p. 127. [68] Lib. 5. [69] Relatione certamin. 2.

[u] See Ussher Antiquitates, p. 388. In page 386, he styles Philip O'Sullivan "nugatorum nostri temporis facile princeps;" a character to which he has himself established some claims in his speculations on Christian bishops in Ireland before St. Patrick. It is enough to state here that the authentic

came over "to preach." St. Evin uses the same word: Platina represents him as preaching to the Irish "who wished to receive the faith of Christ;" and Sabellicus uses equivalent expressions.

However, that there was no absurdity in Prosper's statement of the existence of Christians in Ireland before the arrival of Palladius is evident from the undoubted fact that many illustrious heralds of the faith had preached Christ in Ireland before the mission of Palladius; and that their labor was not without fruit is equally certain from the scattered ears, if not the abundant harvest, which sprang up in the field of their religious labors. Thus, according to Joseph Pellicer, historian to the king of Spain, there are many authorities and facts to prove that St. James the apostle preached the Gospel in Ireland. He quotes many passages to that effect from the works of Julian, archpriest of St. Justa,[u] which I transcribe here from the "Tenebriomastix" of Philip O'Sullivan against Camerarius. "No. 136, I have read in the book of Dexter of Barcelona, that St. James, on his return from Spain, preached the faith in Ireland. He embarked at the port of Braganta, in Gallicia, and was accompanied by Aristobulus, or Zebedee, his father, who, it is said, remained there after him, and was the first bishop. The apostle then passed over to Britain, having provided Ireland with bishops, priests, and deacons. No. 167, St. James, returning from Spain, visited Britain and Gaul, and preached in Ireland. He landed in the harbour of Dublin and erected a church to St. Mary, and converted those districts to Christianity. His seven companions, his own disciples and, as it were, his fellow apostles, Torquatus and Ctesiphon, were established by him in Ireland. No. 208, It appears from a constant tradition and the old monuments of Spain, that St. James, the son of Zebedee, passed over to Ireland (which had been peopled from Spain) with seven disciples and others, and laid there the foundation of the Christian faith. No. 434, This apostle wrote the first Epistle and Scripture of the New Testament to the Spaniards. No. 482, Idelætus, chosen among the 12 disciples of

Irish annals knew nothing of the preaching of any apostle in Ireland. Several of the passages here cited from O'Sullivan are transcribed by his "comprovincialis." Sherlock, an Irish Jesuit, in his Commentary on the Canticle of canticles, vol. ii., p. 544; he also adopts the opinion.

turam novi testamenti Hispanis. Num. 482, S. Idelætus discipulus S. Jacobi electus in numerum duodecem discipulorum in Hibernia consecratus, et missus à Beato Petro cum aliis in Hispaniam. Num. 483, Septem sancti Pontifices discipuli S. Jacobi reversi Roma, ad Gallias appulerunt, inde venientes ad Insulam Hiberniam ubi prædicaverunt."[70] His verba Vincentii Bellovacensis adjicere licet dicentis: "Quod Apostolis diversa cosmi climata adeuntibus, nutu Dei Jacobus Hiberniæ oris appulsus, verbum Dei prædicavit intrepidus,[71] ubi septem discipulos elegisse fertur, scilicet Torquatum, Secundum, Indalecium, Tisephontem, Eufrasium, Cecilium, Ischium."[72] Et Josephus Pellicer hanc rem ait à Braulione in additionibus ad Maximi Chronicon confirmari. Imò eandem rem verba Dextri non parum corroborant dicentis ad annum Christi 41 quod "S. Jacobus Gallias invisit,[73] ac Britannias:" è Britannicis vero insulis Hiberniam fuisse Usherus multis congestis testimoniis evincit.

Temporibus autem S. Jacobum secutis præter supra memoratos SS. Kierannum, Albæum, Declanum, Ibarum, et reliquos, qui fidei lumen Hibernis infuderunt, alii etiam in eadem palestra fæliciter desudarunt, quorum nomina in superiorum sanctorum vitis hinc inde sparguntur. Ii porrò fuerunt duo SS. Colmani, S. Dyma, S. Corbreus, S. Molchellochus, S. Becanus, S. Lactuinus, S. Mobius, et S. Finluagus. Ita ut "credentes Scotos" ante Palladium ad eos profectum Prosper verissime dixerit, cum tot operarii multum in iis fidei luce perfundendis laborem impenderint.

Quod si sensus è duobus superioribus Prosperi locis inter se collatis à Patre Vito elicitus magis arriserit, eum ipsius verbis sic habe.[74] "Prosper" (inquit) "librum Contra Collatorem scripsit in diebus Sixti Papæ, triennio aut amplius à morte Cælestini, et quadriennio circiter

[70] Specul. Histo. lib. 3, c. 7. [71] Ubi supra, p. 18. [72] Editio. Hispalen. p. 1627. [73] Usherus de Prim. Ecclesia. Britan. p. 723. [74] In notis ad c. 13, lib. 1, Bedæ.

[v] It is probable enough, that the Christian faith had penetrated before the close of second century among the independent tribes of Britain: Tertullian. Adversus Judæos, c. vii. It may also have had disciples in Ireland, but it is purely a question of conjecture.

St. James, was consecrated in Ireland, and sent with others by St. Peter into Spain. No. 483, Seven holy bishops, disciples of St. James, returning from Rome, landed in Gaul, and passing thence, preached the faith in Ireland." To these we may add a passage from Vincent of Beauvais. "When the apostles visited all parts of the globe, St. James, by the inspiration of heaven, landed on the shores of Ireland, where he strenuously announced the word of God, and is said to have chosen seven disciples—namely, Torquatus, Secundus, Indalecius, Tisephont, Eufrasius, Cecilius, and Ischius." Joseph Pellicer asserts that these facts are confirmed by Braulio in his additions to the Chronicle of Maximus. The words of Dexter appear to add some authority to these statements, where he writes under the year 41, "that St. James visited Gaul and the Britains," for Ussher proves, by a host of authorities, that Ireland was anciently included among the British isles.[v]

In subsequent ages, SS. Ciaran, Ailbhe, Declan, Ibhar, and others, as I have already shown, diffused the light of faith in Ireland, and others labored with great fruit in the same work. Their names, which occur in different parts of the lives of the preceding saints, were the two Colmans, St. Dyma, St. Corbre, St. Molchelloch, St. Becan, St. Lactuin, St. Mobi, St. Finluag.[w] Prosper, therefore, could say with perfect truth, that Palladius was sent to the "Scots, believing in Christ," where so many laborers had already toiled in enlightening them with the beams of faith.

But if you prefer the conclusion to which Father White arrived after a collation of two passages of Prosper, I present it to you in his own words: "Prosper," he says, "wrote his work 'Contra Collatorem,' in the days of pope Sixtus, three years or more after the death of Celestinus, and about four years after the arrival of St. Patrick among the Scots in Ireland, many hundreds of thousands of whom he converted to Christ by his numerous and stupendous miracles, publicly wrought

[w] Dr. Lanigan proves that names such as those of the supposed disciples of Ailbhe, Ciaran, &c. do not occur in authentic Irish annals before the fifth and sixth centuries.' Ecc. Hist. i., p. 27; and also Index t O'Donovan's Four Masters.

ab adventu S. Patricii ad Scotos Hiberniæ, qui tot tantaque et palam populo Ethnico illo Idolis dedito ediderat mox miracula, quibus multos millenos ex illo ad Christum converterat, ut mox fama pervagata per exteras regiones, etiam Romam usque pervenerit, ubi tunc degebat, scribens Prosper, 'quod Scotorum insula barbara per ordinatum à Cælestino Episcopum fuerit facta Christiana.' At Chronicon suum cepit scribere Prosper plusquam viginti annis post, et in diebus fere, aut annis ultimis Pontificatus S. Leonis magni, quo tempore penè tota, vel certe longè maxima pars gentis, et regum Hiberniæ fuit conversa per eundem Patricium, cujus acta divina audierat Prosper; tum credens Scotos pene universos fuisse in Christum credentes (hoc tempore quo ista scribo) ordinatur à Cælestino Palladius, et primus Episcopus mittitur. Unde
[215] sensus non est, quod Scoti fuerunt credentes tempore quo ad eos | missus Palladius an. salutis 431, sed quod Palladius fuerit anno Christi 431 missus primus Episcopus ad Scotos in Christum credentes, tempore scriptionis Chronici hujus, quo secundus illorum Episcopus Patricius à Cælestino etiam missus evangelizabat in ipsorum insula Hibernia." Sed postrema difficultas enodanda superest sciscitantium qui fieri potuit ut Palladius primus diceretur Episcopus in Hiberniam Româ transmissus, plures illinc Episcopos jam antè nactam? Responsio in promptu est, nimirum vocem illam "Primus" in exemplari melioris notæ ab Andrea du Chesne, in tomo primo Rerum Franciarum pag. 205, exhibito desiderari; proinde hinc suspicionem gigni, eam vocem ab authore non adhibitam fuisse, licet à plerisque qui locum illum Prosperi exscripserunt, et suis scriptis inseruerunt apposita fuerit. Deindè primus ideo Palladius dici potuit, quod è duobus à Cælestino Pontifice in Hiberniam emissis primus extiterit. Denique quod Episcopis ante illum Hiber-

[x] Very ingenious, perhaps, but by no means a solid interpretation. It was adopted by Ware and others. Dr. Lanigan considers it an explanation too absurd to merit any attention. It comes to this: "Palladius was sent in the year 431 to the Scots, who were believers in Christ about the year 450," vol. i., p. 43. Could any one writing now say with propriety, "Bishop Pompalier was sent to the New Zealanders believing in Christ," if there had been no such believers at the time when he was sent. It is quite possible that the news of the first success of Palladius came to Prosper's ear,

before that people, who were formerly abandoned to the worship of idols. The fame of this prodigious succcess spread over foreign countries, and reached even Rome, where Prosper was living, when he wrote, 'that the barbarous island of Ireland was made Christian by a bishop appointed by Celestinus.' But Prosper wrote his chronicle twenty years later, namely, under the pontificate, or in the last year of Pope Leo the Great, when the whole, or certainly the far greater part of the people and princes of Ireland had been converted by the same Patrick, whose miraculous success Prosper must have known. Believing, therefore, that almost all the Scots were converted at the period in which he was writing, he says, 'Palladius was ordained by pope Celestinus, and sent over the first bishop.' His meaning, therefore, is not that the Scots were believers at the time when Palladius was sent to them, in the year 431, but that Palladius was sent in the year 431, first bishop to the Scots, believing in Christ, at the time I write this chronicle, when St. Patrick, their second bishop, who was also sent by Celestinus, is preaching the Gospel in the island of Ireland."[x] But the last difficulty now comes to be considered, namely, how Palladius could be called the first bishop sent from Rome to Ireland, when many bishops had previously preached in Ireland? The answer is ready. The word "primus" is not found in the best[y] copy of the chronicle published by Andrew du Chesne, in the first volume of the French historians, p. 205, and hence there is reason to doubt the authority of that word, though it is adopted by the greater number of writers who cite the passage of Prosper, and transcribe it into their works. Again, might not Palladius be called the "first" bishop, because he was first of the two who were sent by Celestinus, or because the bishops already in Ireland governed only particular territories, while Palladius was the

exaggerated by fame, and that he in a *controversial* work referring incidentally to the success of the popes in preserving the faith, detracted nought from the exaggeration, but announced in round rhetorical phrase, that by them "a barbarous island had been made Christian."

[y] Ussher styles that edition "integrior;" but the general character of Du Chesne does not entitle him to any special regard against the unanimous authority of others. See note t, supra, p. 659.

niam ingressis, certorum finium cura demandata esset, Palladius toti primus Hiberniæ præficeretur. Hinc Sigebertus non ignobilis pro suo tempore Chronographus in vulgato Prosperi Chronico, à Cælestino Papa ad Scotos in Christum credentes,[75] Palladium missum fuisse primum Episcopum inveniens, totius Hiberniæ Primatem, et Metropolitanum ordinatum illum fuisse intellexerat; indeque de Patricio qui ipsi in eo successit munere ita scripsit, "S. Patricius secundus Hiberniæ Archiepiscopus anno ætatis 102, in Christo quievit."[76] Unde Harpsfeldius ansam arripuit scribendi: "Defuncto Palladio Patricium Cælestinus Papa substituit, quem Sigebertus secundum Hiberniæ Archiepiscopum appellat, hoc est ut ego accipio Palladii successorem."[77] Perinde ac si diceret, ideo primum Episcopum dictum fuisse Palladium quod dignitate omnium primus potestatem supra cæteros nactus, primas ab illis retulerit.

Itaque nebulâ jam istâ quam sinistræ quorundam interpretationes superioribus Prosperi locis offuderant abstersâ, liquidò perspicimus Palladium Hiberniam Pontifice mittente adiisse. Quod beneficium Hibernis collatum, ut Pontifex cumulatius faceret, plures Palladio comites adjunxit, qui operam in religione ac pietate latius per Hiberniam diffundendâ collocarent: ii porrò universim fuere duodecem: inter quos eminuerunt, "Augustinus, Benedictus, Silvester, et Solonius."[78] Qui "construxerunt monasterium quod dicitur Scotice, Teach na Romh-

[75] Usherus, p. 899. [76] An. 491. [77] Cap. 2, p. 33. [78] Trias Thaum. p. 123.

[x] On these two interpretations of "primus" which are favored by Ussher, see Lanigan, vol. i., p. 36. "Primus" in the sense of "chief" or "head bishop" is not an ecclesiastical phrase; the usual form in ancient times being "primæ sedis episcopus." "Primus" in the other sense of priority of time, with a tacit allusion to St. Patrick's *subsequent* appointment by the same pope, is a forced interpretation; for as only one bishop had been mentioned by Prosper in the "Collatio contra Collatorem" "ordinato Scotis episcopo" there is no reason to believe that he speaks of two in the Chronicle. For had he wished to advert at all to St. Patrick he would most probably mention him expressly, as by the year 450 (circiter) in which

first that was placed over all Ireland. In this sense, the passage in Prosper's published chronicle referring to the appointment of Palladius by Celestinus, as the first bishop of the Irish believing in Christ, was understood by Sigebert, a very respectable historian in his day, as implying that Palladius was appointed primate and metropolitan of Ireland; and accordingly he writes of St. Patrick, who succeeded in that dignity, "St. Patrick, the second archbishop of Ireland, rested in Christ in the 102nd year of his age." On this authority, Harpsfield writes, "on the death of Palladius, Celestinus appointed Patrick to succeed him, whom Sigebert calls the second archbishop of Ireland, that is, as I understand it, the successor of Palladius," thus intimating that Palladius was styled the first bishop, because being the first in rank, and invested with authority over the others, he was their primate.[z]

Having now cleared away the mists in which the perverse interpretations of a few would involve the two preceding passages of Prosper, we are at no loss to understand how Palladius was sent into Ireland by the pope. To enhance the value of this benefit, he sent many associates with Palladius, to labor more effectually in diffusing religion and piety throughout Ireland. They were twelve in all. The principal were Augustinus, Benedict, Silvester, and Solonius, who founded a monastery[a] which was called "Teach na Romhanach," that is, "the

the chronicle was written, St. Patrick's success had been far greater than that of Palladius. The ostensible reason for recurring to these forced interpretations is the supposed contradiction between Prosper's words, "Contra Collatorem," and those in the Chronicle; for how, it is asked, could he say in the former that the pope "made a barbarous island *Christian*;" and in the latter speaking of the same event, that "he sent a bishop to the *Scots believing in Christ*." Ussher, Index Chronol. ad ann. 431. The latter, no doubt, implies that some Scots, but *only* some, were Christians, which does not contradict the former, as an island, in which there were only a few Christians without a bishop, could (in the sense intended) be called barbarous and be said to be made Christian by the appointment of a hierarchy. If Christians had not been very few in Ireland, what is the meaning of the passage in St. Patrick's confession (18) "unde autem Hiberione, qui nunquam notitiam Dei habuerant, nec nisi idola immunda usque nunc semper coluerunt, nuper effecta est plebs Domini."

anach, id est domus Romanorum." In regione tum dicta Higarchon in extremis Lageniæ finibus, quæ regio est maritima Lageniæ Orientalis in Comitatu Kilmantain seu Wicloensi.[79]

Neque tum tantum,[80] sed aliàs etiam sæpe Romani gregatim in Hiberniam, ut et incolas fide, ac pietate, et se virtutum cumulo excolerent; concesserunt.[81] Hinc in vita S. Sennani legimus: "quinquaginta monachos patria Romanos in Hiberniam, vel arctioris vitæ, vel scripturarum peritiæ, tunc in ea multum florentis desiderium traxisse, ut ibi viverent sub magisterio quorundam sanctorum, quos vitæ sanctitate, et monasticæ disciplinæ rigore intellexerunt esse conspicuos." Præidereà quam plurimos Romanos sanctitate claros sepulturam in Hibernia[82] nactos fuisse Colganus ex Hibernicis optimæ notæ monumentis memorat. Additque "SS. peregrinos Romanos in centum quinquaginta cymbis, sive scaphis advectos Eliam, Natalem, Nemanum, et Corcuntanum;[83] centum etiam et quinquaginta SS. peregrinos Romanos, et Italos S. Abbanum in Hiberniam comitatos fuisse." More scilicet Romanis familiari, quorum "multi" (ut in vita S. Declani legimus) "à Roma secuti sunt Episcopum Declanum,[84] volentes in peregrinatione sub eo vivere;[85] inter quos filius regis Romanorum, Lunanus nomine venit, quem Declanus multum diligebat."

Sicut autem illi sponte in Hiberniam,[86] sic S. Patricius ultro quidem, sed Cælestini Pontificis missu se contulit.[87] Nam ut ait Jocelinus: "Certificatus Dominus Apostolicus, de morte Palladii, iter et opus

[79] Jocelin. c. 25. [80] Usherus de Prim. p. 813. [81] Trias Thaum. p. 5, nu. 13, p. 9, nu. 27. [82] Martii. In notis ad vitam S. Sinnani. [83] Ibid. n. 1, p. 539. [84] Ibidem. [85] Usherus in Prim. p. 790. [86] Cap. 25. [87] Ibidem, c. 20.

[a] A wooden church, according to the Four Masters. It is probably the place called Tigroni. Of the other two churches founded by him, Cellfhine is unknown; Domnach-arta is probably the present Donard, near Redcross. O'Donovan, A.D. 430.

[b] Two at least named Neman occur in the annals—one abbot of Lismor, who died A.D. 610. Dr. Lanigan ii. p. 356, understands Lismor of some place in the Hebrides; Dr. O'Donovan of Lismor in Waterford. Another Neman was abbot of Dairinis near Wexford in the same century. There are also two named Natalis or Naals, both in the sixth century: one died A.D. 564.

house of the Romans," in a district then called Ui Garchon, on the borders of Leinster, near the eastern shore, in the county of Killmantain or Wicklow.

Not in those days alone, but on several occasions in after ages, Romans came in crowds to Ireland, to instruct the inhabitants in faith and piety, and devote themselves to their own spiritual improvement. Thus we read in the life of St. Senanus "that fifty monks, Romans by birth, came to Ireland, impelled by the desire either of a more austere life, or of availing themselves of the profound study of the Scriptures, for which Ireland was then so illustrious. They lived there under the care of some holy men, who, they had heard, were eminent for sanctity of life and the austerity of their monastic rule." Colgan also proves, by unexceptionable Irish authorities, that many Romans of eminent sanctity are buried in Ireland. He adds, "that holy Roman pilgrims, Elias, Natalis, Neman, and Corcuntan, &c. had visited the shores of Ireland in one hundred and fifty boats or ships;[b] and that one hundred and fifty Roman and Italian pilgrims had accompanied St. Abban into Ireland." This was a common practice of the Romans, "many of whom, as we read in the life of St. Declan, accompanied bishop Declan from Rome, wishing to live under his care in this pilgrimage. Amongst them was one called Lunan, a son of the king of the Romans, who was particularly beloved by Declan."

As they visited Ireland of their own accord, St. Patrick was sent there not only by the impulse of his own heart, but by the authority of pope Celestinus. For, according to Jocelyn, "when our Lord the Pope

[c] See for the very confused accounts of St. Abban's life, Lanigan, vol. iii., p. 15. He ridicules the notion that St. Abban had been (as his acts state) at Rome, and ordained by Gregorius the great; this notice, from a litany so old as the year 800, is sufficient proof that he had been once at least at Rome. Ussher assigns his death to 599; Lanigan to the commencement of the seventh century. According to some accounts he was nephew to St. Ibhar; certain it is that the chief foundations attributed to him lay in St. Ibhar's district in the county of Wexford. It is strange that the death of so eminent a saint is not marked by the Four Masters.

salutaris legationis Patricio præcepit aggredi." Ille vero "cum viginti viris, vita, ac sanctitate præclaris, ab ipso summo Pontifice sibi deputatis in adjutorium regressum maturavit."[88] Imo "alii viginti quatuor discipulos, secum in Hiberniam adduxisse, alii familiam Patricii triginta quatuor viros de peregrinis" eo tempore complexum fuisse asserunt.
[216] Eum deinde Romam profectum, "Leo | primus ut Hiberniæ Apostolum amplexans, et pronuntians pallio decoravit, illique vices suas committens, atque legatum suum constituens,[89] quæcunque in Hibernia gesserat constituerat, disposuerat, authoritatis suæ munimine confirmavit."[90]

[88] Usherus de Prim. p. 845. [89] Lombar. p. 52. [90] Jocelinus, c. 166.

[d] For St. Patrick's associates, disciples, household, &c. &c., the reader is referred to O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 448. Lanigan, Ussher, &c.

[e] Dr. Lanigan denies, and not without a plausible reason, as it appears to the editor, that St. Patrick visited Rome a second time. Ussher dates that visit A.D. 462; the Bollandists A.D. 455 or 456. Lanigan's chief argument is a negative one; the silence of authors who have chronicled the reigns of the contemporary popes; and a passage in St. Patrick's confession. The first is of very slight weight against the testimony of ancient native writers: the passage in the Confession is apparently favorable, but by no means so clear as to justify contempt for the other opinion: "timeo," St. Patrick says, "perdere laborem quem inchoavi, et non ego, sed Christus Dominus, qui mihi imperavit ut venirem, essemque cum illis *residuum ætatis meæ*." He would not go to Britain or to Gaul, "to his country, or his kindred, or to see the face of the saints of the Lord though he wished to go," because he had been ordered by God to be with his converts "the remainder of his life." Now a visit to Rome on the business of his church is a very different thing from a visit to his friends, dictated by natural affection, or to the holy men endeared to him by early friendship. The former would not "be losing the labor which he had commenced" but perfecting it, and proving his devotion to his converts; the latter would be a luxury in which apostolic men do not indulge, and which alone, without any violence to the text, St. Patrick may be understood to deny to himself in the passage cited. These observations are made in the supposition, that he spoke only of a temporary absence from Ireland and not of leaving it altogether. But is it so clear that the latter is not the real meaning, and that he merely disclaims the intention of

was informed of the death of Palladius, he ordered Patrick to depart on his journey, and undertake the work of his saving mission. Accompanied by twenty men, eminent for holiness, appointed by the pope himself, he hastened his return to Ireland. Nay, according to some accounts, Patrick brought twenty-four disciples with him into Ireland, and according to others, his family amounted to thirty-four foreign disciples.[d] "Having visited Rome on a subsequent occasion, Leo[e] the First embraced him, and saluting him as the apostle of Ireland, honored him with the pallium,[f] and appointed him his representative and legate,[g] and sanctioned by his apostolical authority all

ever abandoning Ireland. In the paragraph immediately preceding he had been speaking of the number of "virgins of Christ," daughters of princes, "præter viduas et continentes," who "were doing what all virgins of God do likewise" against the will of their parents: from whom they suffered "persecution" and "vituperation;" and against the will of their masters, from whom they suffered "terrors" and "threats." "Yet the Lord hath given grace to many of his handmaids, for though they are prohibited, they nevertheless do imitate with fortitude." Hence he adds: "Though I wished to abandon them" (dimittere illas), "I could not do so," &c. &c. Viewing the two paragraphs in connection, may not the meaning, then, simply be, that as they were faithful to their vocation, so would he likewise be faithful to his.

[f] No metropolitan in the Latin church had received the pallium in St. Patrick's time; and St. Malachy was the first that received it in Ireland "Metropoliticæ sedi deerat adhuc, et defuerat ab initio pallii usus." Vita S. Malachiæ, c. 10. But the see of Ardmacha was not the less, in the strict sense of the word, metropolitan, enjoying then and for nearly seven centuries afterwards, throughout the whole island the very extensive powers annexed to that dignity. Ibid. cap. 7, often cited by our author. See Lanigan, iv., p. 110; also Thomassin, Discipline de l'eglise, Part ii., lib. i., cap. xxv., Art vii. viii. for the reasons why according to the prevalent usage of the church a pallium should not be given to Ardmacha, until more than one archiepiscopal see had been established.

[g] It would not be a usual course according to the discipline of that age to appoint him legate, in a country where there was but one ecclesiastical province; for whose government the ordinary power of metropolitans as then fixed by the laws of the church was amply sufficient—such as the erection of sees, the ordination of bishops, the transmission of the metropolitan power itself. Nor could

Patricius vero susceptum munus sic ad amussim implevit, ut post fidem Christianam tota Hibernia longè latèque diffusam, "nullus eremus, nullus penè terræ angulus, aut locus in insula tam remotus, qui perfectis monachis,[91] et monialibus non repleretur; ita ut Hibernia speciali nomine Insula Sanctorum ubique terrarum jure nominaretur." Imo "nullus in diebus S. Patricii, aut multo post tempore successorum ejus in Pontificem aut ad regimen animarum promovebatur,[92] nisi divina revelatione, aut aliquo signo evidenti dignus demonstraretur."

Quæ res Episcoporum Hiberniæ album, et Episcopatus omnes animo percurrenti liquido constabit. Singulos enim Episcopatus longa sanctorum series initio per diuturni temporis vicissitudinem insedit. Cujus rei veritatem cùm ex aliis documentis, tùm hinc maximè colligimus quod Hiberniæ sancti per aurea illa prima tempora in plures ordines distributi fuerint: quorum Primus ordo ab anno salutis 433, usque ad annum 544; alter inde ad 598, postremus ad annum 665 floruerit.[93] Quibus quartum ordinem adjicere licet, Mariano Scoto asserente, adhuc anno Domini 674, "Hiberniam Scotorum insulam sanctis viris plenam haberi." Ut intereà institutores ad Hibernos virtute imbuendos submittere summo Pontifici haud necesse fuerit. Nisi S. Colmanellum legati officio interim functum fuisse dixerimus, quem S. Patricius vaticinatus est,[94] "Præsulem, atque totius Hiberniæ legatum effectum iri, virtutibus ac signis conspicuum, post vitæ tenebras terminantem, ab Angelis Dei in æternum translatum iri. Processu vero temporis personæ prænominatæ, et prophetatæ omnia evenerunt, sicut S. Patricii labia distinxerunt." Num autem huic oraculo eventus responderit,

[91] Idem, c. 174. [92] Ibidem. [93] Usherus de Prim. p. 913, et seq. [94] Jocelinus, c. 96.

any abuses have sprung up so soon as to require the supervision of a legate. See Thomassin Discipline de l'eglise, part i., liv. i., chap. xii., art xix., part ii., lib. i., chap. lii., art v. None of the cases mentioned, ibid. part i., liv. i., chap. lvii. of papal legations in the fifth century are parallel to the position of St. Patrick. Giraldus styles Ardmacha contemptuously a "quasi metropolis," but his reasons for that designation shall be pointed out in another place.

[h] On the shores of the Atlantic he

that had been done and ordained and appointed in Ireland." So faithfully did St. Patrick discharge the duties imposed upon him, that after he had diffused the faith of Christ far and near in Ireland, "there was no desert, nor any corner of the land, nor a single spot in an island, however secluded,[h] that was not tenanted by perfect monks and nuns, so that Ireland was universally and most justly honored by the singular title of 'Island of Saints.'" Nay, "during the days of St. Patrick, and for many successive centuries under his successors, no person was ever advanced to a bishopric or to the care of souls without being pointed out by some divine revelation or some evident sign."

An examination of the catalogue of Irish bishops in all the sees gives conclusive evidence of this fact. All the bishoprics were in the commencement filled by a long succession of sainted prelates, which appears from various documents, and especially from the classification of the saints of those golden ages into various orders. The first class comprises those from 433 to 544;[i] the second to 598:[k] and the third to the year 655.[l] A fourth order might also be added, as Marianus Scotus asserts that even in the year 674 "Ireland, the island of the Scots, was full of saints." Hence the popes had no necessity of sending over persons to instruct the Irish in sanctity, unless we say that in this interval St. Colmanellus was legate, whom St. Patrick foretold thus: "There shall arise a bishop, and he shall be legate of all Ireland, and shall be eminent for virtue and miracles, and when the dark days of life come to a close, he shall be translated to the bosom of God for ever. But in the course of time all things happened to this person so named and foretold, as the lips of St. Patrick had declared."

Whether the event justified this prophecy, I have not ascertained, for I have not yet discovered St. Colmanellus's life. That he was a

could say, "Ecce testes sumus, quia Evangelium prædicatum est ubique, *ubi nemo ultra est;*" Confessio, cap. iii. 14.

[i] or 542. Three hundred and fifty of this class were bishops, Romans, Britons, Gauls, Scots.

[k] Consisted of three hundred, of whom very few were bishops.

[l] One hundred, of whom few were bishops.

nondum pro certo comperi: non enim adhuc in ejus vitam incidi. Exploratum quidem habemus præsulem eum fuisse. Nam illum "S. Itæ" vita "Episcopum,"[95] (Dromorensem ut Usherus autumat) Abbatem ejus vitæ fragmentum apud eundem Usherum appellat. Officium vero legati eum obiisse nondum edidici, nisi id in eodem fragmento innui dixero, ubi legimus, quod "Venit ad regionem Midi, et invenit ibi congregationem, in qua Edus filius Anmirech (rex Hiberniæ) et Edus Flan dux Nepotum Neill, et sanctus Columbachille, et sanctus Cannicus Abbas, et alii plures erant. S. Colmanus Elo dans benedictionem illis perrexit ad saltum, ubi magnum, et clarum monasterium instituit quod vocatur Land-Elo." Hodie Lin-alli locus ille vocatur, in Fercalliâ Comitatus Regii ditiunculâ, quatuor milliarium spatio à Dermachano S. Columbæ Cœnobio dissitus, ubi "inter choros sanctorum virorum"[96] (ut in fine vitæ illius additur) "Sanctissimus Senex Colmanus Sexto Calendas Novembris feliciter ad Christum emisit spiritum, anno Domini 610." Hinc autem conjecturâ ducimur illum legati dignitate insignitum fuisse, quod tot principibus, et præsulibus benedictionem impertierit. Cum "quod minus est à meliore benedicitur;" ut ait divus Paulus.[97] Hunc tamen præcessisse videtur David filius Guari O'Faranan Episcopus Armachanus, et totius Hiberniæ legatus qui obiit anno Domini 550.[98]

Tum demum S. Augustinus S. Gregorio Pontifice mittente Româ

[95] 15 Janu. de prim. p. 1065, p. 960. [96] Ibidem. [97] Ad Hebr. 7. [98] Trias Thaum. p. 707.

[m] St. Ita, or Midhe, the Brighid, or patroness of Munster, died in 570; when Colmanellus was not more than 26 years old. It was of another Colman that the life speaks.

[n] Colman of Druim-mor was a different person. See Lanigan, vol. ii., p. 308.

[o] Some of the ancient obituary notices cited by O'Donovan, A.D. 610, style him abbot; others, bishop. He was not bishop until after his visit to Iona, A.D. 597.

[p] Founded probably about the year 590 according to Lanigan. The prefix is apparently the British term for church, which was rare in Irish topography. The establishment perhaps was founded for the Britons, many of whom fled to Ireland and other countries, from the awful pestilence of 589. See Ussher Index Chronologicus. It lies one mile south-west

bishop, we certainly know from the life of St. Ita.[m] He was bishop of Druim-mor, according to Ussher,[n] who also cites a fragment of his life in which he is styled abbot.[o] I have not been able to discover anyproofs that he was legate, if the following extract from the fragment of his life cannot be taken as such : " He came to the kingdom of Midhe (Meath), and found a congregation there consisting of Aedh, son of Anmirech (king of Ireland), and Aedh Flann, chief of the race of Niall, and St. Columkill, and St. Canice abbot, and many others. St. Colmanellus, having given them his blessing, retired to the forest, where he founded a great and celebrated monastery, which is called Land Elo;" the place at present called Lin-alli, in Feara-ceall, a district of the King's County four miles distant from Dearmagh (Durrow), the monastery of St. Columba. In Landelo, the holy Colmanellus, as we read in his life, happily resigned his soul to Christ, in the midst of a choir of holy men, on the sixth of the Calends of November, A.D. 610. A probable conjecture of his legatine authority may be deduced from the fact of his giving his blessing to so many princes and bishops,[q] for "that which is less is blessed by the better;" according to St. Paul. David, bishop of Ardmacha, son of Guaire O'Forannain, appears, however, to have preceded him in the legatine functions in Ireland. He died A.D. 550.[r]

After this period St. Augustinus, who was sent from Rome by St. Gregorius, visited Ireland, and was graciously received by Calomagnus,

of the town of Tullamore. O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 1533.

[q] If he was legate, it must have been long after the date of that assembly. None of the obituary or other authorities before Jocelyn say that he ever was legate. His contemporary, St. Gregorius the Great, was held in special veneration by the Irish, "and their genealogists, finding that there were some doubts as to his genealogy, had no scruple to engraft him on the royal stem of Irish kings." O'Donovan, A.D. 590. He must have had some singular claims on the affection of the Irish, or Cummian would not have spoken of him as he does in the Paschal epistle; Sylloge, Epis. p. 31.

[r] This notice is taken from the Four Masters. In a note to the Annals of Ulster, A.D, 550. Dr. O'Conor says, "Codex Clarend. 49 subjungit 'et legati totius Hiberniæ,' quæ verba desunt in cæteris codicibus, Bodleiano, et Clarendoniano." 42.

profectus in Hiberniam divertit, et à Calomagno (Colmanno fortasse, qui sub ea tempora in regio fastigio collocatus collegam egit, Aidi Slanii in Hiberniæ regno) perhumaniter exceptus, S. Livinum salutari lavacro intinxit, deinde literis excoluit, et sacerdotio tandem initiavit. Porrò S. Livinus Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis postea renuntiatus, eâ se dignitate demum abdicavit, utpotè quem Evangelii propagandi cupido, ardore tanto invasit, ut sub annum salutis 633, in Flandriam, Gandavumque provolarit; ubi ea vis ejus doctrinæ fuit, ut non aliter, quam sol quidam omnium animos illustraverit, gentilitatis tenebras dissipaverit, et errorum nubes dissolverit. Unde factum est ut infinita prope multitudo eum secuta Christo nomen dederit, gentilique impietati renuntiaverit. Sed cum doctrina vera nunquam sine adversario sit, virtus nunquam sine hoste, durior ejus scelerum increpatio flagitiosorum invidiam in illum concitavit, qui eum cruciatibus tortum immanissimè
[217] trucidarunt. |

Deinde cum in Ecclesiâ Hibernicâ dissensionum sentes enascerentur, "S. Laurentius" S. Augustini Anglorum Apostoli successor, "non solum novæ quæ de Anglis erat collecta Ecclesiæ curam gerebat,[99] sed et veterum Britanniæ incolarum, nec non et Scotorum, qui Hiberniam Insulam Britanniæ proximam incolunt, populis, pastoralem impendere sollicitudinem curabat. Siquidem ubi Scotorum in præfata ipsorum patria, vitam ac professionemminus Ecclesiasticam in multis esse cognovit, maxime quod Paschæ solemnitatem non suo tempore celebrarent,

[99] Beda, lib. 2, c. 4.

[s] Who was slain A.D. 600, after a reign of six years. There was a Colman Mor, or Magnus, A.D. 552, second son of the king of Ireland, contemporary with David, archbishop of Ardmacha. The visit of St. Augustinus to Ireland, and the other statements following, are taken from a life of St. Livinus, attributed to St. Bonifacius, but probably not older than the close of the tenth century. See Lanigan, vol, ii. p. 469, and Giles', Bonifacii opera omnia, ii. p. 120.

[t] St. Augustinus did not arrive in England until the year 597, and died in 605 or 607; so that, even had he visited Ireland, he could not baptize and ordain St. Livinus.

[u] As there was no see of Dublin at that time, it is clear the life of St. Livinus must have been interpolated, if indeed it can at all be depended on.

probably the Colman[s] who was colleague at that time in the royal government of Ireland with Aedh Slaine. Augustinus baptized St. Livin, and educated him and raised him to the priesthood.[t] Being afterwards raised to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin,[u] St. Livin resigned his dignity. He was inflamed with so ardent a desire of propagating the Gospel, that he passed over to Flanders and the territory of Ghent in the year 633.[v] Such was the wonderful efficacy of his preaching, that he burst like the noontide blaze of the sun on the minds of all, dispelling the darkness of Paganism, and chasing away their errors. An enormous multitude of men embraced his doctrine, renouncing the errors of paganism, and becoming disciples of Christ. But true doctrine has enemies at all times: virtue is never without an enemy. His stern reproof of crime excited against him the hatred of the guilty parties, who put him to death by excruciating tortures.

Dissensions having afterwards sprung up in the church of Ireland, St. Laurentius, successor of St. Augustinus, apostle of the English, "extended his pastoral care not only to the new church founded among the English, but also to the ancient inhabitants of Britain, and also to the Scots who inhabit the island of Ireland near Britain. Having ascertained that the Scots were not strictly conformable to the rules of the church on many points in their own country, and especially in not celebrating Easter at the proper time, but commemorating from the fourteenth moon to the twentieth the resurrection of our Lord, he, in conjunction with his brother bishops, wrote a letter to them, beseech-

[v] Others place this event at the year 656. It is stated in his life that his uncle Melancthius was an archbishop; and this Melancthius, Dr. Lanigan conjectures was Dubhthach of Ardmacha, who died A.D. 548. If another conjecture may be allowed, the anachronisms in the life of Livinus were occasioned by that prolific cause of obscurity in the lives of Irish saints, namely, the confounding of the actions of different saints of the same name. Livinus was so called after his maternal uncle, who was also a martyr. "Indentes ei nomen Livinus ex nomine germani gloriosæ genetricis suæ Agalauniæ, Hibernensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopi, qui apud Verbanos pro nomine Christi palmam martyris adeptus est." Bonifacii opera, ii. p. 121.

sed à decima quarta luna, usque ad vicesimam Dominicæ resurrectionis diem observandam esse putarent, scripsit cum co-episcopis suis exhortatoriam ad eos Epistolam, obsecrans eos, et contestans, unitatem pacis, et Catholicæ observationis cum ea, quæ toto orbe diffusa est Christi Ecclesia tenere, cujus videlicet Epistolæ, principium hoc est, 'Dominis Charissimis fratribus, Episcopis, et Abbatibus per universam Scotiam Laurentius, Mellitus, et Justus, servi servorum Dei, etc.'"

Hanc Epistolam ad Hibernos anno partæ salutis 609, datam fuisse Usherus,[100] anno 614, Colganus arbitratur. Plurimum autem hæc Epistola proventum retulisse videtur,[1] quando quidem ut Gotcelinus in vita S. Laurentii dicit: "Famâ transvolante maria, quia lux in candelabro, et civitas in monte nequit abscondi, sanctus Terenanus Archipontifex Hiberniæ ad eum transiit, vir tantæ sanctitatis, ut tres mortuos suscitasse perhibeatur, qui audiens beatum Laurentium de Phascæ observatione, aliisque Apostolicis observationibus mutuo conventu disputare,[2] dedit manus veritati, suosque discipulos (indignantes quod tam divinus vir tali advenæ subjaceret) ad veritatis lineam suo exemplo suam gentem correxit." Vel rectius ut in ejusdem sancti vita habet Capgravius, "suam gentem in posterum corrigere satagebat." Imo S. Laurentium Scotos adivisse scribit Harpsfeldius.[3] Si vero narrationem hanc aliquis in dubium vocet, quod nullus Terenani nomine affectus in præsulum Armachanorum album referatur; is cognitum habeat S. Maclasrium per ea tempora nimirum ab anno salutis 610 ad 622, sedem Armachanam insedisse,[4] quem aliud proprium nomen gessisse oportuit, cum Maclasrius Lasrii solummodo filium denotet. Postea sub annum salutis 629, Honorius primus ad Hibernos è suis erroribus educendos, non modicam

[100] In prim. p. 1156. [1] Trias Thaum. p. 294. [2] Trias Thaum. p. 293. [3] Seculo 7, c. 7, p. 60. [4] Triad. p. 2941.

[w] By citing the letter of Laurentius in this place our author appears to admit the legatine jurisdiction claimed by Dr. Milner and others for the archbishop of Canterbury over the Irish church. For a satisfactory refutation of such claims the reader may consult Dr. Lanigan, vol. iii. pp. 461, 467, 470.

[x] No name like Tarannan occurs in any see in the annals of this period. The Annals of Ulster, A.D.

ing and imploring them to hold the unity of peace, and of Catholic observance with that church which was diffused throughout the whole world. That letter begins thus:—'To our Very Dear Brethren, the Bishops and Abbots of all Scotia, Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, servants of the servants of God, &c. &c.'"

Ussher thinks this letter was sent to the Irish in the year 609;[w] Colgan in the year 614. It appears to have produced considerable effect, for we read in Gotcelinus's life of St. Laurentius, "that his fame having now spread beyond the seas, as the light on the candlestick or the city on the mountain cannot be hidden, St. Tarannan, archbishop of Ireland, a man whose sanctity was so great, that he is said to have raised three dead men to life, came to visit him. Having appointed a meeting to confer with St. Laurentius on the observance of Easter and other apostolical customs, St. Tarannan was convinced of the truth, and brought back by his example his disciples to the path of truth, though they were indignant that so holy a man should submit to a foreigner." Capgrave, however, merely says, and with more probability, that he "endeavoured to reform his countrymen thenceforward." Harpsfeld even asserts, that St. Laurentius visited the Scots. Should any doubt be raised against this narrative, because no person named Tarannan is found in the catalogue of the bishops of Ardmacha, it must be borne in mind that the see of Ardmacha was governed at that time, namely, from 610 to 622, by St. Mac Lasre, who must have had some other name, for Mac Lasre means only son of Lasre.[x] Afterwards, about the year 629, Honorius the First used strenuous exertions to draw the Irish from their errors, for Beda relates in his history "that Honorius wrote a letter to the Irish, censuring the Quartadeciman error,[y] which they revived in the celebration of Easter," But on a more mature consideration of this subject the same author confesses that the Irish did not

698, state that a Taran, which is the same name, came to Ireland. Perhaps he endeavoured to reclaim such of the northerns as still rejected the general church law on the observance of the Pasch.

[y] For an exposition of the paschal controversy, and a refutation of the absurd errors of Ledwich and others on that subject, the reader is referred to Dr. Lanigan, vol. ii. pp. 371, 387.

operam impendit. Ait enim in chronico Beda: "Exortum apud Scotos in observatione Paschæ errorem Quartadecimanorum Honorius per Epistolam redarguit." Licet re postea penitus inspectâ scripserit, "sed in die quidem Dominicâ, alia tamen quam decebat hebdomada celebrabant.[5] Miserat" inquit "Papa Honorius literas genti Scotorum, quos in observatione sancti Paschæ errare compererat,[6] solerter exhortans ne paucitatem suam in extremis terræ finibus constitutam sapientiorum antiquis, sive modernis, quæ per orbem terræ erant, Christi Ecclesiis æstimarent, nevè contra Paschales computos,[7] et decreta Synodalium totius orbis Pontificum aliud Pascha celebrarent." Hic autem hujus Pontificis conatus fausto eventu exceptus est. "Nam gentes Scotorum quæ in Australibus Hiberniæ partibus morabantur,[8] ad admonitionem Apostolicæ sedis Antistitis, Pascha Canonico ritu observare didicerunt." Itaque videtur literas illas Lasreano legato,[9] ut supra dixi, ad Hibernos dedisse, quem in Hiberniam an. Dom. 631, reversum fuisse Colganus, meo quidem judicio recte scribit,[10] et in Lechleniensi synodo è patribus Australis Hiberniæ plagas incolentibus conflato, mandata Pontificis exposuisse.

Porro cum adhuc anno salutis 640 in erronea Paschatis observatione

[5] Apud Usher. p. 938. [6] Lib. 3, c. 4. [7] Lib. 2, c. 19. [8] Beda, lib. 3, c. 3.
[9] 24 Febr. p. 409. [10] Usherus de prim, p. 935.

[z] The date of this letter is uncertain; Ussher assigns it apparently to 629; others to 633 or 634; principally because Beda mentions it among events which belong to those latter years. There can be little doubt, however, that either it or some other papal letter had been received in Ireland before the synod of Magh Lene, which, according to all, was held in 630. For in that synod a decree was at first unanimously adopted "to celebrate, *next year*, the pasch with the universal church;" and that decree was grounded on the obligation of obeying, according to the tradition of their primitive fathers, whatever had been "sent from the fountain of their baptism and the successors of the apostles." Sylloge. Epis. p. 34. From the same authority, pp. 24, 25, it also appears that at the date assigned by Ussher to the letter, i.e. a year before that synod, the Roman custom

always celebrate the feast of Easter on the fourteenth moon, with the Jews, as some persons imagined, but always on a Sunday, not however in the proper week. "Pope Honorius," he says, "having discovered that the Irish nation had fallen into errors in the observance of Easter, wrote an epistle, strenuously exhorting the Irish not to act on the assumption that they, a few persons in a remote corner of the world, were wiser than all ancient and modern churches of Christ over all the earth, and that they should not celebrate an Easter opposed to the Paschal computation and to the synodical decrees of all the bishops." The exertions of this pope were crowned with success, "for the nations of the Scots, who dwelt in the southern part of Ireland, learned by the admonitions of the apostolical see to celebrate Easter by the canonical rite." These letters, as I have already stated, appear to have been brought to Ireland by St. Laisrean the legate, who returned thither in the year 631, according to Colgan's computation (in which I agree),[z] and announced the orders of the pope to the fathers of the southern half[a] of Ireland assembled in the synod of Leithghlinn.

But the northern Irish still persisted in their erroneous observance

had been adopted by some of the Irish, but not immediately by the author Cummian. "Non suscepi sed silui, nec laudare, nec vituperare ausus." After a year's study of the question, and after the synod of Magh Lene, he came to the conclusion that he was bound to adopt it. But it may be asked, if the pope's letter had arrived in Ireland in 629 before the synod, why did they send from that synod delegates to Rome on a question already decided by Rome. This difficulty may be easily explained; if doubts were raised regarding the letter; which appears clearly to have been the case; for when the delegates returned from Rome three years after, they are introduced as saying "that they saw all things as they had heard, but they found them much more certain as being seen, than being heard." "Sed et valde certiora utpote visa quam audita," p. 34. Moreover, as the point in dispute was in itself a question of discipline, and as one person in the synod insisted upon adhering to the national usage, a second reference to Rome would be no more than what very frequently occurs in similar cases. Colgan's opinion that there were two synods, one at Magh-Lene in Feara-ceall in 630, another, three years later after the return of the delegates at Leithghlinn, is much more probable.

[a] Otherwise called Leath Mogha, divided from Leath Cuinn by a line

Boreales Hiberni persisterent; "septentrionalis" enim ut ait Beda "Scotorum provincia, et omnis natio Pictorum, illo adhuc tempore, Paschæ Dominicum, à quarta decima luna usque ad vicesimam observare solebat." Sedes Apostolica Hibernorum literis sollicitata errorem istum iis evellere sollicitè contendit nam "Joannes" (inquit Beda in Chronico) "qui Severino Honorii successori successit, cum adhuc esset electus in Pontificatum, pro eodem Phasca iis" Hibernis "simul, et pro Pelagianâ hæresi, quæ apud eos reviviscebat scripsit." Hanc ipsam rem Beda in historia uberius prosequitur, ubi scribit quod idem "Joannes pro eodem errore corrigendo, literas eis magna authoritate et eruditione plenas direxit, evidenter astruens, quia Dominicum Phascæ diem à quintadecima luna usque ad vicesimam primam lunam[11] (quod in Nicena Synodo probatum est) oporteret inquiri. Nec non, et pro
[218] Pelagiana hæresi (quam apud eos reviviscere didicerat) cavendâ | et repellendâ in eadem eos Epistola admonere curavit." Cujus Epistolæ principium hoc est: "Dilectissimis, et Sanctissimis Thomiano, Columbano, Chromano, Dimano, et Bathano, episcopis; Cromano, Hernano, Laustrano, Stellano, et Segiano, presbyteris; Sarano, cæterisque doctoribus, seu abbatibus Scotis, etc." Horum scilicet "perlatores ad sanctæ memoriæ Severinum Papam scripta adduxerunt," ut ipsius Epistolæ initium apud Bedam ibidem docet. "Quo de hac luce migrante," ut ibidem sequitur "reciproca responsa ad ea quæ postulata fuerant mittuntur."

Cæterum singulos hic memoratos multâ sanctitate,[12] et dignitate hic singulis adscriptâ, in Septentrionalibus Hiberniæ plagis claruisse indubitatæ fidei monumenta testantur. Armachanorum enim Præsulum

[11] Lib. 2, c. 19. [12] Colganus 10 Janu.

from Dublin to Galway.

[b] The letter of John, pope elect, and of the Roman clergy to the northern bishops, written in 640, charges only "some of their province" with the error. "Having unsealed your letter we found that some of your province (quosdam provinciæ vestræ) were endeavouring against the orthodox faith to revive an old heresy, contending that the pasch ought to be kept on the fourteenth moon with the Jews." "Some of your province" is not the term that would have been used if the majority of the northerns had not embraced the Roman mode

of Easter in the year 640. "The northern province of the Scots,"[b] says Beda, "and the whole nation of the Picts, even at that time used to celebrate Easter Sunday from the fourteenth moon to the twentieth." But the apostolical see, having received some letters from the Irish on the subject, strenuously exhorted them to reform. "John," says Beda, "who succeeded Severinus, the successor of Honorius, wrote to the Irish, while he was yet only pope elect, on the same Paschal question, and also on the Pelagian heresy which was reviving amongst them." He relates the same facts more copiously in his history. "To correct their said error, John wrote to them letters with great authority and replete with erudition, proving demonstratively, that Easter Sunday should be celebrated some day between the fifteenth and twenty-first moon, as had been sanctioned in the council of Nice. He also sedulously admonished them in the same epistle to guard against and eradicate the Pelagian heresy which he had heard was springing up amongst them." That letter commences thus: "To our very dear and holy Thomian, Columban, Cronan, Dimma, and Baethon, bishops; Cronan, Ernan, Laistrean, Stellan, Segian, priests; Saran and the other Irish abbots or doctors, &c. The bearers of these presents brought letters to Severinus of happy memory, and, as he is dead, answers are forwarded in return to the questions proposed." Such is the commencement of the letter as cited by Beda.

It appears from evidence of the most respectable kind, that all the persons mentioned in this document held at that period in the northern part of Ireland the rank which the pope attributes to them, and were, moreover, eminent for sanctity. St. Thomian filled the episcopal see of Ardmacha during 36 years, and died in 660, according to the catalogue

before they wrote to Rome. It may be remarked here, in the first place, that the words "provincia vestra," applied to the north, seem to confirm Keating's opinion that there were two ecclesiastical provinces recognized in Ireland in ancient times; it is clear, in the second place, either that the northern bishops had not correctly explained the pasch observed "by some of their provincials," or that their letter was misunderstood by John, pope elect, and the Roman clergy: for it is certain, and admitted now by all, that the Irish rite was not the Quartadeciman heresy.

album, et Hiberniæ Annales S. Thomianum, post sedem Armachanam 36 annos feliciter administratam, diem suum an. Dom. 660 obiisse, iidemque Annales S. Columbanum Teldubli filium Clunerardiæ in Midia primo Abbatem, tum Episcopum an. Dom. 652, 18 Febru. fato functum fuisse: S. Cronanum parvum Episcopum[13] Endromensem in Ultonia 7 Januarii anni Dom. 642 vita excessisse. S. Dimanum nigrum Episcopum Connorensem in Ultonia an. Dom. 658 vivere desiisse tradunt. S. autem Baithanus Cuanachi filius Teachboithini seu Airteach in Connacia Episcopus[14] sub annum salutis 640 floruit; nam S. Columbæ discipulus fuit, et Mochemoci synchronus, ut è S. Mochemoci vita constat. Episcopis Abbates qui eos in literarum inscriptione comitantur adjungo;[15] quorum primus est S. Cronanus Abbas Muibilensis in Ultonia, cujus obitum Annales in diem 7 Augusti, et an. Domini 649 referunt.[16] Alter Hermanus corruptè contra veterum M.SS. fidem quæ Ernianum habent: S. autem Hernanus Colmanni filius Toragiensis Abbas in Ultonia, sub annum Dom. 650, et S. Ernanus Aidi filius in eadem Ultonia an. Dom. 660 claruit, et 16 Maii cœlos adiit.[17] Potuit etiam hic indicari S. Ernænus ille S. Columbæ nepos, "cujus nomen" (inquit S. Adamnannus) "potest dici Ferreolus, Scoticè vero Ernene," Hibernis enim "ieron" ferrum denotat.[18] Cum enim è vivis eum an. Dom. 640 excessisse in ejus vita referat Colganus, nihil impedit eum ex iis fuisse, qui literis ad Severinum Papam Joannis decessorem missis, hoc responsum retulerunt, cum in Druimthuama, sive "Dorso Thomæ," ut S. Adamnanus loquitur,[19] regionis Tiræidhæ intra Ultoniæ fines constitutus, tantæ fuerit sanctitatis, ut illius provinciæ Præsules, eum

[13] 6 Januar. [14] Idem. [15] Usherus, p. 968. [16] In margine. [17] Colgan, ubi supra. [18] Vita S. Columbæ, lib. 3, c. 23. [19] 10 Janu. ubi supra Colganus, 6 Januar.

[c] Other authorities record his death in 651 or 653. O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 651.

[d] In the diocese of Elphin, west of Cruachain. Four Masters, A.D. 1199. It is uncertain which of the Baeithins appears on this list, as there were several of the name. If, as our author states, Baeithin of Tighbaehthin was a Columbian monk, it is not likely that he is the person, as the Columbian monks were the most obstinate adherents of the Irish rite, and very probably the "quosdam provinciæ ves-

of the bishops of Ardmacha, and the annals of Ireland. St. Columbanus, son of Teldub, was, according to the same annals, abbot at first, and then bishop of Cluainirard in Meath, where he died on the 18th of Feb., 652.[c] St.Cronan, the Little, was bishop of Endruim in Ulster, and died January 7, 642 [692]; St. Diman, the Black, died bishop of Coinnere in Ulster, A.D. 658. St. Baithen, son of Cuanach, was bishop of Airteach, or Tighboithin (Tibohine), in Connacht, in 640,[d] for he was a disciple of St. Columba, and contemporary of Mochoemoc, as appears from the life of the latter. The names of the abbots which follow the bishops in the title of the letter were, first, St. Cronan, abbot of Magh-bhile (Movilla), in Ulster, whose death is marked in the annals on the 7th of August, 649. Second, Hernan, but correctly Ernian, according to the ancient M.SS. A St. Hernan, son of Colman, and abbot of Torach Island, in Ulster, flourished about the year 650; and a St. Ernan, son of Aedh, also in Ulster, flourished in the year 660, and died on the 16th of May. Perhaps this was Ernan (nephew of St. Columba) whose name, according to Adamnan, may be interpreted "Ferreolus:" in Irish, Ernene, ιαρονη, being the Irish word for "iron." As he died in 640, according to his life by Colgan, we may suppose that he was one of those who sent the letter to which the present answer was returned; for he resided at Druimthuama,[e] or "Toma's ridge,"[f] according to Adamnan, in the territory of Tirhugh, in Ulster, and was so famed for sanctity, that the prelates would naturally summon him to their deliberations on so important a question.[f] Next on the list comes St. Laisrean, son of Naschi, abbot[g] near Loch Laodh, in Ulster, who flourished about the year 650, and died on the 25th of October. St. Stellan,[h] abbot of

træ" mentioned in the letter from Rome.

[e] Drumhome, Ꝺꞃuıṁṫuaṁa, a church and parish in the barony of Tirhugh, county of Donegal, Adamnan, in his life of St. Columba, Latinizes the word, Dorsum Tommæ, which our author appears to misunderstand, as given in our translation.

[f] See Lanigan's remarks, vol. ii. note 118, p. 141, and ibid. p. 414. It is more probable that the Ernan of our letter was the abbot of Torach Island.

[g] Of Ardmacnasca, on Belfast loch (Loch laodh).

[h] Uncertain who Stellan or, as Colgan writes the name, Scillan, was.

jure merito in Concilium de re gravi adhibuerint. Hunc in inscriptione sequitur S. Lasrianus filius Naschi Abbas juxta Lacum Laodh in Ultonia,[20] qui sub annum salutis 650 florens animam 26 Octobris emisit. Circa quod etiam tempus S. Stellanus Inniscaltrensis in Connacia Abbas vixit, et 24 Maii, vivendi finem fecit: Sigenius vero ille in inscriptione memoratus, vel fuit Sigenius filius Huacuin Abbas Banchonensis 662, vel Sigenius filius Fachnai Hiensis Abbas 651, extinctus, ad quem illa Cumiani Epistola de Paschæ controversiâ ab Ushero edita data est.[21] Illi dies 16 Septembris, huic 12 Augusti sacer est. Postremus in superiori serie collocatus fuit Saranus, qui anno salutis 661 è vivis abiit.

Videntur autem illi omnes de gregibus suis horum errorum labe infectis, querelas apud Pontificem instituisse, et Concilii medelam ad eos errores è medio tollendos flagitasse, potius quam illorum errorum sordibus ipsi tincti fuisse. Quod si autem errorum ejusmodi notâ præsules illos inustos fuisse quispiam suspicetur; ad eorum culpam extenuandam illud adduco, quod Beda de Hiensibus S. Columbæ successoribus retulit. Nimirum illis "longe ultra orbem positis, nemo Synodalis Paschalis observantiæ decreta porrexerat.[22] Tantum quæ in Propheticis, Evangelicis et Apostolicis literis discere poterant, pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter observantes." Et idem Beda de S. Aidano alibi ait. "In celebratione sui Paschæ non aliud corde tenebat,

[20] Ibidem. [21] In Syllog. p. 24. [22] Lib. 3, c. 24.

This latter form is nearly the same as Sillan. A person of the name (but bishop) of Daimh-inis, in Loch Erne, died A.D. 658.

An island in Loch Derg, on the Shannon. It belonged to the civil province of Leath Mogha; and hence Dr. Lanigan's objection to Colgan's opinion, that Stellan, abbot of Inisceltra is the Stellan of the letter.

[k] Very probably; it is not at all probable that he was, as some have asserted, the Sigienus, abbot of Iona.

[l] Patron of Tisaran, in the barony of Garrycastle, King's County, on the west side of the Brosna. See O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 1541. Thus Saran and Stellan were neighbours; but how they rank among the northerns is not easily explained. Cluainmicnois is considered to be the

Iniscealtra, in Connacht,[i] lived about the same period, and died on the 24th of May. The Sigein mentioned in the superscription was either the son of Uacuin, abbot of Benchor,[k] who died Sept. 16, 662, or the son of Fachnai, to whom Cumian's epistle, published by Ussher, was addressed. He died on the 12th of August, 651. Saran,[l] the last mentioned on the list, died in 661.

It is probable that all these holy men sent a complaint to the pope of the errors with which their flocks were tainted, and implored the aid of his council to heal them, but that they themselves were not infected with those errors.[m] Should any person, however, suspect them of not having escaped the contagion, I would have him remember in their defence, what Beda wrote of the abbots of I., successors of St. Columba, "placed on the extreme verge of the world, no person had announced to them the canons for the observance of Easter." Of St. Aidan he writes in another place, "that in his celebration of Easter, he neither venerated nor imagined in his heart, nor preached to others other than the redemption of mankind by the passion, resurrection, and ascension into heaven of the mediator between God and man, the man

meeting point on the Shannon, between Leath Mogha and Leath Cuinn, yet it is difficult to make any sense of some lines in the Four Masters, A.D. 661, if some part of the river south of Cluainmicnois and even of Cluainfearta Brendan did not belong to Leath Cuinn *at that time*. The same lines confirm strongly the opinion of Ware, Lanigan, &c. &c. that Cummian, author of the paschal letter in defence of the Roman Easter, was no other than Cuimin Fada of Cluainfearta: whose fame the bard says was so great, that the mention of his name would be a sufficient introduction for a pilgrim going from Ireland "to the seat of Gregorius" (Rome). The lines are written in perfect seven-syllable rhyme, in the Irish language, and clearly belong to the date assigned, A.D. 661.

[m] There is no reason, from any existing document, to believe that they were: the Roman letter implies rather that they were not; and even though they were, that letter could not by any means be considered decisive, because it assumed, what was not the fact, that the Irish had embraced the Quartadeciman heresy. The archbishop of Ardmacha, in referring to Rome, simply obeyed a fundamental law of the church, which ordered, "in certain well known cases, namely, 'causæ majores,' appeals to be made to Rome," supra, p. 631. Lanigan ii. p. 391.

venerabantur, et prædicabant quam quod nos, id est, redemptionem generis humani per passionem,[23] resurrectionem, ascensionem in cœlos mediatoris Dei, et hominum, hominis Jesu Christi. Unde et hæc non ut quidam falso opinantur, quartadecima luna in qualibet feria cum Judæis, sed die Dominica semper agebant à luna quartadecima usque
[219] ad vicesimam." |

Porrò Præsules illos, et Scotos alios ad quos S. Laurentii Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi ac duorum Pontificum, Honorii et Joannis literæ supraindicatæ datæ sunt, Hibernis ereptos, Scotis Albinis, ut Buchananus loquitur cives, ascribere summâ sed inani contentione nonnulli connituntur. Nimirum nuperi quidam Scoti Scriptores ea sunt audaciâ, seu potius impudentiâ, ut nullum in libris Scotum nuncupari deprehendant, quem sibi continuo cives adsciscere non dubitant. Hinc Conæus in hæc verba satis fucatè prorupit: "Nullus" inquit "mihi succenseat, si quos apud Bedam, aliosve authores Scotos nuncupatos reperio, Scotos dixero."[24] Nec is igitur mihi, aut alius quispiam succenseat, si quos in Hibernia natos, aut Hibernos nominatos esse nactus fuero, Hibernos appellavero. S. Brigida virgo Scota dicitur, sed cum in Lagenia nata fuerit, non video cur non dici potuerit et Hiberna? nonnulli SS. Fursæum, Columbanum, et plures alios sanctos, Scotos, alii eosdem Hibernos appellant. Ita ut qui Scoti subinde à scriptoribus nominentur, non continuo Scotiæ Britannicæ cives fuerint.

Non percepit Conæus à suæ patriæ nobilioribus historicis se dissensisse; qui duas gentes Hibernicam, et Scoticam, Scotorum nuncupatione affecerunt.[25] Joannes Major ait: "Scotos Hibernicos in Hiberniam missos transeamus." Deinde "ex Scotis Hibernicis, Scoti Britannici pullularunt."[26] Et alibi "Alexandri tertii geneologiam, ab homine in

[23] Ibidem. [24] De duplici statu relig. apud Scotos p. 33. [25] Lib. 1, c. 10. [26] Lib. 2 c. 14.

[n] That is the Quartadeciman heresy. Beda explains more fully in another place the motives of the prudent course adopted by the Roman prelates in Britain towards St. Aidan, until his death in 651, ten years after the papal letter to the northern Irish. This difference about the observance of Easter, whilst Aidan lived, was patiently tolerated by all men, as being

Christ Jesus. His Pasch, he observed, was not as some falsely imagined, in the fourteenth moon on any day of the week, like the Jews,[n] but always on a Sunday between the fourteenth and twentieth moon."

All those prelates, as well as the other Scots to whom the letters of Laurentius of Canterbury, Mellitus and Justus, and of popes Honorius and John were directed, are dogmatically pronounced by some writers not to have been Irish, but what Buchanan calls, Albanian Scots. This is however, a vain attempt, though some Scotch writers, of late, have the boldness, or rather impudence to claim every man as a Scotchman whom they find mentioned in books as a Scot. Thus Coney exclaims in the following delusive strain: "Why should any man be offended, if I call Scots, those whom Beda and other writers call Scots?" Nor ought any man be offended with me if I call those Irish who I find were born in Ireland, or called Irish. St. Brighid is called a Scottish virgin, but as she was born in Ireland, I cannot see why she should not be called Irish. Some writers call SS. Fursa, Columbanus, and many other saints, Scots; others call them Irish: whence it is evident that all who are called Scots cannot be claimed as British Scots.

Coney was not aware that his opinion was opposed to the best historians of his country who applied the name, Scots, to the inhabitants both of Ireland and Scotland. "Let us now pass," says Johannes Major, "to the Irish Scots, sent into Ireland." Again, "the British Scots sprang from the Irish Scots;" and in another place, "Scotus Silvicola traced up the genealogy of Alexander III. from son to father, until he arrived at the first Irish Scot." Major, therefore, was

sensible that though he could not keep Easter contrary to the custom of those who had sent him, yet he industriously labored to practice all works of faith, piety, and love according to the custom of all holy men; for which reason he was deservedly beloved by all, even by those who differed in opinion concerning Easter, and was held in veneration not only by indifferent persons, but even by the bishops, Honorius of Canterbury and Felix of the East Angles." Giles', Beda, Ecc. Hist. lib. iii. c. 25. Again, immediately before the passage cited by our author, lib. iii. c. 17. "I do not praise or approve his not observing Easter at the proper time, either through ignorance of the canonical time appointed, or, if he knew it, being prevailed on by the authority of his nation, not to follow the same."

hominem Scotus Silvicola continuando peregit, donec ad primum Scotum Hiberniensem pervenerat." Constat igitur à Majore Scotos alios, Hibernos seu Hibernienses, alios Britannicos institui.[27]

Hector Boethius, "Fergusium primum Albianorum Scotorum regem vocat," et Scotos suos de ratione quam bellum Pictis inferendum[28] inire deberent consultantes inducit, ac dicentes, "ab Hiberniensibus Scotis cognata gente, unde nobis origo, auxilium ad hoc bellum faciendum acciamus," et in sermonis decursu dicit:[29] "à Ferquardo Fergusium filium ad periculosum bellum ad Albianis Scotis propulsandum in Albionem missum esse, quem Scoti Albioni cum gaudio accipiunt." Additque postea quod "Veremundus memoriæ dederit Scotorum Hispanensium, Hibernicorum, atque Albianorum antiquitates." Alibi etiam dicit quod "Gillus in Hiberniam haud sine magno incolarum favore receptus,[30] facto majorum conventu, multis verbos Albianorum Scotorum injurias est conquestus." Et alio in loco scribit, quod "incolæ in Hibernia,[31] Albionensium Scotorum armis sunt afflicti." Boethii vero sententiæ, Buchananus non segniter inhæret, cujus verba sunt:[32] "Utrique Scoti hoc est, Albienses et Hibernienses." Addens postea quod "regnante Fergusio secundo, magna auxilia Scotorum Hiberniensium missa sunt." Deinde post pauca, litem penitus dirimens subjicit:[33] "Principio cum utrique, id est Hiberniæ incolæ, et coloni eorum in Albium missi Scoti appellarentur, ut discrimine aliquo alteri ab alteris distinguerentur initio cæpere alteri Scoti-hiberni,[34] alteri Scoti Albani vocari, ac paulatim utriusque cognomenta loco nominis usurpata effecerunt,[35] ut vetus nomen Scotorum prope oblivioni daretur, ac non ex usu loquendi, sed Annalium memoria repeteretur."

Tum in sermonem de Scotis opem contra Romanos flagitantibus incidens, pluries eandem distinctionem iterat.[36] "Scoti Albani" inquit "gnari virium Romanorum, et Hiberni Scoti contra Albinos increpare." Postea, "Non deerant ex ipsis Scotis Albinis qui contenderent."[37] Etiam visum "Scotis Hiberniensibus legatos in Britanniam esse mittendos."[38] Denique "Hiberni classem adversus Scotos Albinos emiserunt."

Popularibus suis Leslæus assentitur, seu potius Robertus Turnerus

[27] Lib. 4, c. 11. [28] Lib. 1, p. 4, nu. 10. [29] Ibid. p. 6, nu. 9. [30] Nu. 30. [31] Pag. 11, nu. 80. [32] Lib. 2, p. 27, nu. 20. [33] Ibidem, p. 28. nu. 50. [34] Lib. 1, p. 5. [35] Lib. 2, p. 55. [36] Lib. 4, p. 132. [37] Pag. 132. [38] Lib. 5, p. 166.

clearly of opinion that there were both Irish and British Scots. Hector Boethius styles Fergus "the first king of the Albanian Scots," and represents the Scots deliberating in the following strain on the means of carrying on war against the Picts: "Let us send for aid to the Irish Scots, a kindred tribe, from whom we are descended, that we may carry on this war;" and in the course of his narrative he adds, "that Ferquard sent his son Fergus to Albion to defend the Albanian Scots in a dangerous war, and that they received him with joy." Again "Veremund," he says, "has written the antiquities of the Spanish, Irish and Albanian Scots." In another place, "Gillus went over to Ireland, where he was most warmly received by the inhabitants, and assembling a council of the lords, he made a long harangue, complaining of the injuries of the Albanian Scots." "Finally," he says, "that the inhabitants of Ireland were harassed by the incursions of the Albanian Scots." Buchannan scrupulously follows the opinion of Boethius on this subject, for he speaks of "the two nations of Scots, the Irish and Albanian," adding, moreover, "that in the reign of Fergus II. great numbers of Irish Scots were sent over as auxiliaries." But he settles the question definitively in the following passage: "Both nations, that is, the inhabitants of Ireland, and the colonies sent by them into Albion, were called Scots in the beginning, but a distinction was made between them in course of time, the former being called Irish Scots, the latter Albanian Scots. The distinctive epithets gradually supplanted the original name of Scots, which was almost completely forgotten, in the popular language of modern times, and remembered only in the pages of the annálists."

Again, when he speaks of the application of the Scots for aid against the Romans, he frequently repeats the same distinction. "The Albanian Scots well aware of the power of the Romans," and "the Irish Scots reproached the Albanians." Again, "some even of the Albanian Scots contended." "The Irish Scots resolved to send an embassy to Britain." Finally, "the Irish sent a fleet against the Albanian Scots."

Lesley, or rather Robert Turner, who was undoubtedly the author of that work, follows the opinion of his countrymen. "Simon Braec," he says, "wielded the government of the Scots in Ireland with great

operis illius indubitatus author, his verbis:[39] "administravit Simon Brechus cum maxima laude res Scoticas in Hibernia, per quadraginta annos, etc. Postremo Rothesaius, qui ex Hibernicis Scotis primus in vicinas Albionis insulas appulit, etc., exarsit autem tantisper illud bellum, dum Scoti Albiani robore extenuato ad Scotos in Hibernia, quibus tum Ferguhardus rex imperitabat, pro impetrandis auxiliariis copiis legatos mittunt." Itaque ad labefactandam Conæi assertionem solis suis civibus Scotorum, et Scotiæ nomen suæ patriæ ascribentis, peregrina testimonia non sunt accersenda, cum illam domestica evertant.

Sed ultra scriptores isti nuperi progrediuntur, nec satis habent Sco-
[220] torum et Scotiæ nomen nobis, ac natali nostro solo eripere, nisi etiam | Hibernorum, et Hiberniæ nomen sibi arrogent. Ut quam in nos culpam ob Scotorum, et Scotiæ nomen nobis vendicatum, conferebant, in eandem ipsi inciderint, quod Hibernorum et Hiberniæ nominibus se à priscis authoribus designatos fuisse contendebant. Novæ semper opiniones in falsitatis suspicionem ita veniunt, ut iis nisi accurate discussis, assensus non præbeatur. Hanc autem sententiam è Demsteri, Camerariique cerebris, nostrâ memoriâ enatam, nec per omnem præteriti temporis decursum, à quopiam prolatam, cur quis nisi validissimis stabilitam firmamentis amplectatur non video? Cui vero partitio illa Hiberniæ in Irlandicam et non Irlandicam nunquam post homines natos ante scriptores istos audita admirationem seu potius risum non movebit? aut quis in Beda Hiberniæ mentionem, illa Irlandiæ adjectione præter-

[39] Lib. 1.

[o] To fill vacant space, a letter of pope Zacharias, which deserves a place in the Sylloge Epistolarum, is inserted here. It is addressed to Albuin or Witta, supra, note, an Irishman who had been appointed in 742 bishop of Buraburg, near Fritzlar, in Hesse, by St. Bonifacius. The sees of Wurzburg and Erfurth, subsequently so closely connected with Irish ecclesiastical history, were created at the same time, and their confirmation solicited and granted by the pope.

"Dilectissimo nobis, Wittæ Sanctæ ecclesiæ Barbaranæ Zacharias Papa.

Domino cooperante, et sermonem confirmante, ad dilatandam Christianitatis legem, et orthodoxæ fidei tramitem, ad prædicandum juxta quod prædicat sancta hæc Romana, cui Deo

glory, during forty years, &c. &c. At length, Rothesay, who was the first of the Irish Scots that landed on the islands near Albania, &c. &c. The war had already raged for some time, when the Albanian Scots, finding their forces reduced, sent an embassy for auxiliaries to Ireland, which was then governed by king Ferguhard." His own countrymen therefore are sufficient to refute Coney's identification of Scotia and Scots, with Scotland and Scotchmen. Domestic testimony supersedes the necessity of foreign.[o]

But not content with robbing ourselves and our country of the title of Scots and Scotia, these modern writers go farther and claim for themselves the name of Irishman and of Ireland. The Ireland, and Irishmen of ancient authors, were, they contended, Scotland and Scotchmen: thus they fall into that error of which they say we are guilty in claiming the ancient Scotia and Scots as our own. New opinions, however, are generally suspected, and cannot command assent until their truth has been tested by strict examination. And how any man can embrace this opinion, invented in our times by Camerarius and Dempster, and never even obscurely hinted by any ancient author, I am utterly at a loss to imagine, if the most powerful arguments be not produced in its support. Is it not enough to provoke the amazement or rather ridicule of all, that these men, without any warrant from ancient writers should divide Hibernia into parts—one Irish and the other not Irish? if Beda does not add, "Irelandia" to Hibernia, who would thence infer, that Hibernia in his pages means

auctore præsidemus, ecclesia, innotuit nobis sanctissimus et reverendissimus frater Bonifacius (*sic*) nuper decrevisse et ordinasse in Germaniæ partibus episcopales sedes, ubi præest vestra dilectio, et provinciam in tres divisisse parochias. Quo cognito, cum magna exultatione, extensis ad sidera palmis, illuminatori et datori omnium bonorum Domino Deo et Salvatori nostro Jesu Christo gratias egimus, *qui facit utraque unum*. Flagitavit autem a nobis per suas syllabas jam dictus sanctissimus vir per apostolicam auctoritatem vestras confirmari sedes. Pro quod et nos, ardenti animo, et divino juvamine, auctoritate Beati Petri principis apostolorum, cui data est a Deo et Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo ligandi, solvendique potestas peccata hominum, in cœlo et in terra, confirmamus, atque solidas permanere vestras sedes sancimus episcopales, interdicentes ipsius principis apostolorum auctoritate, a præsenti, omnibus et in

missa fieri perspiciens adducetur, ut credat non Irlandiam nostram sed Albaniam insinuari? quamvis id scriptores isti contentiosissime inculcent? ac præsertim Camerarius[40] qui ad hanc rem datâ operâ persuadendam præ cæteris operosius, quam felicius incubuit. Nam præter aliquot testimonia ex aliquibus authoribus insulse adhibita, plures è Beda locos ejus instituto ut putabat inservientes præpostere congessit, verba Bedæ contra sensum iis ab ipso inditum, alio violentè torquens. Quod ex uno superiori Bedæ loco, tanquam ex ungue leonem, facile lector percipere potest. Ubi S. Laurentius Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, cum coepiscopis suis Mellito, et Justo "non solum novæ," inquit Beda, "quæ de Anglis erat collecta Ecclesiæ curam gerebat,[41] sed et veterum Britanniæ incolarum necnon et Scotorum qui Hiberniam insulam Britanniæ proximam incolunt, populis pastoralem impendere sollicitudinem curabat." Quem locum Camerarius sic interpretatur, ut Hibernia non Irlandiam, ut ille loquitur, sed "Hebrides;" Britannia non insulam Britanniæ universam, sed partem ejus à Britannis insessam denotet: Imo suam Scotiam Britannicam reliquæ Britanniæ continenter inhærentem, et ab ea nullo mari sejunctam, insulam esse contendit; ne aliam hic Beda Hiberniam, quam Albaniam innuisse videretur. Profecto ad summas angustias redactus scriptor iste videtur, qui è genuino, et vulgari sensu voces abducere, et continentem insula mutare cogitur, ut rem à se, vel Demstero primitus excogitatam lectori pro veritate obtruderet.

Certe tam alienos sensus Bedæ verbis affingit, ut clarissimum scriptorem Sphyngem nobis exhibeat, qui adeo involute omnia profert, ut ad ejus sermones percipiendos Oedipus aliquis adhibendus sit. Ita ut

[40] Pag. 271, et seq. editione 1. [41] Lib. 2, c. 4.

futuras generationes, ut nullus audeat contra eandem venire ordinationem, quæ dignante Deo, ex nostra præceptione in vobis facta est. Et hæc interdicentes, ut nullus audeat juxta sanctorum canonum traditionem, ex alio episcopatu ibidem translatari, aut ordinare episcopum post vestram de hoc seculo evocationem nisi is, qui apostolicæ nostræ sedis in illis partibus præsentaverit vicem. Sed nec unus alterius parochias invadere, aut ecclesias subtrahere præsumatis. Nam si, quod non credimus, si quis ille fuerit, qui contra hanc nostram præceptionem temerario ausu venire tentaverit, sciat se æterno Dei judicio, anathematis vinculo esse innoda-

Albania? and yet this is the point on which those writers vehemently insist; Camerarius, especially, who labors at greater length, but with very little success to defend their position. Besides several inappropriate passages from other authors, he heaps together large extracts from Beda, which, in defiance of the plainest language, he wrests into the most distorted interpretations, in the preposterous attempt to prop up his paradox. One passage of Beda, which we have already cited, may serve, like the lion's claw, to expose the workings of our critic. "St. Laurentius, archbishop of Canterbury, and his brother bishops, Mellitus and Justus, extended," says Beda, "their pastoral solicitude, not only to the new church founded among the English, but also to the ancient inhabitants of Britain, and to the nations of the Scots, who inhabited Hibernia, the island near Britain." Camerarius interprets this passage as if Hibernia were the Hebrides, not Ireland; and Britain, not the whole island of Britain, but that part of it which was inhabited by the Britons: nay, he even contends that his own Scotia, though joined to Britain, not separated by any sea, is really an island, and thus proves, to demonstration, that the "Hibernia" of Beda was Albania! Great must have been the difficulty to which this writer was reduced, when he is obliged to change the meaning of words, and metamorphose a continent into an island, before he can palm upon his readers his own or Dempster's dull invention.

So contradictory are his interpretations of Beda, that in his hands that most perspicuous writer becomes a sphynx, enouncing himself so enigmatically that another Œdipus would be required to interpret his

tum. Si quis vero apostolica servaverit præcepta, et normam rectæ et orthodoxæ fidei fuerit assecutus, benedictionis gratiam consequatur. De cætero petimus Divinam clementiam ut confirmet et corroberet hoc quod operatus est Dominus in vobis; et charitas Dei, gratia, et pax vera sit cum spiritu vestro. Sanctissimi et dilectissimi nobis, toto conamine elaborate pro fide Christi, et ad ministerium ejus perficiendum decertate: ut cum egregio Apostolo mereamini dicere: 'bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi. De reliquo reposita est mihi corona justitiæ, quam reddet mihi Dominus in illum diem justus judex.' Salutantes vos in Domino valere optamus. Bene valete. Data Kalend. Aprilis imperante Domino Constantino magno imperatore, anno vicesimo

carmine Martialis Sextum perstringentis, Beda compellandus esse videatur:—

"Scribere te quæ vix intelligat ipse Modestus
Et vix Claranus, quid rogo Sexte juvat.
Non Lectore tuis opus est sed Apolline libris."[43]

Nimirum sensa Bedæ prout à Camerario proponuntur potius à vate aliquo divinabuntur, quam à quovis lectore percipientur. Sed nemo Bedam quam ipse melius exprimet nam: "in ambiguis orationibus sententia spectanda est ejus qui eas protulisset;"[44] Igitur in operis aditu, quam ipse Hiberniam in libri decursu innuat, palam his verbis aperit: "Est autem" inquit: "Hibernia Insula omnium post Britanniam maxima, ad Occidentem quidem Britanniæ sita: sed sicut contra Aquilonem ea brevior, ita et in meridiem se trans illius fines plurimum protendens, usque contra Hispaniæ Septentrionalia, quamvis magno æquore interjacente pervenit." Et multis interjectis, "Hibernia et latitudine sui status, et salubritate, et serenitate aërum multum Britanniæ præstat." Et paulo post: "nullum ibi reptile videri solet, nullus vivere serpens valet."[45]

Quis Bedam de Hiberniâ ullâ ab hac, cujus hic descriptionem ob oculos posuit, diversâ, sermonem instituisse censebit, nullâ præsertim voculâ quâ illam aliam ab hac secerneret appositâ? Quod si vocabulo Hiberniæ duplex notio ita subesset, ut nunc Hiberniam illam à Beda delineatam, quandoque Scotiam Albaniam denotaret, nonne Beda lectori ambagibus, et ænigmatibus non ferendis potius illudere, quam clarâ oratione institutam orationem prosequi putandus esset, qui eandem

[43] Lib. 10. Epig. 21. [44] Masianus titulo de regulis juris lege 96 repetita. [45] Lib. 1, c. 1.

quarto, imperii ejus anno ii. Indictione xi." Sancti Bonifacii, etc. opera omnia. Giles, vol. I., p. 111. Dr. Lanigan had not seen this document. How far the discipline prescribed here on the definite circumscription of dioceses, and on the approbation of bishops at least by their metropolitan, was observed in Albuin's native country, are questions which can hardly ever be answered fully, when even the great point, the number of metropolitan sees in Ireland before the 12th century, is still involved in obscurity. But there can be little doubt, that from the year 925, when

meaning. Thus we might apply to Beda with perfect truth the satiric invective of Martialis against Sextus:

> "Why love to write so darkly, Sextus tell;
> Thy sense Modestus' self can hardly spell,
> Or Claranus: to gods alone your books may sell."

In truth, Beda's meaning, as expounded by Camerarius, would require some seer to interpret them. Certainly, no ordinary reader can understand them. But Beda is his own best interpreter, "for when a sentence is ambiguous, we must look to the intention of the speaker." Now in the very commencement of his book he tells us in plain terms, what is that "Hibernia" of which he speaks, in the course of his work. "Hibernia, which lies to the west of Britain, is the largest island after Britain. For, though it does not stretch so far northwards, its southern shore extends far beyond the line of the British, towards the north of Spain, from which, however, it is separated by a wide sea." Many passages farther on he says "that Hibernia is far superior to Britain, both in its geographical position, and in the salubrity and mildness of its climate." Again, "no reptile is ever seen there; no serpent can live in it."

Now can any man imagine that the "Hibernia" of Beda's works is not this which he so vividly describes, especially when he never gives the least intimation that he speaks of any other? If the word "Hibernia" could have two meanings, now designating the "Hibernia" which he described, and then Albanian Scotia, would not Beda puzzle and embarrass his readers, so far from giving a plain statement of the substance of his narrative? would it not be an intolerable abuse to use the same word for quite different objects, without the least distinctive mark of the two significations? Whenever the word "Hibernia,"

the see of Ardmacha became the exclusive appanage of one family for 200 years, the strict observance of the canons in the institution of bishops could hardly be expected in other sees. Villaneuva has collected some useful, but not always correct, information on the election of bishops, in that church with which St. Patrick was best acquainted, appendix iii., "antiquitus in Gallia episcopi eligebantur a clero et populo, ita ut tamen ad has electiones vocarentur *sæpe* metropolitanus et comprovinciales episcopi." Gallia Christiana, Tom. i. Præf. 2. If only *sæpe*, not always.

[221] vocem ad res absimiles | indicandas omni discriminis notâ prætermissâ adhibuerit? Hibernia igitur in oratione, solitaria, et sine addito collocata genuinam potius significationem, quam ascititiam istam referret. Nam ut vere Dialectici loquuntur: "Analogum per se positum, pro famosiori significato sumitur." Vel Analogum pro se sumptum monstrat famosius significatum. Sed ut tenebræ quas scriptori maximè perspicuo homines isti offuderunt penitus amoveantur; neminem à ratione adeo alienum esse judico, qui diffiteri audebit eam Hiberniam in quam superior descriptio magis quadret, à Beda hic et in opere toto innui. Cum autem Hiberniæ nostræ maximè sit illa descriptio accommodata, et ab Albaniâ prorsus aliena, necessaria consecutio est, ubicumque in Hiberniæ mentionem Beda incidit, Hiberniam nostram, non Scotiam Albanicam ab eo designatam fuisse.

Multis autem titulis ab hac descriptione Scotiam Britannicam excludi perspicuum est. Illa imprimis "insula non est," utpote quæ in salo non est, nec salo ambitur.[46] Illam enim continenti "angustum illud terræ spatium" Glottam, et Bodotriam dirimens annectit. Deinde si esset insula, "non est insula post Britanniam maxima," quæ magnitudine Hiberniæ multis parasingis cædit. Nec est "ad Occidentem Britanniæ sita," sed ipsius Britanniæ Septentrionalis pars. Nec meridionalis Scotiæ Britannicæ plaga ad "Septentrionales Hispaniæ regiones," ut Hibernia, magno æquore interjacente tendit. Nec eadem Scotia et "latitudine sui status, et salubritate, ac serenitate aërum multum Britanniæ" ut Hibernia, "præstat" Nec "cœli, solique temperie magis utilis quam Britannia,"[47] ut Hiberniam esse scribit Orosius. Imo Hector Boethius asserit: "Britannos partem Britanniæ potiorem, fertilioremque obtinuisse, Scotos vero minus fœcundam, magisque montuosam, ac saltibus asperam."[48] Et Pauli Jovii verba sunt: "Scotia ubertate, culturaque Angliæ facile cædit. Est enim pluribus in locis obsita saxis, arboribus glabra, passimque obsessa palustribus aquis, ferendis vitibus infelix."[49] Cum tamen Beda scribat: "Hiberniam vinearum non fuisse expertem." Huc accedit quod "in Hibernia

[46] Camdenus, p. 698. [47] Lib. 1, c. 2, in defer. Scotiæ. [48] In defer. Scotiæ
[49] Lib. 1, c. 1.

therefore, occurs unqualified, and unrestricted, it must be taken in its natural, not in an adventitious signification. For, according to an axiom of dialectics, "an analogous term, standing by itself, must be taken in its more common signification," or "an analogous term standing by itself, indicates its more common signification." But the mists, in which those writers endeavour to wrap the meaning of one of the most perspicuous authors that ever wrote, must disappear before one simple fact, namely, that no man can be so mad as to imagine that there is any "Hibernia" in any part of Beda's works to which the preceding description appears more faithfully applicable than to Ireland? Now the description being strictly applicable to Ireland, and totally inapplicable to Albania, it necessarily follows, that whenever Beda mentions Hibernia, he means our Ireland, not Albanian Scotia.

There are many features in that description totally inapplicable to Britannic Scotia. First, it is not an island; for it is not in the sea, nor surrounded by the sea. It is connected with the main land by that narrow neck which separates Glotta (Clyde) from Bodotria (Frith of Forth). Secondly, supposing it were an island, it is not next to Britain in size: for in extent it is many parasangs inferior to Ireland: neither does it lie to the west of Britain, "but it is, in fact, the northern portion of Britain." The southern shores of Britannic Scotia do not strike out into that wide sea, separating them, like those of Ireland, "from the northern shores of Spain." The same Scotia "does not enjoy, like Ireland, a superiority over Britain, in geographical position, and in salubrity and mildness of climate." "Its soil, its climate, its temperature, are not more genial than those of Britain," as Orosius described Ireland. On the contrary, Hector Boethius himself acknowledges that "the Britons held the larger and the more fertile portion of Britain, while the territory of the Scots was less fertile, defaced with craggy mountains and rugged forests." Paulus Jovius also writes, "that neither in fertility nor in cultivation, could Scotland compare with England; for in many places it is strewn with rock, and hideous with forests, and generally swamped with fens and marshes, and never could grow the vine," though Beda says, "that the vine was not unknown in Ireland." Then, no reptile was ever seen in Ireland, "no serpent could live there;" but Scotland, like all other

nullum reptile videri soleat, nullus vivere serpens valeat," cum Albaniam omne genus anguium,[50] ac venenatorum animalium non secus ac reliquas Europæ regiones infestet.[51] Præterea, "Hiberniam extra fines omnes Britanniæ" Beda collocat. Scotia Britannica intra fines Britanniæ continetur. Itaque Beda in ipso Historiæ vestibulo proposuisse de industria videtur quo sensu in ejusdem historiæ progressu, Hiberniæ vocem usurpaturus esset. Ut Camerarius judex iniquissimus fuerit, qui scriptorem apertissimum amphibologiis, et ludificationibus agere, et vocabula in alias atque alias significationes, per varios saltus, nullo mutationis indicio apposito, transferre, ac significationem vocibus diversam ab eâ quam primo instituit, tanquam bovi clitellas adaptare censuerit. Perinde ac si conquereretur in ecclesiastico primæ notæ historico potissimum historici officium à peritissimis historiæ condendæ magistris præscriptum desiderari. Quorum prima fere præceptio est, ut historiam scribere aggressuri verba semper adhibeant clara, usitata, minime perplexa, propria, quæ rem maxime declarent, quæque facile intelligantur; non aliena, inusitata, et extra loquendi consuetudinem posita. Quippe diluciditas cùm in omnibus, tum in rerum narratione potissimum est necessaria. Efficiendum igitur est, ut historiæ dictio plana sit, et ab omnibus intelligatur, ut ab hac artis Historicæ regulâ Beda plurimum aberrasse dicendus sit, qui Proteo mutabilior eandem dictionem (si fides istis adhibenda sit) una significationis formâ nunc, aliâ mox induat.

Quod si æquus rerum æstimator locos hosce, quos hic subjungo è Beda, depromptos inter se collatos consideratione paulo accuratiore percurrat, per me licet ut decernat Scotiamnè Britannicam Hiberniæ, an Hiberniam Scotiæ nomine Beda in opere suo afficiat.[52] "Supervenit,"

[50] Lib. 1, c. 1. [51] Ibidem. [52] Lib. 3, c. 19.

[p] St. Fursa is one of the very few Irish saints, famous on the continent, whose name occurs in our domestic annals. It is the only one found in the annals of Innisfallen. The Four Masters in the same manner mention only a few; and more strange still, Tighearnach and the annals of Ulster, though chronicling many foreign events, especially the succession of

countries in Europe, is infested with snakes and poisonous animals of all kinds. Moreover, Beda describes Ireland as being outside all the boundaries of Britain, but Britannic Scotia is within the boundaries of Britain. Is it not evident, then, that in the very commencement of his history Beda characterizes beyond the possibility of misconception, "the Hibernia" which was to occur so frequently in his pages? A most unjust interpreter this Camerarius must have been to distort the pages of a most lucid historian, by amphibologies and quibbles; to torture the same words into different significations, by pure caprice, without the slightest indication of any change of meaning—in a word, to put a saddle on an ox, by affixing to terms a meaning totally different from that in which he had at first declared he would use them. What is this but to assert that an ecclesiastical historian of the first rank was grossly ignorant of the first principles prescribed by the best critics on historical compositions? The first of those principles is, that whoever undertakes to write a history should use clear and common words, in their plain and proper sense, exactly suited to their subject, and easily understood, but never words strange, or inappropriate, or opposed to the usage of the language. Perspicuity is essential in all compositions, but in none more than in history. If therefore the diction of the historian must be plain and easily understood, Beda, as interpreted by these writers, must have offended grossly against the rules of historical composition, and been more fickle than Proteus himself, by giving the same word in different places so many different significations.

Let any candid judge weigh dispassionately, and compare the following passages, which I transcribe from Beda, and then I leave himself to decide whether Beda does not call "Hibernia" "Scotia," and never calls Albanian Scotia, "Hibernia," in the course of his work. "There came," he says, "from Hibernia a holy man named Fursey,[p]

the popes, observe the same silence. Precious though those annals undoubtedly are, who that ever perused them does not wish that an Irish Beda had left us a history of the three first centuries of his church. There remain but few records even of early synods, though it is clear many such must have been held, as the Irish ecclesiastics knew well the church law regard-

inquit Beda, "de Hibernia vir sanctus nomine Fursæus verbo, et actibus clarus, sed egregiis insignis virtutibus, cupiens pro Domino, ubicumque sibi opportunum inveniret peregrinam ducere vitam." Et multis interjectis: "Erat autem vir iste de nobilissimo genere Scotorum." Hiber-
[222] niam utique illi | patriam esse indicat, cum eum alibi extra Hiberniam diversantem "peregrinari" affirmat.[53] Et Fursæum Baronius "Hibernum" nominatim appellat, utpote quem "Philtanus Hiberniæ rex" (Hectorem Boethium audis) "ex Galgete uxore Scotorum regibus prognatâ susceperat." Cui omnes vitæ Fursæi scriptores, aliique plurimi authores concordi assensu accinunt.[54] Beda vero res à Fursæo gestas in Hibernia, unde peregre profectus est, denuo in capitis ejusdem progressu attingens: "Ut ad superioia" inquit "redeamus; multis annis in Scotia verbum Dei omnibus annuntians, tumultus irruentium turbarum non facile ferret, relictis omnibus quæ habere videbatur, ab ipsa quoque insula patria discesssit."[55]

Pari ratione Beda scribit: "anno incarnationis Dominicæ 565 venisse de Hibernia presbyterum, et Abbatem habitu, et vita monachi insignem, nomine Columbam, Britanniam prædicaturum verbum Dei provinciis Septentrionalium Pictorum." Et eandem rem postea contractius referens,[56] "anno" inquit "quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto, Columba de Scotia venit Britanniam ad docendos Pictos."

Deinde idem Beda de Paschatis disputatione narrationem instituens, capiti hunc titulum præfixit:[57] "Ut quæstio sit mota de tempore Paschæ adversus eos qui de Scotia venerunt." Et ipsi sequenti capiti bis Scotiæ mentionem inserit, Scotiæ nomine toties iterato, non Albaniam, sed Hiberniam citra dubium innuens. Nam ad Hiæ insulam Scotiæ nomen

[53] Lib. 9, p. 176, nu [54] Colganus 16 Janu. [55] Lib. 3, c. 4. [56] In Epitome. [57] Lib. 3, c. 25.

ing their frequent convocation, and urged other churches to observe it. St. Columbanus thus addresses the Gallican bishops: "Utinam sæpius hæc ageretis; et licet juxta canones semel aut bis in anno præ tumultuosis hujus ævi dissensionibus semper sic servare vos non vacat, vel quam celerrime, quamvis rarius potissimum hoc debuit vobis inesse studium." Bibliotheca Max. Patrum Tom. xii. p. 25. Again how suggestive of lost

eminent in word and work, but his great virtues having attracted universal admiration, he resolved, for the glory of God, to live as a hermit, whenever he could find a favorable retreat." Then considerably farther on he adds "this man was of the noblest family of the Irish." Ireland, therefore, must have been his native country, since he is represented as an exile when he leaves it. Baronius, also, expressly calls Fursa an Irishman, because (as Hector Boethius says) he was son of Philtan, king of Ireland, and of Galges, who was also of the royal race of the Scots. All other biographers of Fursa and many other writers are of the same opinion; and Beda, after having described the life of St. Fursa in Ireland, returns to the subject in the course of the same chapter, in the following terms: "but to resume our subject," he says, "after having announced the word of God to all, during many years in Ireland, he could no longer bear the crowds that thronged around him; and abandoning all that he seemed to possess, he at last abandoned his country itself."

The following similar passage is taken from that author: "In the year 565, Columba, a priest and abbot, eminent for all the virtues of the monastic state, came from Hibernia into Britain to preach the word of God in the territory of the northern Picts." The same fact is afterwards recorded more briefly: "in the year 565, Columba came from Scotia to Britain to teach the Picts."

Again, when Beda gives a history of the Paschal controversy, he prefixes this title to the chapter: "How a controversy was raised on the celebration of Easter against those who came from Scotia;" and in the following chapter, Scotia occurs twice, and on both occasions evidently designates Ireland not Albania. Scotia could not refer to the isle of I, which then belonged not to the Scots, but to the Picts[q] of

learning, and of its confidence too, are his words to pope Gregorius defending the Irish pasch: "Scias namque nostris magistris, et Hibernicis antiquis philosophis, et sapientissimis componendi calculis computariis, Victorium non fuisse receptum, sed magis risu vel venia dignum, quam auctoritate."

[q] Dr. Lanigan, ii. p. 156, Ussher and O'Flaherty contend, on the authority of ancient Irish annalists, that Iona was a Scottish island at the period of Columba's arrival, and was granted to him by his kinsman Con-

referri non potuit, ut quâ tum non Scoti, sed Picti potiebantur: illâ nimirum "donatione Pictorum qui illas Britanniæ plagas incolunt, jamdudum monachis Scotorum traditâ,[58] eo quod illis prædicantibus, fidem Christi perceperunt." S. enim Columba "prædicavit verbum Dei Provinciis Septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est eis qui arduis, atque horrentibus montium jugis ab Australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestrati." Hinc Camdenus scripsit: "Has regiones et ulteriores, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 605 tenuerunt Picti, quos Septentrionales Pictos vocat Beda."[59] Præterea cum Boethius, et Buchananus scripserint bella tum inter Pictos, et Scotos Britanniæ exarsisse, nullam verisimilitudinem habet Scotis hostibus cœnobium in suo sinu Pictos contulisse, ac proinde Hienses Scoti non ex Albania, sed ex Hibernia in Hiam commigrarunt.[60] Regionem igitur illam hic Scotia denotat, unde in Britanniam Colmanus concessit. At quænam illa tandem regio est? Illa profecto, ad quam se postquam causa ceciderat recepit, Hibernia scilicet ut Beda multis indicat, qui in titulo capitis 26, lib. 3, dicit: "Colmanum victum domum rediisse," et in capitis contextu, "Scotiam regressum fuisse;" Et postea, "reverso in patriam Colmano;" et deinde, "abiens domum Colmanus" inquit, "qui de Scotia erat Episcopus, reliquit Britanniam."[61] Et infra: "Secessit ad insulam quandam parvam quæ ad Occidentalem plagam ab Hibernia procul secreta sermone Scotico Innisbovin, id est, insula vaccæ albæ nuncupatur: in hanc ergo perveniens, construxit monasterium, et monachos ibi collocavit." Et paucis interjectis, "Colmanus invenit locum in Hibernia insula aptum monasterio construendo, qui linguâ Scotorum Magio nominatur et constructo statim monasterio, Anglos ibidem collocavit, relictis in

[58] Ibidem, c. 3, in fine. [59] Ibid. c. 40. [60] Pagina 707, in lorna. [61] Lib. 4, c. 4.

nall. Beda, on the contrary, a much more ancient authority, and the Saxon Chronicle, assert that it belonged to the Picts. Ussher's argument that the island was too far from the Pictish territory, appears to suppose the very point in dispute; for where is the improbability of supposing that in the year 563–5, when St. Columba arrived, and only eighteen years after Ina had commenced to found the Northumbrian kingdom on

that tract of Britain, who had not long since granted it to Scottish monks, who had converted them to the faith." For St. Columba "preached the word of God in the provinces of the northern Picts, namely, those who were separated from their southern countrymen by a ridge of high and craggy mountains." Hence Camden writes: "that in the year 605 these mountainous tracts and the territory beyond them were occupied by those whom Beda calls the northern Picts." Moreover, as war was at this period raging between the Picts and British Scots, it is highly improbable that the Picts would grant the site of a monastery in the heart of their territory, to their enemies the Scots. The Scots of I, therefore, must have emigrated not from Albania, but Ireland. Scotia is then evidently that country from which Colman emigrated to Britain. Now what country was that? the same unquestionably to which he returned, after the decision was given against him, that is Ireland, as appears from several passages of Beda. Thus in the title of the 26th chap. lib. 3, "that Colman after the unfavorable decision returned home;" and in the chapter itself "that he returned to Scotia;" again "Colman having returned to his country;" next, "Colman, who was a bishop from Scotia, left Britain and returned home;" further on, "he retired to a small island, called in Irish 'Inisbofin,' that is the island of the white cow, which lies far out in the ocean on the western coast of Ireland. Settling there, he erected a monastery and peopled it with his monks." He also adds, "Colman found in Ireland an eligible site for a monastery, which in Irish is called Magio, and having erected an establishment there for the English,[r] he left the Irish in Inisbofin." Now, Inisbofin, every one

the ruins of Picts and Britons, the territory of the Northern Picts may not have extended to Iona, especially as the Scots, the kinsmen of St. Columba, had not at that time been a full century in Scotland.

[r] The cause assigned for the foundation of a separate establishment for the English reminds one of a theme on which modern politicians of a certain class display much indignant eloquence, with far less grounds, however, than the case of the old Saxon pilgrims supplied: "The two nations did not agree among themselves in the same monastery, by reason that the Scots, in the summer season, when the harvest was to be brought in, leaving the monastery, wandered about through places with which they were

præfata insula Scotis." Innisbofinnia vero Connaciæ Occidentali adjacere; Mayo (à quo comitatus de Mayo nomen mutuatur) haud multum procul in Hiberniæ continenti sita esse perspicitur. Ut aërem verberet qui aliam Scotiam hic à Beda indicari contendat, quam Hiberniam ad quam Colmanus ex Britannia trajecit, et in Innisbofinniæ insula monasterium, an. Dom. 667 (ut annales nostri referunt) condidit, ac tandem anno post Christum natum 674 animam efflavit. Rem totam in hujus capitis titulo Beda paucis complexus est dicens: "Ut Colmanus Episcopus relicta Britannia, duo monasteria, unum Scotis, alterum Anglis quos secum adduxerat fecit," duo autem illa monasteria, unum in Innisbofinnia Scotis, alterum Mayoense Anglis conditum fuisse, in capitis contextu memorat. Quæ cum sint in Hibernia, nihil clarius quam Hiberniam Scotiænomine hic à Beda designari.

Aliud quoque perspicuum documentum Scotiæ nomen à Beda, Hiberniæ tribui, caput 25, lib. III. subministrat, ubi Wilfridus presbyter inter disceptandum hæc verba protulit. "Pascha omnem orbem, quacunque Christi Ecclesia diffusa est, per diversas nationes, et linguas,
[223] uno et non diverso temporis ordine geri comperimus, | præter hos" (Scotos) "tantum, et obstinationis eorum complices, Pictos dico et Britones, cum quibus de duabus ultimis Oceani insulis, his non totis, contra totum orbem stulto labore pugnant." Ubi advertas velim, tres nationes Scotos, Pictos et Britones, in præposteri Paschatis colendi societate conjunctos fuisse; hasque tres gentes "duas ultimas Oceani insulas" incoluisse. Pictos autem et Britones, Britanniæ semper incolas fuisse nemo diffitebitur. Quis igitur tam est oculis captus, qui non clare perspicit, et alteram è duabus insulis Hiberniam hic innui, et ei pro indigenis Scotos tribui?

acquainted, but returned again the next winter, and would have what the Engiish provided to be in common." The rule "ex uno disce," &c. &c., however, does not apply here, as Beda does full justice to the openhanded liberality of the Irish generally to their Saxon guests. Those rambling Irish monks disobeyed St. Patrick's canon xxxiv. "monachus inconsulto abbate vagulus debet vindicari."

[a] Cummian had spoken in a similar strain of the absurd obstinacy of his countrymen, "qui sunt pene extremi, et (ut ita dicam) *mentagræ* orbis ter-

knows, lies near the western shore of Connacht: and Mayo, which gives its name to the County of Mayo, is situate not far distant on the mainland of Ireland, so that it is ridiculous to contend that the Scotia mentioned by Beda can be any other than that Ireland from which Colman passed over into Britain, and near which he founded a monastery in the island of Inisbofin, in the year 667, according to our annals, and where he breathed his last in the year 670. Beda states the whole matter in a few words in the title of this chapter: "how bishop Colman, after leaving Britain, erected two monasteries, one for the Irish, and another for the English whom he brought with him." He then relates in the body of the chapter, that the monastery of Inisbofin was erected for the Irish, and that of Mayo for the Saxons; and as both establishments were in Ireland, can there be any doubt that Ireland is the Scotia mentioned by Beda?

Chap. 25, lib. 3, supplies another evident proof that by Scotia Beda means Ireland, for in the course of the controversy, Wilfrid, the priest, is introduced as speaking thus: "throughout the whole world, wherever the Catholic church is diffused, among different tribes and tongues, the Pasch, we know, is celebrated according to one uniform style, except among these alone, and the accomplices in their obstinacy—the Picts, I mean, and Britons—who conspire with them in setting a part of two of the remotest isles of the ocean in infatuated opposition to the whole world."[s] Remark here, I pray you, that three nations are distinctly mentioned as celebrating the Pasch according to an unlawful rite, namely, the Picts, Scots, and Britons, and that they were the inhabitants of two of the most remote isles of the ocean. Now, as no person denies that the Britons and Picts were always inhabitants of Britain,[t] can any person close his eyes to the fact, that the second island mentioned must have been Ireland, and that its inhabitants were the Scots?

rarum." Sylloge. Ep. 28.

[t] Beda expressly states that the Picts were a "transmarina gens," and that they came directly from Ireland. Many additional evidences could be produced to prove the opinion so often advanced in these notes, that the Picts of Britain, the Cruithne and Irians of Ireland, were the same family of Celts under different names. For instance, "Maelcaeich, son of Scannal, chief of the *Cruithne, of the race of Ir*, died." Four Masters, A.D. 665.

Huic simillimus est alius Bedæ locus narrantis, "Wilfridum"[u] cum anno salutis 679 "Papa Agatho Synodum congregaret Romæ,[62] centum viginti quinque Episcoporum, inter Episcopos consedisse, et in Synodi gestis scriptum fuisse hoc modo: Wilfridus Deo amabilis Episcopus Eboracensis civitatis, pro omni Aquilonari parte Britanniæ, et Hiberniæ insulis, quæ ab Anglorum, et Britonum, nec non Scotorum, et Pictorum gentibus incoluntur, veram et Catholicam fidem confessus est, et conscriptione sua roboravit." Ubi plane ostendit, sicut Britanniam ab Anglis, Britannis et Pictis, sic Hiberniam â Scotis inhabitari.

Huc etiam apposite spectat, ista Bedæ oratio: "Septentrionalis," inquit, "Scotorum provincia illo adhuc tempore Paschæ dominicam à quartadecima luna usque ad vicesimam celebrabat." Et postea, "Porro gentes Scotorum, quæ in Australibus Hiberniæ insulæ morabantur, jamdudum ad admonitionem Apostolicæ sedis Antistitis Pascha canonico ritu observare didicerunt." Ut videas à Beda Scotos in Borealibus, et Australibus Hiberniæ regionibus collocari; et alibi, Australes Hibernos rectum Paschatis observandi morem imbibisse narrans, sicut hic Hiberniæ, sic ibi Scotiæ nomen adhibet: "Præterea, "Famulus," inquit, "Christi Tuda erat apud Scotos Austrinos eruditus, atque ordinatus Episcopus, habens juxta morem provinciæ illius coronam tonsuræ Ecclesiasticæ,[63] et Catholicam temporis Paschalis regulam observans, venerat de Scotia, tenente adhuc pontificatum Colmano." Bedam igitur vides rem eandem exprimentem, primum Hiberniæ, deinde Scotiæ

[62] Lib. 5. c. 20. [63] Lib. 3, c. 26.

[u] Though Wilfrid testified that all those nations held the same faith, and admitted the same authority in the church, he did not consider that they were inculpable in resisting that authority. "I do believe that they (St. Columba and his disciples), if any Catholic adviser had come among them, would have as readily followed his admonitions, as they are known to have kept those commandments of God, which they had learned and knew; but as for you and your companions, you certainly sin, if having heard the decrees of the apostolic see, and of the universal church, and that the same is confirmed by holy writ: for though your fathers were holy, do you think that their small number, in a corner of the remotest island, is to

A similar passage occurs in Beda's description of "the synod assembled at Rome under pope Agatho in the year 679, at which Wilfrid, with 125 other bishops, assisted." The following statement is found in the acts of the synod: "Wilfrid, beloved of God, bishop of the city of York, confessed the true and Catholic faith[u] for all the northern part of Britain, and the islands of Ireland, which are inhabited by the English and Britons, and also the Picts and Scots, and confirmed said profession by his signature." He thus plainly attests, "that as Britain was inhabited by Britons, English, and Picts, Ireland was inhabited by Scots."

Another passage of Beda conveys the same meaning. "Even at that time," he says, "the northern province of the Scots celebrated Easter Sunday from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon." And again, "but the nations of the Scots who inhabited the southern part of Ireland had long since conformed to the canonical site of Easter on the admonition of the apostolic see." He thus distinguishes clearly between the Scots, inhabitants of the north, and those inhabiting the south of Ireland, and as he there calls Ireland Hibernia, he calls it likewise Scotia in another passage recording the conformity of the southern Irish to the right mode of celebrating Easter. "Tuda," he says, "a servant of Christ, was educated and consecrated bishop by the southern Scots. He wore the ecclesiastical tonsure[v] according to the custom of that province, and in the celebration of Easter observed the Catholic rule. He had arrived in Britain during Colman's episcopacy." Thus, in narrating the same fact, Beda uses first the term Hibernia, and then Scotia, thus placing

be preferred before the universal church of Christ, throughout the world? and if that Columba of yours (and I may say ours also, if he was Christ's servant) was a holy man and powerful in miracles, yet could he be preferred before the most blessed prince of the apostles, to whom our Lord said, 'thou art Peter, and on this rock,' &c. &c." Beda, lib. iii., c. 25.

[v] Some writers have been very facetious on the disputes between holy men regarding the cut of their hair, yet can see no absurdity in the attention bestowed by grave Anglo-Irish senators on a similar subject which supplied the Irish statute book with many enactments.

nomine usum fuisse. Ut extra controversiam positum sit, Hiberniam, et Scotiam eodem sensu apud Bedam gaudere.

Quæ res è Beda liquidius adhuc, et exploratius haurietur, si sequentes Bedæ locos cogitatione quis attentius evolverit:[64] "anno" (inquit) "Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo octogesimo quarto, Egfridus rex Nordanhumbrorum misso Hiberniam cum exercitu duce Berto, vastavit misere gentem, etc.," clade autem ab illo sequenti anno relatâ, injuriæ hujus Hibernis irrogatæ, pœnas eum dedisse narrans; "quomodo" inquit, "anno præcedente noluerat audire reverendissimum patrem Egbertum, ne Scotiam nihil se lædentem impugnaret, datum est illi, ex pœna peccati illius, ne nunc eos qui ipsum ab interitu revocare cupiebant audiret." Annales autem nostri bellum illud Hibernis illatum narratione verbis Bedæ maxime conformi prosequuntur: etenim ejus verba sunt: "Vastavit miserè gentem innoxiam, et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita ut nec Ecclesiis quidem aut monasteriis manus parceret hostilis. At insulani in quantum valuere armis arma repellebant." Annalium vero sensus ita se habet. Campus Breagh amænissimus in Midiæ, Kildariæque confinio ager à Saxonibus (eo etiamnum nomine Anglos Hiberni compellant) ita mense Junio vastatus est, ut Ecclesiæ eandem direptionis sortem quam fundi profani subierint, hostibus multa spolia in naves, et multos mortales in captivitatem abducentibus, licet annales vastationem hanc in annum salutis 683 referant. Epocham enim communem, ut rectè Usherus observavit, uno anno prævertunt.[65]

Porro Hectoris Boethii apertissimus error, non est hic silentio præferendus, qui Egbertum illum signa cum Scotis, Eugenio V. rege conferentem "in acie cecidisse" falso scribit, cum Beda dicat: post Edanum "regem Scotorum qui Britanniam inhabitant," ab Edilfrido Nordunhumbrorum rege "anno ab incarnatione Domini 603" fusum, "ex eo tempore quenquam regum Scotorum in Britanniam adversus gentem Anglorum venire ausum non fuisse." Beda vero scribendi, et [224] vivendi finem sub annum à Christo nato 730 fecit. |

Sed iterum ad annales redeo qui memorant S. Adamnanum

[64] Lib 4, c. 26. [65] Lib. 9, p. 179, nu. 10.

beyond the possibility of doubt, that with him Scotia and Hibernia were synonymous.

But the same fact becomes, if possible, still more clear and palpable, from an attentive consideration of the following passages: "In the year 648, Egfrid, king of Northumbria, sent an army into Ireland under the command of Berta, and savagely plundered the people, &c. &c.;" but the king, having suffered a great defeat the following year, is represented in the history as justly punished by heaven for the injuries inflicted on the Irish. "As he would not listen last year to the admonition of the most reverend father Egbert, who conjured him not to harm the unoffending Irish, he was doomed now in punishment of that sin, not to hear those who strove to save him from ruin." Our own annals record that invasion in terms strikingly similar to those of Beda. He says, "so cruelly did the king ravage that unoffending country, which had always been most friendly to the English nation, that the fury of war spared neither church nor monastery. The islanders spared no exertion in defending themselves by arms against all the arms of the enemy." The substance of the account in the annals is, "that the plain of Breagh, a most delightful tract on the borders of Kildare, was laid waste in the month of June by the Saxons (the name still given to the English by the Irish), who had no more respect for the churches themselves, than for the lay lands, but plundered all, and carried off to their ships enormous spoils and a great number of captives." The event is assigned to the year 683, but our annals, as Ussher observes, anticipate by one year, the common era.

We cannot pass over a flagrant error of Hector Boethius, who says, that this king Egbert (Egfrid) who was slain in a battle fought against Eugenius the V., king of the Scots, though Beda informs us, that from the defeat of Aidan, king of the Scots, who inhabit north Britain, by Edilfrid, king of the Northumbrians in the year 603, no king of the British Scots ever ventured to make war against the English nation. Now Beda died about the year of our Lord 730.

But returning again to the annals, we find that in the following year St. Adamnan went to the north of England to recover the spoils and captures taken by the English. He was kindly received, and, after performing some miracles publicly, obtained his request. Beda also

Angliam septentrionalem anno sequenti concessisse, ut spolia Hibernis anno superiori ablata, et captivos ab Anglis impetraret, à quibus honorificè exceptus, post miracula in omnium oculis edita, quæ postulabat retulit. Hujus itineris Beda meminit dicens:[66] "Adamnanum presbyterum et Abbatem legationis gratia missum à sua gente, ad Alfridum regem Anglorum venisse." Additque illum "aliquandiu in ea provincia moratum;" Romanos ritus in Paschate colendo amplexum, et monachos Hienses "ad veritatis callem perducere" conatum, id præstare non valuisse. "Navigavit itaque" (subdit Beda) "Hiberniam, et prædicans eis, ac modesta oratione declarans legitimum Paschæ tempus plurimos eorum, et pene omnes, qui ab Hiensium erant dominio liberi, ab errore correctos, ad unitatem reduxit Catholicam, ac legitimum Paschæ tempus observare perdocuit, et celebrato in Hibernia canonico Pascha, ad suam insulam revertit." Hinc Beda in initio hujus capitis dixit: "plurimam partem Scotorum in Hibernia rationabile, et Ecclesiasticum Paschalis observantiæ tempus suscepisse." Vides itaque Bedam in hoc capite ter eidem narrationi Hiberniæ mentionem inseruisse, ut nullus dubitandi locus relinqueretur nostram ab illo Hiberniam innui, et eandem Hiberniam alibi Scotiam nuncupari. Coelfrido Abbate hanc rem denuo narrante:[67] "Adamnanus" (inquit) "reversus ad Scotiam multas postea gentis ejusdem turbas, ad Catholicam temporis Paschalis observantiam sua prædicatione correxit."

Quod si tam locupletibus testimoniis Hiberniam solam Scotiæ nomen olim retulisse non constaret, ratio ipsa evinceret hodiernam Scotiam ea tum denominatione affectam non fuisse, utpote quæ non à Scotis tunc, sed partim ab Anglis, partim à Pictis plerumque insessa fuerit. Percurre parumper cogitatione omnes hodiernæ Scotiæ regiones, et à me veritatem stare liquidò deprehendes.

[66] Lib. 5, c. 16. [67] Beda, lib. 5, c. 22.

[w] From veneration for their founder St. Columba. They never cite the authority of St. Patrick; and Cummian expressly asserts, that their cycle was not that which had been introduced by St. Patrick. Sylloge,

records this visit: "Adamnan, a priest and abbot, was sent ambassador by his countrymen to Alfrid, king of the English;" he also adds: "that he remained some time in the country," embraced the Roman cycle in the observance of Easter, and endeavoured, but without effect, to bring back the monks of I[w] to the path of truth. "He returned, therefore," continued Beda, "to Ireland, and by preaching and expounding in mild and temperate terms the legitimate cycle of Easter, many, indeed, almost all except those under the jurisdiction of I,[x] renounced their error, and returned to Catholic unity. Having taught them the true cycle of Easter, and celebrated that festival canonically in Ireland, he returned to his own island."[y] To this Beda refers, in the commencement of the same chapter, "that the majority of the Scots in Ireland had conformed to the proper canonical time for keeping Easter." Three times, therefore, in the same chapter, and narrating the same fact, Beda mentions Hibernia, whence there can be no doubt that he means our Ireland, and that it is the same as the "Scotia" of other passages in his work. Ceolfrid, the abbot, when relating the same fact, says, "that Adamnan, after his return to Scotia, converted great numbers of his countrymen to the Catholic observance of the Paschal time."

Were this abundant evidence insufficient to prove that Ireland alone was called Scotia in ancient times, common sense itself shows that modern Scotland could not have that name, being inhabited then not by the Scots, but partly by the English, principally by the Picts. Follow me for one moment through all the divisions of modern Scotland, and you can have no doubt of the truth of my assertion.

Ep. p. 32. Ussher, it is true, with whom Lanigan agrees, maintains, that in reality St. Patrick's and St. Columba's cycle were the same. Ecc. Hist. vol. ii. 382. If they were, this much at least is certain, that the most learned Irish disputant of the age *believed* they were not. It may be observed here, that Cummian who cites Ailbhe simply as "episcopus," styles St. Patrick "Papa noster," a title which for some time before had been commencing to be reserved to the bishop of Rome.

[x] Improbable therefore, that the monks of St. Columba's famous monastery of Durmaigh, had been as Dr. Lanigan conjectured, induced to adopt the Roman method by Cummian, author of the Paschal epistle.

[y] This occurred in the year 704, sixty-four years after the letter of pope Honorius on the subject.

Ac primum vastus ille tractus à Fluvio Tweda ad Glottam et Bodotriam pertingens, hodiernæ Scotiæ portio longe præstantissima, in Anglorum ditione, et Berniciorum regno positus erat. Quod cum è pluribus Bedæ locis, tum ex his potissimum elicitur. Ecclesiam Sancti Martini Episcopalem, S. Nennii sedem "jam nunc Anglorum gens obtinet,[68] qui locus ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinens vulgo vocatur ad Candidam Casam."[69] Porro Candidam Casam intra hodiernæ Scotiæ fines versari quis non videt? Abercornia hodiernæ Scotiæ regionibus annumeratur,[70] cum tamen Beda dixerit "monasterium Ebercarvi quidem in regione Anglorum, sed in vicinia freti, quod Anglorum terras Pictorumque disterminat."[71] Cunningham quoque in Scotiæ nunc visceribus consistentem in Northumbria Beda collocavit dicens: "Erat paterfamilias in regione Nordanhunbrorum quæ vocatur Incunningham."[72] Camdenus etiam et Usherus indubitanter asserunt omnes hodiernæ Scotiæ regiones quæ à Tweda usque ad Edinburgi fretum protenduntur Anglis olim paruisse.[73]

Imo scriptores accurate memorant, quo pacto ac tempore in Scotorum potestatem fines isti concesserunt.[74] Mathæus enim Florilegus ait Edmundum seniorem anno salutis 946 "Cumbriam Malcolmo primo Scotorum regi de se tenendum concessisse,[75] ut Aquilonares Angliæ partes terra marique ab hostium adventantium incursione tueretur." Idem etiam Florilegus narrat Edgarum Anglorum regem, sub ann. Domini 975 Kenetho III. Scotorum regi concessisse "terram totam quæ Laudian patria lingua nuncupatur hac conditione, ut annis singulis in festivitatibus præcipuis, quando rex, et ejus successores diadema portarent, venirent ad curiam, et cum cæteris regni Principibus festum cum lætitia celebrarent." Usherus etiam censet post occisum an. Domini 794 Etheldredum Northanhumbrorum regem, Scotos Gallovidiam occupasse additque Camdenus: "Edinburgum, et Orientales illam Scotiæ partem Anglosaxones insedisse,[76] donec in Scotorum imperium omnino cesserit, circa annum salutis 969, cum Anglicum imperium Danicis bellis convulsum quasi exanimatum jaceret."[77]

Perspicuum igitur est duobus illis Oceani sinibus tanquam vallo

[68] Lib. 3, c. 4. [69] Usherus, p. 693. [70] Ibidem, p. 700 [71] Beda, lib. 4, c. 26. [72] Camde. 694. lib. 5, c. 13. [73] Camde. p. 113. [74] Usher. 1003. [75] Vide Malms. lib. 2, c. 3, de gestis regum. Huntington. lib. 5, Wigorn et Hoved. ann. 945. [76] De primordiis p. 667. [77] Pag. 689.

And first, that immense tract stretching from the river Tweed to Glotta (Clyde), and Bodotria (Frith of Forth), which is far the richest part of modern Scotland, was in the kingdom of the Bernici, and under the dominion of the English. This is clear from several passages in Beda, but principally from the following: "that the episcopal church of St. Martin, the see of St. Nennius, was now in possession of the English. It belonged to the province of the Bernici, and was called 'Candida Casa.'" Now "Candida Casa," as every one knows, is within the boundaries of modern Scotland. Abercorn is also a part of modern Scotland, and yet Beda assures us "that the monastery of Ebercarven, though lying in the English territory, is on the borders of the Frith, which divides the lands of the English from the Picts. Cunningham, also, though now in the heart of Scotland, is mentioned by Beda as part of Northumbria. "There was a certain man," he says, "in that part of Northumbria which is called Incunningham." Both Camden and Ussher maintain that all that portion of modern Scotland, from the Tweed to the Frith of Edinburgh, was formerly subject to English dominion.

Authentic records are yet preserved of the very epoch and mode in which these territories fell under the dominion of the Scots. Matthew Florilegus states, that Edmund the elder granted Cumberland, in 946, as a fief to Malcolm, the first king of the Scots, that the northern parts of England might be defended against all attacks of enemies by sea and land. The same author also states, that Edgar, king of the English, granted to Keneth, king of Scotland in the year 975, the whole territory, called in the native language Laudian (Lothian) on this condition, that on the principal festivals of each year, when the king and his successors wore the crown, the Scotch king should come to the palace and celebrate the festival with the other princes of the kingdom. Ussher is even of opinion, that after Ethelred, king of the Northumbrians, was slain in the year 795, the Scots seized on Galloway: and Camden adds, that Edinburgh and that eastern part of Scotland were held by the Anglo-Saxons, until the Scots took full possession of them about the year 960, when the power of England was prostrated and almost annihilated by the Danish invasions.

These two arms of the sea were therefore evidently the frontier barrier of the Picts and Scots on the south. From other authorities it is known that the Picts occupied the southern, eastern and northern

Pictos et Scotos clausos fuisse. Aliundè quoque constat eorum finium
[225] qui à duobus | iis æstuariis in Aquilonem protenduntur, Orientales, Australes, et Septentrionales, plagas à Pictis;[78] Occidentales tantum à Scotis insessas fuisse. Hinc Joannes Major: "vix insulæ tertiam partem Scotos et Pictos, sine circumjacentibus insulis habuisse."[79] Et alibi "partes illas ultra Fretum Scoticum" (ad Austrum scilicet) "et meliorem portionem, et fertiliorem Borealis partis Pictos crebro possedisse scribit." Eosdem etiam Pictos Orientalibus earum regionum finibus potitos fuisse Beda non obscure innuit dicens:[80] "Monasterium Erbercurni positum fuisse in vicinia freti, quod Anglorum terras, Pictorumque disterminat." Septentrionales quoque, Australesque regiones à Pictis incultas fuisse idem testatur his verbis: "Columba prædicavit verbum Dei provinciis Septentrionalium Pictorum,[81] hoc est, eis qui arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis ab Australibus eorum regionibus sunt sequestrati." Quare Usherus recte scripsit:[82] "Australes Pictos inter Bodotriam, et Fortheam fluvium, et montem Grampium positos fuisse." Qui mons Pictos Septentrionales à Scotis abjungit. Alpes enim istas Scoticas, "Scotos dudum à Pictis, et eorum ab invicem regna separavisse," Fordonius in Scotochronico scripsit.[83] Ita ut Occidentalem tantum regionem Scoti tenuerint; qui "in Pictorum parte recepti ad partem Septentrionalem sinus Alcluith sibi locum patriæ fecerunt." Quam duntaxat plagam "Dalrietam appellatam ab occiduo Oceano ad Argatheliæ, et Bruinalbaniæ fines protensam Scotos obtinuisse," scribit Usherus; nec ulterius ditionem ante produxisse,[84] quam Kenedus Alpini filius Pictis profligatis, eorum sibi ditiones vindicaverit. Quam rem versus isti è Scotochronico Fordonii ab Ushero deprompti aperte confirmant:

"Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kenetus[85]
Filius Alpini prælia multa gerens."

Nam decessorum Kenethi[86] ditio Argatheliæ tantum limitibus defi-

[78] Lib. 2, c. 1. [79] Ibid. c. 2. [80] Lib. 4, c. 26. [81] Lib. 3, c. 4. [82] De primordiis p. 668. [83] Apud Usherum de prim. p. 1022. [84] Beda, lib. 1, c. 1, In fine. [85] De prim. p. 717. [86] Pag. 715. Ibidem.

[x] The estuary of the Forth; no authorities prove decisively that at

portions of the country north of the two estuaries, and that the western alone was occupied by the Scots. Hence, Johannes Major says, "that exclusive of the adjacent islands, the Picts and Scots occupied hardly the third part of the island;" in another place he states, "that the Picts occupied the tracts beyond (south of) the Scotch gulph,[z] and the larger and better portion of the territory to the north." The eastern parts of the same region were also possessed by the Picts, as may be inferred from the following passasge of Beda: "The monastery of Erbercurn was situate near the frith which divides the territories of the Picts and English." He also testifies that the southern and northern parts were inhabited by the Picts. "Columba," he says, "preached the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts, that is, to those who are cut off from the southern Picts by high and craggy mountains." Ussher, therefore, truly describes the southern Picts as situate between Bodotria and the frith of Forth, and the Grampian hills, which were the mountain frontier between them and the Scots. Fordun, in his Scoto Chronicon, states expressly that these Scottish Alps had long been the boundary between the Scottish and Pictish kingdoms. Thus the west alone was occupied by the Scots, "who, after their admission into the Pictish territory, took up their abode on the northern bank of the bay of Alcluith." Their territory extended from the western ocean to the boundaries of Argyle and Breadalbane. It was called Dalrieta, and was, according to Ussher, the only land held by them in Scotland, until the conquest of the Picts by Kenneth, son of Alpin, who added the Pictish territories to his dominions. This fact is clearly confirmed by the following verses, cited by Ussher from the Scotch Chronicle of Fordun:

> "Scotia's sceptre Kenneth Mac Alpin wields,
> First of his line, and famed in bloody fields."

For the possessions of the predecessors of Kenneth were restricted

any period the southern Picts were completely driven from the south-western part of Scotland.

niebantur, Fordonio dicente: Kenethum "Montana finium suorum, videlicet Dorsum Albaniæ, quod Scotice Drum-alban dicitur transiisse."[87] Primum vero Scotorum in Argatheliam appulsum, subjecta carmina è Fordonio excerpta in annum salutis 439 conjiciunt; quæ sic se habent:

"Bis bis centeno,[88] quater et deca sed minus uno
Anno, quo sumpsit primos Ergadia Scotos,[89]
Ut referunt isti, fuit incarnatio Christi."

Argatheliam enim Latinè Argadiam, vulgo Argyle dici Camdenus author est.[90] Non tamen ab illo tempore regum Scotiæ seriem, sed à Kenneto scriptores auspicantur, qui Pictos an. Dom. 850 delevisse dicitur:[91] "Unde hodiernæ Scotiæ regnum Giraldus Cambrensis arcessit epocham; cum nomen illam accepisse dicit à Scotis de Hibernia venientibus, et in ea regnantibus per spatium 315 annorum usque ad regnum Guillelmi Rufi fratris Malcolmi, quem 1165 defuncto fratri successorem datum fuisse legimus."[92] Hæc Usherus qui ex eodem Giraldo subdit, Scotos è Pictis deletis, et eorum finibus ad suas adjunctis. "Emolumentum consecutos totam terram illam, quam nomine suo Scotiam vocaverunt usque hodie possidere." Usherus tamen validis documentis adductis evincit neque "Dalrietam,"[93] sive "Argatheliam quæ ad annum usque 840 Scotorum Britannicorum sedes erat, Scotiæ nomen esse consecutam, neque etiam integram ipsam Albaniam, debellatis statim Pictis, sed tum demum quum populo utroque in unam gentem coalescente obsolevisse plane nationis Picticæ memoriam. Quod" (inquit) "ut ante undecimum post Christi nativitatem seculum, haud quaquam factum pagina 718" et sequenti "declaravimus: ita neminem qui tota antecedentium spatio scripserit, produci posse arbitramur, qui Scotiæ appellatione Albaniam unquam designaverit." Imo

[87] Apud Ush. ibid. p. 716. [88] Usherus. [89] Ibidem. p. 706. [90] Pag. 705. [91] Ibidem, p. 717. [92] Ibidem. [93] Usherus, p. 734.

[a] Annihilated as their brothers, the Cruithnians or Picts of Ireland, were,

within the limits of Argyle, according to Fordun, who states "that Kenneth crossed the mountain barrier of his kingdom, namely, the Albanian ridge, or as it is called in Erse, Druim-Alban." The first descent of the Scots in Argyle is referred to the year 439 by the following passages extracted from Fordun:

"In forty less one and twice two hundred years,
Since Christ Incarnate God on earth appeared,
Argyle, thy glens, the exiled Scots, first cheered."

Argathelia, vulgo, Argyle, is also called Argadia in Latin, according to Camden. The line of Scottish monarchs, however, is not dated by historians from that epoch, but from Kenneth, who is said to have annihilated the Picts in the year 850. "It is to that period that Giraldus Cambrensis assigns the establishment of the kingdom of Scotland; where he states that it took its name from the Irish Scots who had settled there, and reigned 315 years down to the time of William the Red, brother of Malcolm, who succeeded his deceased brother in 1165." Ussher, whose words I have quoted, states, on the authority of Giraldus, that by the annihilation of the Picts,[a] and the occupation of their territories, the Scots rose to such importance, that they gave their name to that whole country, and possess it to this day. Ussher, however, proves, by unanswerable authorities, that neither Argathelia, nor Dalrieta, the only possessions of the British Scots prior to 840, were ever called Scotia, and that even Albania itself did not get that name immediately after the subjugation of the Picts, but only when the races had been gradually blended into one nation, and the Picts were entirely forgotten. "This," he says, "was not accomplished before the eleventh century of the Christian era, as I have proved, page [78], et seq." Not one writer, of all that flourished before that period, can be produced, I believe, who designates Albania as Scotia

by being absorbed in a dominant race, speaking a kindred language, and using similar institutions.

"Marianus Scotus," qui anno salutis 1100 floruit, "inter primos Scotiæ nomen Albaniæ tribuit."

Hactenus orationem de via Camerarius abduxit, cui res ad triarias rediisse visa est, cum ad Scotiam suam Hiberniæ nomine nobilitandam, et Scotiæ nomen Hiberniæ abripiendum extremo conatu, summisque viribus enixus, in supremo hoc ad quod confugit consilio, nihil subsidii reperiisse paucis ostenderimus, operam nostram ad ejus effata ulterius evertenda non desiderari cognoscentes, cum Philippus O'Sullevanus, vir in utraque Palladis palestra militari, et literariâ exercitatissimus, non magis gnarus ferreo stylo hostem in acie confodere quam ferocientem
[226] adversarium | orationis stylo conficere. Qui tam scitè stylum quam pilum, pennam quam bipennem versabat, opere luculento sex libros complexo Camerarium eo sicut causa sic etiam eloquio melior nervosè prostraverit, penitusque obtriverit, ardentiori quam optarem bile, nisi Martis illi pullo convitia condonanda sint, castrorum sectatoribus injurias indignantius ferre, acriusque vindicare consuetis.

Sed tandem è sinuosis hisce diverticulis, in quæ fraudulenti scriptoris importunitas me conjecit orationem expedio. Quandoquidem argumentis hactenus adductis lectori persuasum esse censeam Scotiæ nomine

[b] At the close of this long digression we may observe that Scotch historians in modern times, such as Sir Walter Scott and Tytler, prudently commence their history at the period when the name Scotia, with an occasional exception, or protest like that of Giraldus Cambrensis, became generally identified with their country. From that period Scotland has a history of which she may be justly proud, without drawing on the glory of her elder sister. In the first quarter of the eleventh century, the institutions of Scotia Vetus and Scotia Nova were in many points the same, and their prospects of stability equal, except in whatever advantages the latter might derive from the old Saxon element of the Lowlands and from the Norman immigration at the close of the century; advantages, not greater, however, than what Ireland could, perhaps, under prudent government, derive from the Christian Danes, then naturalized in many of her ports. But while Ireland, during the greater part of that century, after the fall of the old dynasty, was torn with the contests of rival claimants for the throne, the long reign of Maelcoluim Ceannmhor, and the piety of his queen, St. Margaret, entering into the views and realizing the reforms promulgated by St. Gregorius VII. (supra, p. 586), were breathing a new

Nay, "Marianus Scotus," who flourished A.D. 1100, "was among the first who called Albania Scotia."[b]

Camerarius has led me into this digression. He must have deemed his cause desperate when, as a last resource, he labors with all his might to transfer to his own Scotia the noble name, "Hibernia," and to rob Ireland of the name of "Scotia." I have been very brief in exposing the fallacy of this last miserable shift, because I was aware that my labor in subverting his positions was superfluous, since Philip O'Sullevan, who has served with glory under Minerva in two departments, both as soldier and scholar, who wielded his pen against a truculent adversary with as much deadly precision as he clove down with his good sword the enemy in battle line—who, in a word, was as expert at the stylus as at the lance, at the pen as at the battle-axe, has already crushed and utterly demolished Camerarius in a work consisting of six books, which is as much superior to his adversary's in nervous eloquence as it is in the justice of its cause. His ardor was indeed too vehement for my tastes; but a son of Mars must get some indulgence for virulent invectives, as those who live in the camp generally resent injuries more indignantly and punish them more severely than others.[c]

But let us return once more from this straggling digression into which I have been provoked by the petulance of a false historian. The arguments already adduced must have convinced my reader, I hope,

life into Scotland, inculcating traditions of order, and of good government, which were, no doubt, often weakened, but which were never totally effaced. If Gregorius VII., instead of Toirdhealbhach O'Briain, had for his Irish contemporary Toirdhealbhach's grandfather, the hero of Cluaintarbh, and if a secular arm even of far less vigor had co-operated with all the legates, from Gillibert of Limerick to Christian of Lismor, Ireland would have presented a very different front to the invader in 1172. Adrian's bull would never have been granted, or, if granted, at all events never have been confirmed, as far as the editor can conjecture from the conduct of popes in their relations with other European states in that age.

[c] The editor has not had the happiness of meeting that work of O'Sullevan's; if we may judge from his other works, it must have been very valuable, or at least very amusing.

solam Hiberniam à Beda designari. Ut jam liquido pateat non Albaniæ, sed Hiberniæ incolas Laurentii Cantuariensis, Honorii, et Joannis summorum Pontificum literis, ac monitis ad bonam frugem se recepisse. Hoc igitur obice amoto, liberiori cursu feratur oratio in susceptâ narratione beneficiorum, quæ summi Pontifices in Hibernos congesserant prosequendâ.

Labores illi quos in Hibernis hæresi Pelagianâ exuendis, et ad veram Paschatis observantiam adducendis Pontifices impenderunt, adeò faustos eventus tandem nacti sunt,[94] ut Ecclesiam Hibernicam omnibus jam numeris absolutam, et omnis præstantiæ culmen assecutam Pontifices "gloriosam exhibuerint non habentem maculam ac rugam, sanctam etiam et immaculatam." Itaque Hiberni totum Ecclesiæ suæ decus Pontificibus acceptum referunt. Ac proinde cum nihil partæ saluti par sit, omnem gratitudinis modum Pontifices excesserunt, qui rectum ad cœlos iter Hibernis commonstrarunt; imo dedisse felicitatem ultimam videntur, qui ejus obtinendæ viam ostenderunt. Pontifices autem Ecclesiam Hibernicam tanto splendore radiantem conspicati, pristinam sollicitudinem Hibernorum officii sui vel literis vel legatis admovendorum diu compescuerunt, ne lucernam ad solem ostendendum admovere dicerentur; atque adeò immensam virorum multa pietate ac literatura

[94] Ad Eph. 5.

[d] The letter of the Roman clergy to the northern bishops asserts that this heresy was reviving in Ireland, "Et hoc quoque cognovimus quod virus Pelagianæ hæreseos apud vos denuo reviviscit." Sylloge Ep. p. 23. Very probably there were some grounds for this statement made in 639; but the heresy must have arisen, if at all, since 613, for in that year a most competent witness, St. Columbanus, writing to pope Bonifacius, attests that "in Ireland there was no Jew, no heretic, no schismatic, but the pure Christian faith, as it had been given to her by the popes." "Nullus hæreticus, nullus Judæus, nullus schismaticus. sed fides Catholica sicut a vobis *primum*, SS. scilicet Apostolorum successoribus tradita est, inconcussa tenetur." Bibliothec. Max. Patrum. xii. p. 28. Nor can it be said that this heresy attracted no attention at the time, and might therefore not have been known to Columbanus, for, according to the Roman letter, it was the subject of constant denunciations of the holy see, "sed et a nobis quotidie perpetuo anathemate sepulta damnatur." As the Irish were falsely believed to be

that Beda never calls any country but Ireland "Scotia." The letters, therefore, of Laurentius of Canterbury, and popes Honorius and John, admonishing the Scots to reform, were not addressed to inhabitants of Albania but of Ireland. This obstacle once removed, we may resume without interruption a history of the benefits conferred on Ireland by the popes.

The labors of those popes in extirpating the Pelagian heresy,[d] and establishing the canonical observance of paschal time in Ireland, were crowned with such perfect success, that the Irish church was now without a blemish, and attained the summit of perfection. Under the care of the popes, "she was presented as a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, but holy and immaculate." The Irish, therefore, owe the whole glory of their church to the popes: and as eternal salvation is the greatest of all blessings, boundless should be their gratitude to the popes who pointed out to them the right road to heaven, nay, conferred, in a certain sense, everlasting happiness itself by showing how it could be attained. But when the popes beheld the Irish church radiant with such surpassing splendor, they relaxed for a considerable time their ancient solicitude for the Irish, sending neither legates nor letters, lest they might be said to be holding up a lamp to the sun: but they employed[e] an immense number of pious and holy Irishmen in

Quartadecimans, may they not have been falsely reported to Rome as Pelagians? This letter certainly is the only intimation yet discovered of the existence of that heresy in Ireland.

[e] The cases, in which Irish missionaries derived their jurisdiction directly from the pope, are not very numerous. Some of those missions were to countries already Christian, such as France, parts of Belgium and of Germany, &c. In such cases jurisdiction was obtained from the proper source, the ecclesiastical authorities in those countries. It is true some of the Irish did not comply with that mode, and were condemned by councils both in England and France in the commencement of the 9th century. But those who acted so were violating the express law of their own church, the canons of St. Patrick. Can. iii. "Clericus vagus non sit in plebe." Can xxiv. "Si quis advena ingressus fuerit plebem, non ante baptizet, neque offerat, neque consecret, nec ecclesiam ædificet, donec permissionem accipiat

excultorum multitudinem hinc eductam, ad alias gentes religione, ac moribus imbuendos adhibuerunt. Quorum ideo nomenclaturam hic apponere supersedeo, quod eam sparsim in hoc opusculo exhibeam, non justam quidem illam, ac integram (id enim opus molis immensæ foret) sed qualem sermo, in quem subinde incido exigit.

Verum sicut plerumque lætis tristia succedunt: sic summum Ecclesiæ Hiberniæ splendorem rabies Danica penè sustulit, quæ in cleri populique Hibernici fortunas, ac vitam, ducentorum fere annorum spatio, sævissimè debacchata est, et in ædes, ac templa incendiis, in agros vastatione, in mortales cæde grassata est, in Ecclesiasticos furorem suum atrociter exercens, quos quacunque ratione deprehensos, vel vinculis, et carcere coercuit, vel diris suppliciis excruciavit. Pacis vero malaciâ tandem aliquando tam sævam belli tempestatem excipiente, pristinus pietatis, ac scientiæ nitor denuo non modicè ita revixit, ut non solum domi literis, ac probitate plures admodum floruerint, sed etiam multi peregrè profecti, regiones exteras (ut in hoc opere alibi leges) eruditione ac pietate affatim imbuerunt.

ab episcopo. Nam qui a gentibus sperat permissionem alienus est." Can. xxx. "Episcopus quislibet, qui de sua in alteram progreditur parochiam (i.e., diocese) nec ordinare præsumat nisi permissionem acceperit ab eo, qui in suo principatu est." Can. xxxiii. "Clericus qui de Britannis ad nos venit sine epistola, etsi habitet in plebe, non licet ministrare." Can. xxxiv. "Diaconus nobiscum similiter, qui inconsulto suo abbate sine litteris in aliam parochiam absentat nec cibum ministrare debet; et a suo presbytero quem contempsit, per pœnitentiam vindicetur." The contempt of these and similar laws by some Irish ecclesiastics on the continent brought the nation itself into discredit, just as in the sixteenth century, some intriguing and cowardly Irish priests and prelates (circumvagantes per alias regiones) produced the same results. Peter Lombard, Commentar. p. 297. With regard to the other missions of the ancient Irish to pagan countries, namely, to the northern Picts, the Anglo-Saxons, the Bavarians, the Belgians, the Swiss, the Sclavonians, the Frisians, and others; in some cases like that of Albuinus in Hesse; the Irish acted under persons appointed by the pope; in others, they were authorized by neighbouring bishops; in others, those especially near their own country, they acted under a general canon of their own church: "Ubique doceat." Cap. xv. "De relinquenda vel docenda patria," and in the exercise of a right then ac-

instructing other nations in morality and religiou. The catalogue of those apostles I omit inserting at present, because I have given it in different parts of the work, not indeed full and complete (for that would require an enormous volume), but such as the occasion required.

But as sorrow often follows on the footsteps of joy, so the ferocity of the Danes almost extinguished the glory of the Irish church. During full two hundred years, the lives and fortunes of the Irish, laity and clergy, were at the mercy of their relentless rage; palaces and temples were burned, the country laid waste, the people massacred, and the clergy sacrificed to their atrocious fury, doomed, wherever they were taken, either to a dungeon and chains, or to a death of excruciating torture. But when the gentle breath of peace once more succeeded the horrid tempest of war, the ancient light of piety and learning burst forth afresh; not only could Ireland boast of having high names in literature and piety at home, but she also sent forth many (as you see from other parts of this work) who revived literature and piety in foreign nations.[f]

knowledged in particular churches. Thomassin, Discipline de l'eglise, Part ii. lib i. cap. x.. art. 6. When the Irish did act contrary to the customs of other churches in which they were teaching, we find the best instructed of them asking permission from the proper quarter. "Ut nobis peregrinis laborantibus tuæ piæ sententiæ præstes solatium, quo, si non contra fidem est, nostrorum traditionem robores seniorum, quo ritum paschæ, sicut accepimus a majoribus observare per tuum possimus judicium in nostra peregrinatione." St. Columbanus to St. Gregorius, Bibliotheca Max. Patrum, xii. p. 24.

[f] The Irish annals chronicle the visit of some foreign reformers to Ireland during the Danish invasions, and it is very probable that some of them came from Rome. "In this year (806, 811) the Ceile De, came over the sea with dry feet without a vessel; and a written roll was given him from heaven, out of which he preached to the Irish, and it was carried up again when the sermon was finished. This ecclesiastic used to go every day southwards across the sea, after finishing his preaching." Four Masters. Dr. O'Donovan observes, "that the strange events chronicled in that year were probably like those in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 793, considered as ominous of the frightful woes then impending over the country from the northern invasions." Again,

Eluvio tamen ista calamitatum, quæ tandiu Hiberniam operuit quandam spurcitiæ algam gentis moribus alicubi affixit, ad quam avellendam non segnem operam summi Pontifices adhibuerunt, legatis continuè cohærenterque in Hiberniam missis, qui nervos omnes ingenii ad incolas probioribus moribus excolendos intenderunt. Quorum primus Gilbertus Limbricensis Episcopus, patriæ suæ decus, in gente Hibernica rectè

"Peregrinus venit Hiberniam et statutæ sunt ordinationes optimæ ab eo." Annal. Innisfallen, A.D. 873. Ed. O'Conor. This is, no doubt, the same mentioned in the Annals of Ulster, A.D. 886. "Epistola venit cum peregrino in Hiberniam cum tributo Dominicale (i.e. mulcta pro Die Dominicana non observanda,) et cum aliis bonis ordinationibus." O'*Conor*. The Four Masters record the arrival of this pilgrim A.D. 884, and his departure from Ireland A.D. 893. "His name was Analoen; his letter, it is said, had been given from heaven at Jerusalem. The Cain Domhnaigh, or fine for the non-observance of Sunday saved the Irish from one disorder of their Scotch brethren, among whom Sunday had ceased to be kept holy before the synod held under St. Margaret. In 919, Mainech, a Ceile De (Culdee) came across the sea westwards to establish laws in Ireland." Four Masters. This I presume is the abbot of Beannchor, whose death is given the same year by the Four Masters, but in 917 (recte 921) by the Annals of Cluainmicnois. In 927 an abbot of the same monastery "bishop, scribe, preacher, and learned doctor, died on his pilgrimage to Rome, on the 14th of September, in the 59th year of his age." Four Masters; who give a poem of his A.D. 926, on the spiritual advantages of pilgrimage. "Time to talk of the last day, to separate from familiar faces. Time to barter the transitory things for the country of the king of heaven; but only one part of a year is wanting of my three score; those of my own age are not living who were given to ardent devotion; to desist from a course of great folly in one place it is time." For other pilgrims to Rome see ibid. A.D. 1024, an abbot of Cluainmicnois; A.D. 1030, Flaithbheartach O'Neill, lord of Aileach, and heir to the sovereignty of Ireland; surnamed "an Trostain," from the pilgrim's staff. A.D. 1034, Anlaff, son of Sitric; A.D. 1051, a prince and his wife; A.D. 1064, Donnchadh O'Briain, who, it is said in the Annals of Cluainmicnois, brought with him the crown of Ireland, which was kept there until it was sent to Henry II. by Adrian IV. There are brief notices of the Irish establishments at Cologne, A.D. 1027, and Wurzburg, A.D. 1085, in the annals.

[g] If he was the first legate, what were those persons mentioned in the last note, A.D. 886, A.D. 919? whence did they come? who gave them the

The torrent, however, which had so long deluged Ireland, left some of its slime and weeds on the national fame. To remove them the popes exerted all their pastoral solicitude, by sending legates in uninterrupted succession to Ireland, who left no resource untried to repair the lost splendor of her religious fame. Gillibert, bishop of Limerick, was the first of those legates.[g] He was an honor to his country,

authority to enforce the observance of the Sunday, and to establish other laws in Ireland? Had any other church any pretensions to authority over the Irish church? Dr. Lanigan, with his usual consistency, maintains that Gillibert was the first papal legate, and that none of those previously mentioned in our text were legates, while our author, by calling Gillibert the first legate here, appears to contradict himself. Nothing occurs in any part of the work to explain this contradiction. St. Bernard's words, on which Dr. Lanigan so sternly, as usual, grounds his opinion, are, "Quem (Gillibertum) *aiunt* primâ functum *apostolica legatione* per *universam* Hiberniam." Cap. vii. Is this sentence so decisive as Dr. Lanigan thought? In the first place, whatever it means, it is an "on dit," "*aiunt*," very different from St. Bernard's dogmatic language in the same life of St. Mael-maedhog, whenever he states what he certainly knows to be true. Again, the words "per *universam* Hiberniam," strictly interpreted, at most convey that Gillibert was the first legate *for all Ireland*, not denying that others may have been legates for particular causes, or particular parts or provinces of Ireland. Finally St. Bernard may, nay, must be supposed to use the words "*apostolica legatione*" in the sense attached to them by common usage in his own day, that is, legations with extraordinary powers, which from about the year 1050 began to be sent frequently to almost all the churches in Europe. The great powers of those legates had been very rarely conferred on delegates of the apostolic see before that period; and St. Bernard may be very well understood as not denying that other legates even for all Ireland may have been previously sent, but without the extraordinary powers of the legates commonly sent in his time; of whom Gillibert was the first for Ireland. For those powers, see Thomassin, Discipline de l'eglise, part iv. lib. i. chap. lxxxi. art. x.; and that whole chapter for the necessity of such legates. For instance, in Ireland, the bishops had been long the creatures of the see of Ardmacha, and that see itself was for 200 years the property of one family. "Inde tota illa per universam Hiberniam dissolutio ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ; sine ordine, sine ratione mutabantur et multiplicabantur episcopi pro libitu metropolitani." Vita Malachiæ cap. vii. It was to the legate

instituenda, summoperè ad silicernium usque desudavit. Hunc S. Malachias excepit, quem Roma discedentem Innocentius II., sua stola, et Episcopali mitrâ donavit. Christianus Lismorensis Episcopus, huic ab Eugenio III. successor assignatus; Christiano S. Laurentius ab Alexandro III. illi Mathæus, seu Mauritius Casseliensis Archiepiscopus
[227] suffectus est. Quibus utpote | Hibernis nemo populares suos, aut ad virtutem ardentius cohortaretur, aut à vitiis acrius revocaret, aut doctius erudiret. Nec Hiberni à Pontificum aula disjunctissimi eorum disciplinæ traderentur, nisi Pontifices summâ eos gentium erudiendarum peritiâ instructos fuisse deprehendissent.

Studium vero summorum Pontificum in Hibernis recta institutione imbuendis clarius adhuc patuit, quandoquidem subsidiarios legatos extra ordinem, ad opem superioribus ferendam in Hiberniam submiserint. Tres enim Cardinales Pontificum jussu Hiberniam adierunt. Joannes Paparo presbyter Cardinalis in Damaso, Vivianus Tomasius, et Joannes Salernitantus. Ad consessum à primo apud Kelles indictum tria sacerdotum, monachorum, et canonicorum millia confluxerunt. Labores à Viviano presbytero Cardinali S. Stephani in Cælio Monte, in Hiberniâ excolendâ exantlati, in hujus operis decursu alibi proponuntur. Postremum presbyterum Cardinalem etiam S. Stephani in Monte Cælio duobus in Hibernia Conciliis, an. salutis 1202, uni Dublinii, alteri Athloniæ præfuisse, et in utrisque præstantissima decreta sancivisse, Annales nostri referunt. In officio quoque translationis SS. Patricii, Brigidæ, et Columbæ legimus eundem Cardinalem in Ecclesia Dunensi S. Patricii, "Debitis reverentiis, et servitiis præmissis transtulisse prænominatas reliquias, è loco ubi sepultæ fuerunt. Tempore translationis eorum in dicta Ecclesia præsidebant cum dicto legato quindecim Episcopi cum Abbatibus, Præpositis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, aliis viris orthodoxis quamplurimis."

Gillibert, with others, that the church owed her emancipation from that slavery by the election of St. Maelmaedhog ibid., and by the new circumscription of dioceses enacted in the synod of Rathbreasail.

[h] "Johannes de Monte Cælio, the pope's legate, came to Ireland, and convoked a great synod of the bishops, abbots, and every other order in the church at Dublin, at which also many of the nobles of Ireland were present.

and devoted his life exclusively to re-establish good institutions. St. Mael-maedhog succeeded. On his departure from Rome, he had received a stole and episcopal mitre from pope Innocent II. Christian, bishop of Lismor, was next appointed, by Eugenius III. St. Laurentius succeeded, under the pontificate of Alexander III.; and Matthew, or Maurice, archbishop of Caiseal, was the next. They were all Irishmen, and therefore better qualified than any others to inflame their countrymen with a love of virtue, to censure their vices with severity, and to stimulate their progress in learning. The Irish, who were so very remote from the court of Rome, would never have been entrusted to the care of those legates, if the popes had not been convinced that they were eminently qualified for the teaching of nations.

The zeal of the popes for the reformation of Ireland appears more manifest still in the appointment of subsidiary and extraordinary legates, to aid the preaching of the former in Ireland. Three cardinals were ordered by the pope to visit Ireland: John Paparo, cardinal priest in Damaso, Vivian Tomasius, and John of Salernum. Three thousand bishops, priests, and monks and canons, met in council at Keannanus under Paparo; the legatine labors of Vivian, cardinal priest of St. Stephen, in the Cælian Mount, are set forth in another part of this work. John of Salernum, who was also cardinal priest of St. Stephen, on the Cælian Mount, held two councils in the year 1202, one at Dublin, the other at Athluain, and in both enacted salutary canons.[h] From the office of the translation of St. Patrick, Brighid, and Columba, we learn that the same cardinal, "with all due veneration and solemnity, translated the said relics in the church of St. Patrick at Dun, from the place where they were buried. At this ceremony of translation there were present, with the legate in St. Patrick's church, fifteen bishops, together with abbots, dignitaries, deans, archdeacons, and an immense number of faithful believers."

By that synod many proper ordinances were enacted for the regulation of church and state. A fortnight after, the same legate called a meeting of the clergy and laity of Connacht at Athluain, at which meeting many excellent ordinances were established." Four Masters, A.D. 1201.

Usherus nomen hujus legati non Joannem,[95] sed Ubianum fuisse ratus graviter allucinatur, in errorem inde adductus, quod uterque eodem Cardinalatus titulo insignitus fuerit. Sed vir alioqui perspicax non advertit ambos hoc titulo diversis temporibus potitos fuisse,[96] illumque post Vivianum mortuum Joanni collatum fuisse.[97] Certe Cardinalis Bellarminus plures extitisse per ea tempora Cardinales, titulo S. Stephani in Monte Cælio decoratos scripsit.[98] Ad hunc in Hibernia legati officiis vacantem, Innocentius III., literas dedit. Henricus Londres Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis sub annum 1217, in Hibernia, Honorii III. Legatum egit. Annales etiam nostri referunt " Jacobum pœnitentialem ceu Capellanum Papæ" an. Dom. 1220 legati munere in Hibernia functum fuisse.[99] Pene mihi è memoria Italus ille Giraldus excidit, quem Ecclesiæ Romanæ clericum " ad partes illas legationis cujusdem vice transmissum fuisse narrat Cambrensis."[100] Legatus etiam in Hibernia fuit Othobonus Cardinalis, quia, anno 1268 " Magnum celebravit Concilium Londini omnium Prælatorum Angliæ, Walliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ."

Per secuta deinde tempora legatorum in Hiberniam profectorum memoriam ac nomina rarius ad nos scriptorum incuria transmisit. Westmonasteriensis quidem memorat Petrum de Stufflæno in Hibernia an Dom. 1240, Joannem Rufum an. Domini 1247 legati munia obiisse. In Hibernica historiâ per Stanihurstum Anglicè scriptâ narratur, gravi seditione inter Dublinienses et comitis Ormoniæ milites exortâ, cives comitis Ormoniæ capiti perniciem machinaturos in divi Patricii templum, ubi tum comes diversabatur, grege facto irrupisse, sanctorum simulachra jaculis confixisse, imagines disjecisse, reliquias violasse, sacrum denique locum irreligiosissimè profanasse. De quâ injuriâ cum Ormonio curante ad sedem Apostolicam querimonia deferretur, legatus mox Dublinium destinatus est, qui pro meritis in delinquentes

[95] De Primordiis, p. 891. [96] De Cler. l. 4, c. 6. [97] Ciacon. p. 604. [99] Warr. de præsuli. Dubli. p. 10. [99] Topo. D. 3, c. 32. [100] Spondonus cont. Baronii an. 1068. num. 10.

[1] Not very creditably, if we believe the annals of Kilronan, which state that he collected "horseloads of gold and silver from the Irish clergy by

Ussher believed that this legate's name was Vivian, but this grievous error arose, probably, from the fact that both were cardinals of the same title. After the death of Vivian, John was promoted to the same office, a circumstance which led Ussher, though generally correct, into the mistake. Cardinal Bellarminus certainly states, that there were several cardinals of the title of St. Stephen in Mount Cælio about that period. While John resided as legate in Ireland, he received letters from Innocent III.; and our annals also record that James, the pope's penitentiary or chaplain, "was exercising legatine authority in Ireland about the year 1220."[i] I had almost forgotten the Italian, Giraldus, an ecclesiastic of the church of Rome, "who was sent over to those parts with legatine powers," according to Cambrensis. Cardinal Othobon was also legate in Ireland, for he celebrated at London a great council of all the prelates of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland in 1268.

In consequence of the negligence of historians, we have fewer records of legates in Ireland in succeeding ages. Matthew of Westminster states that Peter de Sufflein was legate in Ireland in 1240, and John Rufus in 1247. Stanihurst also records, in his English history of Ireland, that a great quarrel having arisen between the citizens of Dublin and the retainers of the earl of Ormonde, the citizens burst in a body into St. Patrick's cathedral, where the earl had taken refuge, and attempted to kill him. They cast their javelins against the images of the saints, threw down the statues, desecrated the relics, and most profanely violated the holy place. Ormonde appealed to the holy see to punish this sacrilege, and a legate was immediately sent over to punish the delinquents according to their deserts.[k] But at the earnest

simony," A.D. 1221. The annals of Cluainmicnois, A.D. 1220, say nothing of simony or other malpractices, but the reverse, "he went about all the kingdom for the reformation of the inhabitants, and constituted many wholesome rules for their salvation." O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 1220. The circumstances of the time suggest a very probable explanation why the same man should be described in colors so different, according to the views of different writers.

[k] See Dowling's Annals, A.D. 1515.

animadversurus, Waltero fitz Simons Dubliniensi tunc Archiepiscopo, aliisque præsulibus deprecantibus, ad condonationem civibus impertiendam adductus est ea conditione, ut Prætor urbis, "ad perpetuam rei memoriam," in solemni corporis Christi quotannis supplicatione, nudis pedibus incederet. Qui ritus in desuetudinem ante non abiit, quam Ecclesiæ Catholicæ authoritatem è medio comitia sustulerunt.

Post Henricum VIII., et Edwardum VI., fato functos, Mariâ Re-
[228] ginâ | rerum positâ, Ecclesiæ sua postliminio potestas, et splendor rediit.[1] Tum Cardinalis Polus sicut Angliæ, sic etiam Hiberniæ legatus institutus (ut diploma regis et reginæ à Clemente Reynero productum testatur) in Anglia hærens, pedem in Hiberniam non intulit. Elizabetha vero regina utriusque regni gubernaculis deinde admota, omnem Ecclesiæ potestatem abrogavit, et penitus evertit, ita ut eâ regnante, Hibernia non adeo à legatis frequentata fuerit: interea tamen Alfonsus Salmeron è Societate Jesu in Hiberniam Nuncius Apostolicus venit: Ribadeneira de scriptoribus Societatis Jesu. Vidi etiam dispensationem Richardo Lyncæo civi Galviensi avo Nicholai Lyncæi Ordinis Prædicatorum in Hibernia Provincialis dignissimi, ante viginti jam annos Romæ cum summo suorum desiderio mortui, collatam à Davide Wolfio Limbricensi, in qua David ille Apostolici Nuncii titulo insigniebatur. Illius Orlandinus, in historiâ Societatis Jesu, meminit. Accepi virum fuisse pietati addictissimum, et acerbissimum sceleratorum objurgatorem, ac tandem, omnibus bello flagrantibus, in Clunoanæ castrum, in Tuamoniæ, comitatusque Galviensis confinio collocatum se præsidii causa recepisse; ubi vero præsidiarios rapto vixisse rescivit, religioni ducentem cibo ab iis delato vesci, morbum primo deinde mortem contraxisse.

[1] De Apost. Benedict. in Anglia, p. 233.

[1] Our author is perfectly correct in this point. David Wolf, a Jesuit, native of Limerick, arrived in Ireland August, 1560. He styles himself "commissarius," but is styled by primate Creagh, "pope's nuncio." He resided constantly at Limerick until March 1565 at least, but his powers included all Ireland, "ad illustrissimos principes et universum Hiberniæ regnum." Shirley's original letters, pp. 128, 171. Alphonsus Salmero was

request of Walter Fitzsimon, archbishop of Dublin, and other prelates, the citizens were pardoned on this condition, that the "Mayor of the city, as a perpetual commemoration of the thing, should walk barefooted every year in the solemn procession on Corpus Christi." And that was faithfully observed until the Catholic religion was abolished by law.

After the death of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., the church recovered her former power and splendor under the reign of Queen Mary. Cardinal Pole was then appointed legate, both for England and Ireland (as appears from the letters of the king and queen in Reyner), but he never entered Ireland; but when Elizabeth succeeded to the throne of both kingdoms, the church was once more deprived of power and almost totally destroyed, whence there were but few legates in Ireland during her reign. Alphonsus Salmero, of the society of Jesus, was, however, a nuntio apostolic in Ireland, according to Ribadeneira's Writers of the Society of Jesus. I also saw a dispensation granted by David Wolf, of Limerick,[l] to Richard Lynch, a citizen of Galway, grandfather to Nicholas Lynch,[m] provincial of the Irish Dominicans, who died at Rome about twenty years ago, deeply regretted by his friends. The dispensation was signed David Wolf, Apostolic Nuntio. Orlandinus speaks of him in his history of the Society of Jesus. I have learned that he was a man of extraordinary piety, who fearlessly denounced crime whenever it was committed. When the whole country was embroiled in war, he took refuge in the castle of Clunoan, on the borders of Thomond and of the county of Galway;[n] but when he heard that its occupants lived by plunder, he believed it a sin to take any nourishment from them, and sickened and died.

in Ireland, according to O'Sullivan, in 1541. Compendium Historiæ, p. 89. Dublin, 1851.

[m] Was present at the general chapter of the Dominicans in 1629. "Vir pius et rosarii restaurator Galviæ, ac per totum regnum propagator zelosissimus." Hib. Dominic. p. 522.

[n] Now Cluain Dubhain, or Clonoan, an old castle close to the boundary of the county of Galway, but near Rockvale, in the parish of Kilkeedy, barony of Inchiquin, county of Clare. It was taken by Sir Henry Sidney in 1569; and it was again taken by Sir Richard Bingham in March, 1386. See Ann. Four Masters, A.D, 1569, 1586, pp. 1632, 1845, and *Miscellany of the Celtic Socity*, p. 215. [J. O'D.] He was perfectly safe in Limerick until Lacy, bishop of that see, was deposed in 1571.

Elizabetha Ecclesiasticis postea exagitandis pertinaciter insistens præstantissimum virum,[2] Nicholaum Sanderum non terruit à legati munere per Hiberniam egregie obeundo, qui non modo navam operam in officio cumulate adimplendo,,[3] sed etiam animam, obitum suum præsagiens, posuit. Sanderum in Nuntii dignitate Tadæus Eganus excepit, qui dum militibus pro religione Catholicâ pugnam ineuntibus animos adderet, à sicariis interemptus est. Longo deinde temporis intervallo, Petrus Franciscus Scarampius, vir integerrimus juxta ac nobilissimus, congregationis Oratoriæ sacerdos, Urbani VIII. jussu in Hiberniam venit. Postea Joannes Baptista Rinuccinus Archiepiscopus, et Princeps Firmanus Innocentii decimi Nuntius extraordinarius summa Hibernorum lætitiâ exceptus, maximos conatus, et sumptus in Hibernia exornanda impendit; quos infelicitas Hiberniæ, lugentibus omnibus, tandem elisit.

Quinimo dum hæresis atrociter insultans veræ fidei tenebras offundebat, omnes interim summo Pontificatu insigniti lucernas quasdam hominum eruditorum, ad tantam caliginem amovendam admoverunt; quæ si nubes istas errorum non penitus expulerunt, saltem quo minus in plerorumque incolarum animis coalescerent, feliciter impedierunt. Et ut nullam rationem, quæ ad Catholicam religionem in Hibernia sartam tectam conservandam excogitari posset, intentatam Pontifices relinquerent. Sicut Innocentius decimus nostrâ memoriâ nummorum vim in fide Catholica per Hiberniam erigenda collocavit, sic Gregorius

[2] O'Sullevanus, p. 100. [3] Historiæ.

[o] See an account of his death in O'Sullevan's Historiæ Catholicæ, p. 121. Dublin, 1850. His title, ibid., pp. 113, 117, is Doctor Sanderus.

[p] O'Sullevan, Historiæ Catholicæ, p. 243. Dublin, 1850, and authorities there cited, A.D. 1601–2. His name was not Tadæus, but Eugenius. Our author corrects his mistake in the supplement to the Alithinologia, but without admitting that he was author of Cambrensis Eversus. "Nec in minorem errorem Cambrensis Eversi author, Tadæo Egano in Nunciorum apostolicorum numerum relato, prolapsus est. Mihi enim plures libros evolventi nomen ejusmodi nusquam occurrit." The cause of this Eugenius and of Sanders not having been canon-

The relentless cruelty of Elizabeth against all ecclesiastics could not deter that great man, Nicholas Sanders,[o] from nobly discharging the legatine functions in Ireland. He not only devoted himself to the punctual discharge of his duties, but even sacrificed his life as himself had anticipated. Tadæus[p] Egan succeeded him as legate. He was assassinated while he was in the act of exhorting the soldiers on the day of battle to fight bravely for the Catholic religion. After a long interval, Father Francis Scarampi, a man of noble rank and great virtue, a priest of the Oratory, came to Ireland by order of Urban VIII. Some time after John Baptist Rinnucinni, archbishop and prince of Fermo, came as extraordinary legate to Ireland from Innocent X., and was received with transports of joy by the Irish. He spared neither labor nor expense to raise Ireland from her prostrate condition, but the evil genius of the land blasted his exertions and the fond hopes of the Irish.

Moreover, while heresy in its rampant atrocity was clouding the splendor of the true faith, all the popes for the time being sent over many learned men as lamps to dispel that great darkness: and if they removed not altogether those clouds of error, they at least succeeded happily in preventing them from remaining on the minds of most of the natives. And that the popes should leave no means untried that could be desired for sustaining the Catholic religion in Ireland, Innocent X. sent over, in our own days, a large quantity of money for the restoration of the faith, as Gregorius XIII. had, in our fathers' time, sent over an army raised at great expense, to assist the Irish, and save religion from the total destruction to which it was then exposed.

ized by success, they have, of course, a very bad reputation in most of our English histories.

[q] There were several other vicars apostolic, "vicarii apostolici," before Scarampi, besides Wolf and Owen Mac Egan. For instance, James White, who went out to meet Mountjoy at the gates of Waterford in 1603, was a vicar apostolic. I do not know why our author styles them legates. They were as much so as the English vicars apostolic, before the creation of the English Catholic hierarchy. Our author's Alithinologia and Supplement discuss at great length the measures of Scarampi and of Rinnucinni.

XIII. ut religioni apud Hibernos patrum memoriâ ad interitum ruenti subveniret, exercitus magnis impensis contractos Hibernis, ad religionem ruinæ faucibus eripiendam subministravit.

Quid multis? duos tantum Archiepiscopatus in Angliâ, duos item in Scotiâ, in totâ nimirum Britannia majori, quatuor universim Archiepiscopatus summi Pontifices erexerunt, in Hiberniâ vero, quæ Britanniæ dimidio minor haberi à Cæsare dicitur, totidem instituerunt; non terrarum quippe spatio hanc, sed religionis merito metiti, regioni finium amplitudine longe superiori adæquandam esse arbitrati sunt. Hinc Angliæ, Scotiæ, Daniæ, Sueviæ, Norwegiæ, aliorumque regnorum, quæ à fide Catholicâ, Romanique Pontificis obsequio desciverant, sedes Episcopales præsulibus summi pontifices non exornarunt: ferme tamen singulis in Hibernia Episcopatibus, quamvis in eâ rerum habenæ penes hæresim fuerint, præstantissimos Antistites continuata pene serie suppeditaverunt.

Itaque si S. Gregorium magnum pro Angliæ Apostolo habendum
[229] esse | Beda dixit, ob Anglos ejus jussu à S. Augustino, ac sociis è paganismi tenebris erutos, quot et quantis titulis Hiberni Pontificibus Romanis obtringerentur? qui non modo navam operam in iis fidei luce cumulate illustrendis collocarunt; verum etiam conatum omnem ad religionem ab iis semel largius imbibitam, mordicus retinendam, et latius amplificandam contulerunt, publicis quandoque ministris, privatis sæpissime viris doctis, justis etiam aliquando militum copiis ad opem iis periculo, cum res exigebat, subducendis ferendam, per temporum omnium vicissitudinem submissis? ut Hiberni non solum ornamenta dignitatis, sed etiam præsidia stabilitatis Pontificibus jure meritissimo accepta referant.

Porro si querantur aliqui me ut honori patriæ velificarer falso dixisse, nunquam censurarum fulmine illam summos Pontifices afflavisse, cum

[r] An amusing assertion, and unfortunately for its worth, in 1110, the pope's legate divided Ireland into two provinces; and when, forty-two years later, four were established, there are not the slightest indications of any such motive for the change, as our author suggests. In 1110 the island was

But what need of more? there were only two archbishoprics in England and two in Scotland, that is four in Great Britain, established by the popes, though Great Britain, according to Cæsar's estimate, is twice as large as Ireland. Religious worth,[r] not extent of territory, made them place Ireland on a level with a country so far superior in extent. For the same reasons the popes have not appointed bishops to the episcopal sees of England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and other kingdoms which revolted against the church and the papal authority; though an almost uninterrupted succession of illustrious bishops has been appointed in almost all Irish sees, even while the government was exclusively in the hands of the heretics.[s]

If, then, St. Gregorius has been justly styled by Beda the apostle of England, because he commissioned Augustinus and his companions to emancipate the English from the darkness of paganism, how great and powerful are the bonds between the Irish and those popes, who not only labored strenuously in pouring out on them the full light of faith, but also in preserving, at all times, that faith when once planted, and rooting it deeply in their hearts, and diffusing it more and more, sometimes by the public ministry of papal delegates, more frequently by the secret missions of learned men, and at times by military aid to assist their righteous resistance to the destruction which threatened the country.

equally divided between O'Briain and Mac Lochlinn, supra, p. 574; and the same partition was then adopted, as might naturally be expected, in the ecclesiastical circumscription. But in 1152 the old division into four provinces was marked and prominent in the temporal order, four stirring kings of these provinces at the time contending for supremacy, and hence, no doubt, the establishment of the four ecclesiastical provinces.

[s] The case of Ireland was very different from that of other countries mentioned here: and had it been the same, she would, no doubt, have been treated similarly. The mass of the clergy and laity in some of those countries, the whole of them in others, separated from the Church of Rome: but in Ireland the immense majority of the people had been Catholic down to the period at which our author was writing, and they never were without bishops residing at home among them. Besides, the preponderance of commercial wealth and landed property was entirely on the side of the Catholics down to Cromwell's time. Two Irish Catholic bishops lived through the whole of Elizabeth's reign. O'Sullevan, Historiæ Catholicæ, pp. 77, 110. Dublin, 1850.

constet (inquiunt) è divi Gregorii Epistolis, et S. Kiliani vita Hiberniam non semel censuarum laqueis irretitam fuisse. Qua ego criminatione ut me purgem, aio, si utrumque scriptum accuratius excutiatur, elici è neutro recte posse Hiberniam Pontificiis execrationibus mulctatam fuisse. Expendamus igitur sigillatim utrumque.[4] Et ut à divo Gregorio exordiar. Epistolæ binæ, quæ ad Hibernos ab ipso datæ fuisse dicuntur, non ad Hibernos, sed ad Hiberos, Asiæ populum inter Albaniam, et Colchidem, quæ regio nunc Georgiæ Occidentalis pars est, positum missæ sunt. Posterior enim Epistola calamo exarata in Bibliotheca Vaticana[5] "Iberiam" habet non Hiberniam. Ut qui hanc posterioribus seculis exscripserant, et prelo mandari curaverunt, unius literulæ adjectione, duarum gentium quam longissime disjunctarum res maxime confuderint,[6] et perturbaverint. Hinc non inani conjectura (cujus causas mox propalabo) ducor in ambarum literarum autographis Hiberos, non Hibernos expressos fuisse.

Nec tantum in divi Gregorii[7] sed in aliorum etiam scripta similis error irrepsit. Nam Rufinus narrat ancillæ Christianæ operâ regem Iberiæ, deinde populum, è paganismi tenebris in fidei Catholicæ lucem eductum fuisse.[8] Narrationem hanc Martyrologium Romanum his verbis exprimit: "Apud Iberos trans Pontum Euxinum Sanctæ Christianæ ancillæ, quæ virtute miraculorum gentem illam, tempore Constantini, ad fidem Christi perduxit." Secuti scriptores fœde lapsi has Catholicæ religionis in Iberia cunas,[9] ad Ibernos transferunt. Philippus Bergomensis "mulierculam Christianam" ait in Hibernia "captivam" Christianæ fidei institutionem eò invexisse.[10] Attamen addit hos "Hi-

[4] Prima ex Regest. lib. 2, Epis. 36, data 59. [5] Secunda lib. 9, Epis. 61, data 601. [6] Usherus in Syllog. p. 123. [7] Lib. 1, c. 10. [8] Lib. 5, Decembris. sub annum 338. [9] Anno 338, Æneid 7. [10] Lib. 8, Usher de prim. p. 768.

[t] Reminds one of the beautiful legend of St. Sunniva, an Irish princess, whose festival was kept in Norway on the 8th of July, called the Seljumanna Mass. In 1170 her relics, which had been at first found on the little island of Selja, were removed to Bergen, where, as well as at Trondjem, her memory was held in the highest veneration. The account of her flight

To the popes, therefore, Ireland owes not only the ornaments of her dignity, but much more, the elements of her constancy.

Should it be objected that I was seduced by a false love of country to assert, without grounds, that Ireland was never visited by the censures of the pope, I answer that if the documents produced against me be submitted to a serious examination, it will clearly appear that the thunders of the church were never launched against Ireland. "It is evident," they say, "from the letters of St. Gregorius and the life of St. Kilian, that Ireland was often cut off from the church by censures." But let us examine both assertions separately: and commencing with St. Gregorius, I maintain his two letters were not directed to the Irish, but to the Iberians, a people of Asia, between Albania and Colchis, and at present a part of western Georgia. The MSS. copy of the second letter in the Vatican library reads "Iberia," not "Hibernia." By the negligence of transcribers one letter was added and afterwards printed; and thus the affairs of two distant nations, having no connection with each other, were jumbled and confounded. This circumstance, and other arguments which I am about to adduce, leave no doubt on my mind that both the letters were addressed to the Iberians, not to the Irish.

An error, similar to that in St. Gregorius's, has also crept into the writings of others. Thus, Rufinus relates that a servant maid, a Christian, converted the king of Iberia, and then his whole people, from the darkness of paganism to the light of Christian faith. The fact is thus recorded in the Roman Martyrology: "in Iberia, beyond the Euxine Sea, the festival of a holy Christian maid,[t] who, by her miraculous powers, converted that nation to the faith of Christ in the time of Constantinus." But preceding writers, by a gross blunder, apply to the Irish church the establishment of Christianity among the Iberians. Philippus of Bergamo, says "that an humble Christian woman, being car-

from Ireland, and of her death, and the finding of her relics, was translated from one of the sages by a Norwegian student for William E. Hudson at Trondjem, in 1845. At the close of the copy, now through his kindness in my possession, it is written, "you will still in this time hear people in Bergen 'Stift,' speaking of Sunniva, and even make solemn promises to her." Quæ regio in terris plena, etc. etc.

beros hodie Georgianos appellari, et Armeniis, ac Colchis sub una Provincia sive regione conjungi." Ut hinc intelligas, licet Hiberniam scripserit, Hiberiam tamen ab illo innui. Quare mirari satis non possum cur Sabellicus hanc historiolam è Philippo haustam Hiberniæ adscripserit? Hectorem quidem Boetium è Sabellico non modo narrationem,[11] sed singula pene verba mutuatum fuisse constat, fabulam augmento cumulans, quando cæteris gentem ancillæ reticentibus, eam ille Pictis ascribit. Quam rem idem in "Scoticis Annalibus Demsterus Hirlandorum traditione" referri affirmat.[12] Quæ utriusque discrepantia utrumque indicat famam secutum fuisse, quæ a credulis abrepta novis semper auctibus silvescit.

Arnoldus etiam Pontanus simili nominis errore irretitus fuisse videtur quando scripsit: "Iberos prædicatione S. Patricii fidem Christi recepisse" utu bi scribit S. Hieronimus: "Concessit Christo Hiberiam," alii pro "Hiberia" legunt "Hiberniam," ut Erasmus notat. Unde in Hibernia nostra Galbam imperium invasisse credit Arnoldus Merimannus, vulgatis Eusebiani editionibus deceptus. Sic in rebus gestis S. Firmani Pampilona Hiberiæ sive Hispaniæ urbs in Hibernia collocatur.[13] Et à Vincentio "S. Jacobus Hiberniæ oris appulsus fuisse" dicitur, Hiberniæ pro Hiberiæ alicubi exaratum nactus, quemadmodum Usherus arbitratur.

Itaque cum in probatissimo posterioris Epistolæ S. Gregorii apographo "Iberia" scripta deprehendatur, et ad ejusdem gentis homines prior missa fuerit, non Hibernis, sed Hiberis utramque inscriptam fuisse
[230] credendum | est. Cum præsertim duarum Epistolarum argumentum, argumento sit in Hiberorum potius illas, quam Hibernorum rebus commemorandis versari. Prior enim agit de suadendis Hiberis ut pertinaciam in tribus capitulis tuendis ponant: quæ qualia fuerint paucis accipe.[14] Universale Concilium Calcedone, anno post Christum natum 451, habitum plures Episcopos fidei confessionem â patribus tum conditam amplexos Ecclesiæ communioni adscivit: multis post annis Theodori Mopsuestensis Episcopi commentarii hæresibus, Ibæ Antistitis Essedensis Epistola blasphemiis, Theodoreti Cyrensis Episcopi scripta

[11] Histor. Scot. lib. 6, p. 10', nu. 50. [12] Histor. Eccles. Scoti, lib. 6, nu. 522. [13] Usherus, p. 764. [14] Spondanus in Epitome Baronii in annum 451.

ried a slave into Ireland, established the faith of Christ in that country." He adds, however, that "those Iberians are called Georgians at present, and form but one province or territory with the Armenians and Colchians." Thus, though he writes the word Hibernia, he gives us clearly to understand that he means Iberia. It is surprising, then, that Sabellicus, who adopts this history on the authority of Philippus, should have applied it to Ireland. Hector Boethius copies not only the facts, but the very words of Sabellicus, but makes one little addition of his own, namely, that this woman, of whose country the others are silent, was a Pict. He appeals for that circumstance "to the Scotic annals, but Dempster grounds it on Irish tradition." The discrepancy in their testimony proves that vague rumor, which the credulous always exaggerate, was the sole ground of their statements.

Arnold Pontanus must have also been misled by confounding those names, when he writes, "that the Iberians were converted to the faith of Christ by the preaching of St. Patrick." Again, in the words of St. Hieronimus, "he won over Iberia to Christ;" Iberia is read by some Hibernia, as Erasmus observed. Hence arose the error of Arnold Merriman, grounded on the common editions of Eusebius, that Galba had extended his empire to Ireland: and again, in the life of St. Firmin, Pampeluna, a city of Iberia or Spain, is set down as being in Ireland: Vincent also, misled by confounding the words Hibernia and Iberia, as Ussher thinks, "states that St. James visited the coasts of Ireland."

But as in the best copy of the last epistle of St. Gregorius, the word is written "Iberia," and as the first was certainly directed to the same country, both were evidently sent, not to the Irish, but to the Iberians. The subject of both letters also agrees better with the known state of the Iberian than of the Irish church. The object of the first is to persuade the Iberians to renounce their obstinate defence of the "three chapters," the history of which is briefly this. The general council of Chalcedon, held in 451, admitted several bishops to communion on their profession of the creed then prescribed by the fathers: but several years afterwards, the commentaries of Theodorus, bishop of Mopsueste, were found to be heretical; the letter of Ibas, bishop of Esseda, blasphemous; and the letter of Theodoretus, bishop of Cyra, against St. Cyrillus, erroneous. Several persons, therefore, loudly demanded the

in S. Cyrillum erroribus aspersa fuisse deprehenduntur.[15] Quare mox ab aliquibus, trium illorum Episcoporum condemnatio summopere sollitatur. Nec mora Justiniani primum Imperatoris edicto,[16] deinde generalis Concilii Constantinopolitani sanctione condemnatio eorum indicitur.[17] Cum autem Theodorus nulla damnationis sententia vivus feriretur, et in Ecclesiæ communione mortuus esset, Ibam quoque ac Theodoretum, post damnatas hæreses,[18] Concilii Calcedonensis patres suo contubernio adjungerent, Vigilius Pontifex, et omnes Occidentis, plurimique Orientis Episcopi veriti authoritatem Concilii Calcedonensis, per condemnatorum Episcoporum latera peti, et confodi, iidem tam verbo, quam scripto defendendis acriter incubuerunt. Nam ægerrime ferebant quidpiam de veneratione illi Concilio adhiberi solitâ detrahi; ut cui quatuor primorum Conciliorum postremo tantam fidem, quantam sacræ paginæ haberi Justinianus edicto præceperit.[19] Et S. Gregorius eodem honore quatuor prima Concilia, et quatuor Evangelia prosequi se asseruerit.

Nihilominus summum Pontificem,[20] et Episcopos trium capitulorum condemnationem impugnantes Imperator exilio mulctavit. Hinc tantæ contentiones in Ecclesia ortæ sunt, ut Theodorus Cæsareæ in Cappadocia Episcopus primus controversiæ movendæ author tam turbulentis Ecclesiam tumultibus agitari conspicatus dixit:[21] Pelagium (summum postea Pontificem) seque flammis vivos tradi debere, qui tot turbis in Ecclesia excitandis causam præbuerunt, culpæ sibi societate Pelagium contra fas adjungens, cum ipse jurgium hoc inchoaverit, ultionis de Pelagio sumendæ causâ, quod Origenem, cui Theodorus clanculum favebat, condemnari Pelagius curaverit.[22] Tandem Pontifex rem studiosius perpendens, et de aliquo Concilii decreto rescindendo, aut de aliquo fidei capite hic non agi perspiciens, palinodiam cecinit,[23] et Imperatoris voluntati Conciliique sententiæ se accommodavit, facile passus eorum Episcoporum scriptis vel hæresis, vel blasphemiæ vel erroris notam inuri, dum invidia Concilio conflata, et Episcoporum illorum per-

[15] Ibidem 546. [16] Ibidem. [17] An. 553, nu. 13. [18] An. 546, nu. 3. [19] An. 541, nu. 4. [20] An. 5911, nu. 3. [21] An. 538, nu. 7. [22] An. 546, nu. 3. [23] An. 553, nu. 16.

condemnation of these three bishops, and instantly their wishes were carried into effect; first by an edict of the emperor Justinian, and then by the canons of the general council of Constantinople. But as Theodorus was never excommunicated during life, and died in the communion of the church; and as Ibas and Theodoretus, after recanting their errors, were allowed to take their place in the council with the other bishops, pope Vigilius and all the bishops of the west, together with many bishops of the eastern church also, apprehensive that the authority of the general council of Chalcedon was assailed by the condemnation of these bishops, strenuously defended that council by word and writings. They could not endure that the veneration for that council should be impaired in the slightest degree, since Justinian himself had ordered that this fourth general council should command the same faith as the Scripture itself, and St. Gregorius[u] had declared that he held the same four councils in the same honor as the four Gospels.

The emperor, however, sent the pope, and the others who were opposed to the condemnation of the "three chapters," into exile. So great were the agitations raised in the church by these controversies, that Theodorus, bishop of Cæserea, in Cappadocia, who was the original cause of the tumult, finding the church torn by such tempests, said that Pelagius (afterwards pope) and himself ought to be burned alive for having involved the church in such troubles. But he involves Pelagius unjustly in the blame of those disorders which were caused principally by himself—for he had been a secret abettor of the errors of Origen, which were condemned by the exertions of Pelagius, and hence this revengeful accusation. But pope Vigilius, after diligently examining this whole question of the three chapters, and finding that no decree of the council of Chalcedon was to be revoked, and that the matter did not regard faith, gave up opposition, and agreed to the edict of the emperor and the canon of the council, that the writings of those bishops might be censured either as heretical, or blasphemous, or erroneous, if the

[u] "Gregorii a nobis in commune suscepti, qui etsi post omnes scripsit, est tamen merito omnibus præferendus." Cummian's epistle on the Pasch. Sylloge. Ep. p. 31.

sonis censura inflicta non fuerit.[24] Censebat enim, si de hæresi condemnandis viris fato in Ecclesiæ communione functis janua semel aperiretur, vix ullum, qui scriptis aliquid mandavit, diris immunem fore: cum nemo sit quantacunque scientia vel sanctitate præditus, cujus scripta in errorem aliquem non impingant. Non facile est ait Xenophon ut reperiri aliquod opus possit, in quo nihil à quoquam reprehendatur.[25] Est enim arduum ita quicquam perficere, ut non alicubi pecces. Alias etiam causas, quæ pontifici mutandæ sententiæ suberant, Spondanus egregie exprimit. Quamvis vero sententiam in hac re Pontifex mutaverit, plerique tamen trium capitum pristini propugnatores à priore sua opinione ne latum unguem discesserunt, sed in eâ immoti persti- terunt; ita ut hac rixâ plures quam quinquaginta post annos non sopitâ dissensionibus Ecclesia scinderetur.[26]

Illo autem schismate Hibernos ab Ecclesiæ unione non diductos fuisse multa convincunt. Ac primum prior hæc divi Gregorii Epistola docet eos, ad quos data est, graviter conquestos fuisse, quod persecutione vexarentur. Et Baronius narrat Imperatorem Justinianum suæ ditionis Episcopos à trium capitulorum condemnatione abhorrentes, exilio, et
[231] aliis | ærumnis afflixisse. Additque omnes extra Justiniani ditionem positos omni prorsus persecutione vacasse. Cum igitur quanto Hibernia intervallo ab Orientalis Imperii finibus disjuncta est, tanto Hiberni ab Orientalium Imperatorum potestati obnoxii unquam fuerunt, illos persecutione per Orientalem Imperatorem excitatâ, fuisse quam immunissimos oportuit.

Præterea hæc de tribus capitulis controversia non hæresis, sed Schismatis nomine notanda est, cum in hac ipsa Epistola divus Gregorius dicat: "in synodo in qua de tribus capitulis actum est,[27] aperte liquet

[24] Ibidem. [25] Ibidem. [26] Epitomæ An. 553, nu. 14. [27] Regest. lib. 2, Epis. 36.

[v] Our author proves this point very satisfactorily; he was not misled by some great authorities which preceded him. Fleury, like many of his countrymen, even at the present day, would not take the trouble of inspecting any Irish authority, but blindly perpetuated the blunder. See Lanigan ii., p. 292. The affair of the three chapters caused no trouble in the Irish

authors themselves were not condemned, nor any authority taken away from that council of Chalcedon. He believed that if the custom of condemning as heretics persons who had died in the communion of the church were once introduced, hardly any man who ever wrote a line could escape condemnation; for however holy or learned a person may be, his writings cannot be free from all errors. It is difficult, as Xenophon remarks, to find any work with which some one would not find some fault. Difficult indeed it is to finish any thing to perfection. Spondanus ably explains the other reasons by which the pope was induced to change his opinion. But even after he had changed, most of the former antagonists of the three chapters persisted in their opinion, and would not abate in the least their former opposition. Thus the church was torn with dissensions on this subject during more than fifty years.

The Irish were not cut off from the church by this schism.[v] Many arguments prove this assertion; and first, it appears, from the first letter of St. Gregorius, that the persons to whom it was addressed had complained that they were persecuted, and Baronius tells us that all the bishops of the eastern empire, who resisted the condemnation of the three chapters, were persecuted by Justinian, driven into exile, or exposed to other sufferings. "Those," he adds, "who were beyond the reach of the emperor's power were not prosecuted." The Irish, therefore, being as far beyond the dominion of the emperors of the east, as Ireland was from the limits of the eastern empire, they could not have been in the least exposed to the persecution of Justinian, as in truth they were never subject, even to the western emperors.

Moreover, the adherents of the three chapters could not be charged with heresy, but only with schism. St. Gregorius himself says in that very letter that "it manifestly appears there was no subversion or change of the faith by that council, which condemned the three chapters;" and near the end of the letter says, "that the integrity of our faith

church, but St. Columbanus wrote on that subject, by order of Agilulph, king of the Lombards, his famous letter to pope Bonifacius IV. See Rev. W. G. Todd's Church of St. Patrick, p. 145. Dublin Review, June, 1846, p. 494, 495.

nihil de fide convulsum, vel aliquatenus immutatum." Et prope finem "fidei nostræ integritas in causa trium capitulorum inviolata permansit." Idemque sæpius inculcat. Propterea Catholicis de hac lite contentio non cum hæreticis sed cum aliis Catholicis intercessit.[28] Ita ut etiam si trium capitulorum jurgia irretirentur Hiberni non ideo tamen hæresi se, sed schismate contaminarent. Nec schismate quidem eos infectos inde censeo, quod nullum cum Occidentalibus Ecclesiis schismatis istius labe aspersis commercium habuerint. Quam enim Hiberni consuetudinem habere poterant cum Ecclesiis Venetiarum Istriæ, Liguriæ et Aquileiæ in hujusmodi schismatis luto potissimum inhærentibus? Ut ex eo Aquileia demum nisi an. Dom. 698 non emerserit.[29] Nec obscurum indicium est Hibernos Aquileiensibus,[30] in trium capitulorum defensione, nunquam adhæsisse, quòd qui scriptores divum Gregorium has Epistolas Hibernis misisse censent, iidem Hibernos schismati se subduxisse, ac Ecclesiæ Catholicæ se, an. Dom. 592 aggregasse narrent. Cum vicinis Britannis Hiberni solebant,[31] non cum tam longinquis gentibus, erroris societate conjungi.[32] Nec alios utriusque gentis errores quam Pelagianam hæresim, et de Paschatis observantia controversiam Beda commemorat. Ut Hibernos hoc trium capitulorum schismate neutiquam correptos fuisse mihi persuadeam, quod scriptor solertissimus Britannicæ et Hibernicæ gentis, res præsertim Ecclesiasticas accuratâ narratione prosequi solitus, tam decantatâ Ecclesiæ dissensione illas involutas fuisse, ne verbo quidem innuerit.

Nec etiam Beda Hibernos Nestorianismo laborasse vel tantillum insinuat. Quare non possum adduci ut credam eum qui tam accuratam narrationem de levioribus eorum erroribus instituit pessimæ notæ hæresim, si eâ inquinati fuissent silentio præteriturum.

Etenim quomodo notitiam ejus subterfugeret eos in tam execrandam

[28] Epitome Baronii An. 546, nu. 3, et an. 553, nu. 15. [29] Ibidem. [30] An. 556, nu. 1, et an. 570, nu. 3. [31] Ibidem. [32] An. 592, nu. 2, Beda lib. 2, c. 19, lib. 3, c. 25, et alibi passim.

[w] For the nature of this controversy (as it did not disturb Ireland), the reader is referred to the proper authorities.

[x] St. Columbanus was at the time residing in the countries agitated by those controversies and, like many others, was troubled by false rumors

did not suffer in the least degree by the decision on the three chapters." He frequently repeats the same assertion. The controversy, therefore, on that subject was one between Catholics, but by no means involving heresy.[w] And though the Irish were implicated in the contest, they might at worst be charged with schism, but not with heresy. But, in my opinion, they were not guilty even of schism, because they had no communication with the churches of the west, which were involved in schism. What communication could the Irish[x] have with the churches of Venice, Istria, Liguria, and Aquileia, which were the ringleaders in obstinacy ? The schism held its ground in Aquileia down to the year 698, whence we may fairly infer that the Irish never joined with the Aquileians against the three chapters since even those writers, who maintain that St. Gregorius's letters were directed to the Irish, assert that they renounced the schism in the year 592, and returned to the communion of the Catholic church. The Irish were more usually involved in the errors of their neighbours, the Britons, than of those distant nations; and yet Beda never charges the Britons with more than two errors, namely, the Pelagian heresy and the observance of Easter. When a writer, so intimately acquainted with the Irish and British nations, and who has recorded so minutely their ecclesiastical affairs, does not give the slightest intimation that they were involved in this famous controversy, I have no hesitation in absolving the Irish from the guilt of opposing the condemnation of the three chapters.

Neither does Beda give the slightest grounds for charging the Irish with Nestorianism: and is it possible that a man who details their errors on the less important points would have passed over in silence a most foul heresy, had they been tainted with it.

Could he be ignorant of their fall into so execrable a heresy, when he was familiarly acquainted with their less heinous errors ? or would so candid a writer suppress the one and record the others ? The second letter of St. Gregorius, therefore, I maintain was not sent to the Irish,

concerning a question of fact, namely, the decrees of the fifth general council, "*dicunt* enim, Eutychen, Nestorium, Dioscorum, antiquos ut scimus hæreticos a Vigilio (papa) in Synodo, nescio quam, in quinta receptos fuisse."

hæresim lapsos fuisse, qui minores illorum lapsus exploratos habuit? quis autem crederet scriptorem tam integrum hos propalaturum,[33] illos celaturum? Proinde secundam illam Epistolam à divo Gregorio non ad Hibernos, sed Hiberos datam fuisse citra dubium existimo; utpote quæ indicat illos, quibus inscripta est "Studuisse inquirere sacerdotes ac plebes quæ Nestorianæ hæreseos errore confusæ sunt, cum ad matrem electorum omnium Catholicam Ecclesiam revertuntur, utrum baptizari debeant, an certe solius veræ fidei confessione ejusdem matris Ecclesiæ visceribus adjungi?"

Hujusmodi sciscitationum authores Nestorianismum non eminus intuitos, sed intra sua viscera complexos fuisse oportuit, qui tam crebro hæresim illam deserentibus asylum aperuerunt. Quæ intra Orientalis Ecclesiæ fines coercita, cum ad Ecclesiam Occidentalem vix unquam serpsisse legatur, eam potius apud Hiberos in Oriente positos, quam apud Hibernos in remotissimis Occidentalis Ecclesiæ limitibus constitutos viguisse necesse est. Huc accedit quod potius ab illis, quam ab his lator ille venisse dicendus sit, qui Romam pergens,[34] "literas in suas Hieresolymorum urbe cum rebus quoque aliis perdidit." Nam ex Hiberia Romam contendentibus per Syriam et Hierosolymam rectum iter est. Qui vero ex Hibernia Romam petit, si Hierosolymam viam carpat, non solum tota via (ut aiunt) errabit, sed extra rationis etiam metas multum excurret, qui propiorem sibi scopum itineris statuens, ad regiones quam [232] longissime positas fatue progreditur. Vulgo | carpuntur, qui cum adsit via, semitam quærunt: summa ergo reprehensione dignus is est, aut potius ab insania non multum abscedere dicendus, qui terminum itineris nactus, in longinqua ultro fertur. Documentum igitur apertissimum est tabellarium illum ex Hiberiâ, non ex Hibernia Romam profectum, cum Hierosolymâ iter habuerit; ac proinde literas illas à Divo Gregorio ad Hiberos non ad Hibernos datas fuisse. Epigraphe quoque alterius hujus Epistolæ non obscure præ se fert eam Hiberno nulli missam fuisse. Mihi enim Episcoporum illius temporis nomina percurrenti, nemo "Quirini" nomine affectus occurrit. Ejusmodi nomen Orientalibus aut Romanis familiare fuit, non Hibernis.[35] Licet nomen Kerani huic

[33] Regest. lib. 9, Ep. 61. [34] Ibidem.

but to the Iberians, because those to whom it was addressed had asked the pope "whether the priests and laymen who had been involved in the Nestorian heresy, should be baptized on their return to the Catholic church, the mother of all the elect, or whether a simple profession of the true faith was sufficient to restore them to her arms."

Such questions would never be proposed by persons who saw Nestorianism only at a distance. It must have been festering among them, when they prescribe rules for the frequent reception of its victims into the bosom of the church. Nestorianism, moreover, was confined almost exclusively to the Eastern church. We do not read of its ravages in the Western church; and therefore it is much more probable that it infected the Iberians, an Eastern nation, than the Irish, who were the most distant members of the Western church. It is stated, moreover, that the person sent by the Iberians "lost his letters and many other things in the city of Jerusalem," a circumstance which clearly proves it was not the Irish had sent him. For, while the straight road from Iberia to Rome lies through Syria and Jerusalem, a person, who would take Jerusalem in his route from Ireland to Rome, would not only lose his way, but his senses, in madly selecting a very distant city as part of his line to his journey's end, which lay much nearer to him. If it be ridiculous even to proverb to abandon the high road for a bye-way, what mercy can we show to a man who, after arriving at his journey's end, deliberately sallies away to a more distant region? Is it not something like madness? If the bearer of the letters, then, passed through Jerusalem on his way to Rome, he must have been sent not from Ireland, but from Iberia; and the letters of St. Gregorius must have been addressed to the Iberians, not to the Irish. Even the superscription of the second letter intimates clearly enough that it was not intended for any Irishman. After a diligent examination of the catalogues of bishops, I have not found any person in Ireland, in that age, called Quirinus. That name was common among the Orientals and the Romans, but never among the Irish, though they had Kiaran, which resembles it. In the Irish calendars there are not less than twenty-six Kiarans honored as saints.

It may be said, however, all my attempts to prove that the Irish had

adfine frequentissimum apud eos fuerit. Etenim in Hibernicis Fastis viginti sex Kerani, in sanctorum numerum referuntur.

Sed frustra me niti quispiam forte arguet, dum alios quam Hibernos divum Gregorium his literis honorasse, Baronio reclamante contendo. Ego autem Baronio dudum cessissem, nisi eum vulgari apographorum errore extra veri viam, in hac re abductum hactenus dicta convicerint. Qui hosce Hibernorum lapsus non tam narrat, quam extenuat, eos errores ab iis aliena sollicitatione potius, quam sponte sua haustos fuisse memorans his verbis: "Dolo schismaticorum, falso ad Hibernos rumore perlato,[36] à quinta synodo peccatum esse in sacrosanctum Chalcedonense Concilium, quasi trium damnatione capitulorum, damnasset pariter quæ in eadem synodo statuta essent, ardentissimo zelo, sed non secundum scientiam, insurgunt omnes Episcopi, et schismaticis se jungunt, et pro defensione trium capitulorum acerrime pugnant, et ut in remotissimis degentes partibus, ad quas lux veritatis non facile perveniret, venialis quidem error, et schisma excusabile, quæ non cordis malitia, sed veritatis ignorantia; non differentia fidei, sed distantia locorum, non cognita aversio à Romana Ecclesia Hibernos seduxerunt." Ego quidem in honore ponerem literarum commercium Divo Gregorio cum gente mea intercessisse, nisi ab aucupanda hac gloria, veritatis me studium avertisset. Quæ suadet ut Patris Georgii Dillon è Societate Jesu Theologi sententiæ non invitus accedam dicentis: neque in hæresis Nestorianæ falsitate, aut trium capitulorum veritate in Hibernia unquam hesitatum fuisse.

Quod si qui rationibus istis non acquiescentes, illas Divi Gregorii literas ad Hibernos scriptas esse pugnacius, quam æquius contendant, intelligant illi literas easdem nullam Hibernorum defectionem ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ vel insinuare. Sed sanctum Pontificem Hibernorum questiones enodasse, de modo admittendi reversos ab hæreticâ disciplinâ instruxisse, quæ objecerant diluisse, illos paterne monuisse, ut Nestorianismum vitarent precavisse. Ex quibus certe officiis elucet potius cum Romano Pontifice consensio, animique in eum velut parentem demissio. Hinc Pontifex eos velut sua pignora alloquitur dicens: "Si mihi contigerit de vestra reversione gaudere."[37]

[36] An. 553. [37] Lib. 9, Epist. 61.

not the honor of receiving these letters from St. Gregorius are unavailing, since Baronius states directly the reverse. The authority of Baronius would have satisfied me, if the proofs already advanced had not convinced me that he was led astray by the errors of the copyists. Yet in his narrative he extenuates the guilt of the Irish. "They were involved in error," he says, "not of their own accord, but by the solicitations of others. A false rumor was carried to Ireland by the treacherous schismatics, that the fifth synod condemned the general council of Chalcedon; the condemnation of the three chapters being represented as opposed to the canons of Chalcedon. Instantly all the bishops rose up, and, with most ardent zeal, but not according to science, took part with the schismatics, and zealously defended the three chapters. But as they lived in so distant a country, where the light of truth could not easily reach them, their error was venial, and their sin pardonable, as it arose from ignorance, and not from malice of heart. It was not a difference in faith, nor a deliberate aversion for the church of Rome, but merely the remoteness of the country that separated Ireland from the Roman church." Truly I would consider it a great honor that letters had ever been sent by St. Gregorius to Ireland; but regard for truth compels me to renounce our claims to that glory. I agree fully in the opinion of Father George Dillon, a theologian of the Society of Jesus, that Ireland never for a moment admitted the Nestorian heresy, or doubted the justice of the condemnation of the three chapters.

Should it be obstinately maintained in the face of those conclusive arguments, that the letters of St. Gregorius were, nevertheless, addressed to Ireland, we might answer, in the last place, that the letters do not imply any revolt of the Irish to the authority of Rome. The pope merely decides some questions, gives some instructions on the manner of receiving into the bosom of the church persons returning from heresy, answers objections, and admonishes them like a father to shun the errors of Nestorius. Does not such conduct prove that they were of one accord with the pope, and that they even reverenced him as their father? Hence he addresses them in terms which imply that they were under his charge. "If," he says, "I am to have the happiness of seeing you renounce your errors."

Cæterum altero adhuc telo impetor, quod Hiberniam nullis unquam summorum Pontificum censuris afflatam fuisse dixerim, nimirum loco illo à S. Kiliani vita desumpto, qui sic se habet: "Hibernia olim Pelagianâ fœdata fuerat hæresi, Apostolicâque censurâ damnata quæ nisi Romano judicio solvi non poterat. Idcirco vir sanctissimus" Kilianus "coram Primatè Apostolicæ sedis, ejusdemque ministris, ut sibi semina divini verbi gentibus erogare liceret, studio divini amoris expetivit." His multa fidem abrogant. Ac primum ut Joannes Wadingus Theologus Wexfordiensis in libro, quem ad Demsterum impugnandum scripsit (et Historiam Ecclesiasticam Hiberniæ inscripsit) egregie advertit, Concilium Diospolitanum, Carthaginense, Ephesinum; summos etiam Pontifices Innocentium, Zozimum, Cælestinum, et Bonifacium hæresim Pelagianam, et singulos homines eam amplexos anathematis jaculo confixisse, nulli regno aut Provinciæ anathema nominatim indixisse.

Quod si Conciliorum aut Pontificum authoritate regiones amplæ censuris ob hæresim Pelagianam innodandæ forent, ratio, et æquitas ferebat, ut ea loca, in quibus hæresis Pelagiana latius diffundebatur, iis [233] potius | ferirentur, quam Hibernia.[38] Proinde cum Italia, ipsaque Romana civitas, ubi pravorum dogmatum Pelagius sementem fecit; aut Oriens, ubi hæresis eadem viguit, aut Occidens ubi propagata est (nimirum) "in Occidente Sicilia, in Oriente Rhodus ex Hieronymo, præcipua discipulorum schola fuisse videtur, magistro ipso Hierosolymis habitationis sedem collocare libuit,"[39] aliaque loca hac hæresi magis infecta immunitatem ab anathemate nacta sunt, cur ejusmodi telum in Hiberniam torqueretur? quam cum S. Patricius Christianismo initiasset, in eam Pelagianismo aditum præclusisse credendus est, qui "messem quidem magnam,[40] operarios autem paucos in Hibernia videns trans-

[38] Usherus de prim. pp. 215, 226. [39] Ibidem, p. 227. [40] Jocelinus in vita S. Patricii, c. 92.

[7] See Lanigan iii., p. 119. In the life of St. Kilian adopted in the Acta Benedict. there is nothing said of the Pelagian heresy in Ireland. However, as the Irish were accused by some persons of Pelagianism, the pope's letter on that subject, supra p. 724, may, possibly enough, have been objected to

But another argument is produced against my assertion, that Ireland was never punished by papal censures. The following passage is taken from the life of St. Kilian: "Ireland was formerly involved in the Pelagian heresy, and cursed with the apostolic censures, from which she could not be absolved without direct application to Rome.[y] Accordingly, that most holy man, St. Kilian, presented himself before the primate of the apostolic see and his ministers to be allowed to preach the Divine word to the Gentiles, whom he had resolved to convert for the love of God." But there are many arguments to subvert that statement: And, first, as John Wadding, a Wexford divine, has well observed, in his work against Dempster (which he called a Church History of Ireland), "the councils of Diospolis, Carthage, and Ephesus, and popes Innocent, Zozimus, Celestinus, and Bonifacius, repeatedly condemned the Pelagian heresy and all its abettors, but did not specially mention in their anathemas any particular kingdom or province."

Now, if kingdoms or nations were punished by censures of popes or councils for the Pelagian heresy, reason and justice would require them to fall on those countries where Pelagianism had made the greatest ravages, and not on Ireland. Italy, the city of Rome itself, was the nursery of those errors; they were rife in the East, they were propagated in the West. "Sicily, according to St. Hieronymus, was one of their principal schools in the West, and Rhodes in the East; and Jerusalem itself was the seat of the founder of this heresy." Now, if these and other places were more deeply tinged with heresy, why should Ireland be singled out for excommunication? why should such a dread weapon be hurled against Ireland, when St. Patrick himself, the founder of the Irish church, appears to have precluded the possibility of the introduction of Pelagianism? "for, when he found that the harvest in Ireland was great, but the laborers few,

St. Kilian by others; and the obvious way for him of removing any such imputation on his faith would have been a direct recourse to the same authority which had made the accusation. Certain it is, that there is not the least trace of any papal excommunication of the Irish for Pelagianism.

fretavit in Britanniam acquisiturus sibi coadjutores in agrum Dominicum et cooperatores. Et quia pestis Pelagianæ hæresis, et etiam Ariana perfidia pluribus in locis Britanniæ fines fœdaverat, ipse prædicando, et signa multa faciendo, patriotas ad viam veritatis perducebat." Cui enim unquam in mentem veniret[a] existimare S. Patricium adeo mentis impotem fuisse, ut falce in messem alienam missâ, sentes hæreseos in messe sua excrescere pateretur?

Imo tùm cùm in Hibernia Christianæ religionis auroram S. Patricius aperiret, anno scilicet post virginis partum 431, in Britannia hæresis Pelagianæ fibras, sanctissimi viri Germanus et Lupus, ille Antisiodorensis, hic Trecassensis Episcopus penitus eliserunt,[41] ante quorum adventum, "totam fere Britanniam Pelagiana pestis occupasse dicitur." Sed post in sanctorum Germani, Lupique "sententiam regionis universitas promptè transierat."[42] Eandem autem hæresim ibi deinde pullulantem idem S. Germanus, et Severus Trevirensis Episcopus funditus everterunt, qui in Britanniam reversi, "recognoscunt populum in ea qua illum reliquerant credulitate durantem,[43] intelligunt culpam esse paucorum, inquirunt authores, inventosque condemnant, qui omnium sententiâ erant expulsi ex insulâ. Factumque est ut illis locis multo ex eo tempore fides intemerata perduraret." Itaque primis hisce fidei susceptæ temporibus, Hiberni nulla hæresis hujus contagione correpti, aut corrupti sunt; cum Britannia istius hæresis expers nullos institutores eâ imbutos Hibernis informandis subministraverit.

Ista quidem hæresis postea tantillum in Hiberniam irrepsit, et paucissimos tantum infecisse videtur, uno duntaxat solertissimi Bedæ loco

[41] Usherus in prim. p. 319. [42] Beda, lib. 1, c. 17. [43] Beda, lib. 1, c. 21.

[a] Not before he wrote his confession, if at all. Dr. Lanigan's inference, that the confession was written shortly before St. Patrick's death, is however by no means solid, even though we adopt his own chronology of assigning 33 years for the whole period of the mission, and A.D. 465 for his death at the age of 78. Suppose, for example, that the confession was written when St. Patrick was 60, could he not say that he wrote it "in senectute mea?"[b] could he not speak of death as approaching "hæc est confessio mea

he sailed over to Britain for assistants to co-operate with him in cultivating the field of the Lord. And because he found that the cancer of the Pelagian, and even of the Arian heresy had corrupted their way through many parts of Britain, he brought back many of his countrymen to the way of truth, by his preaching and numerous miracles."[z] Now can any man imagine that St. Patrick could be so foolish as to put his sickle into another man's harvest, while the rank weeds of heresy were vegetating luxuriantly in his own field? Even in the first dawn of Christianity in Ireland, when St. Patrick preached in the year 431, the Pelagian heresy was almost completely eradicated from Britain by the zeal of the holy men, St. Germanus of Auxerre, and of Lupus, bishop of Troyes. Before their arrival, the Pelagian heresy had corrupted nearly the whole of Britain, "but the Britons afterwards admitted universally the doctrines of their new teachers." But on the revival of their errors, St. Germanus returned to Britain, accompanied by St. Severus, of Treves, "and found the mass of the people faithful to the creed which he had preached. A few only were guilty. The ringleaders were discovered and condemned, and by the general voice of the nation banished from the island. These measures had the effect of preserving the faith undefiled in those places during many centuries." In the primitive ages of the church, the Irish were not tainted or infected with that heresy. Britain herself had renounced it, and the missionaries whom "she sent to Ireland could not have introduced it among their disciples."

The heresy, it is true, crept into Ireland at a later period; but its ravages must have been very slight. Beda, a most accurate author, alludes to it only in one passage. "It was eradicated,"[a] he says, "in

antequam moriar?" and could he not have abundant time during the preceding 15 years since the commencement of his mission to visit all the island and perform every one of the actions assigned by Dr. Lanigan, as proofs that the confession was written at the close of his life. Ware was much more cautious in his inference, "verba hæc *innuere videntur*, illum non diu ante obitum suum eam litteris mandasse." What *seemed* to Ware to be a *probability* is enounced by Dr. Lanigan as a certainty, i. 349.

[a] Beda says nothing of the kind; in the passage cited he refers expressly to the error on the Pasch alone.

iteratum ejus hic exortum indicante,[44] quam simul cum præpostera Paschatis observantia, ab Australibus Hiberniæ regionibus desertam fuisse insinuat, dum dicit:[45] "gentes Scotorum quæ in Australibus Hiberniæ partibus morabantur, jamdudum ad admonitionem Apostolicæ sedis Antistitis Pascha canonico ritu observare didicisse." Nimirum Honorio primo, aut Laurentio Cantuariensi, summi Pontificis impulsu suadente ut ex lib. 2, c. 4, et 19, intelligere est. Ubi vero summi Pontifices ex Australium Hibernorum animis, hæresis, et schismatis sordes absterserunt, mox idem officium, Septentrionalibus Hibernis exhibere aggressi sunt, datis ad eorum Præsules, et alios qui Ecclesiastica dignitate nominisque fama ibidem eminuerunt luculentis literis. Literarum enim Pontificis,[46] à Beda suæ historiæ insertarum inscriptio eorum solummodo nomina complectitur, qui Septentrionalium regionum Ecclesiis præficiebantur, ut supra fusius ostendi, qui civium suorum Australium errores à sede Apostolica sublatos esse conspicati, ut indidem suo malo medelam compararent, apud Pontificem questi sunt, pravam Paschatis observationem, et Pelagianam hæresim in suis finibus adhuc serpere. Ait enim Epistola Pontificis,[47] "non totam eorum gentem, sed quosdam ex iis hac hæresi fuisse implicitos."

Quæ verba licet de minus rectâ Paschatis observatione prolata fuisse videantur, iis tamen hæresim etiam Pelagianam innui contendo. Cum hac Pontificis admonitione Pelagianismus sopitus fuisse videatur, iniqui Paschatis errore ad longe posteriora tempora producto. Frequentissimas contentiones à Septentrionalibus Hibernis de Paschatis controversià habitas Beda memorat. Additque pertinaciam illos in hoc errore tuendo non ante posuisse, quam Adamnanus eam sub natum salutis 700, illis |
[234] excusserit. Nec nisi anno post Christum natum 716, Egbertum Hienses monachos ex hujus erroris luto eduxisse. Toto vero hujusce temporis curriculo, cum nulla de Pelagianismo querela emerserit, quis non plane

[44] Lib. 1, c. 19. [45] Lib. 3, c. 3. [46] Lib. 2, c. 19. [47] Ibidem.

[b] All Northern, certainly, if the ecclesiastical province of Leath Cuinn was as extensive in 640, as it was defined to be in the synod of Rathbreasail in 1110.

[c] Neither Beda, nor the letter of

the southern half of Ireland, at the same time as the error regarding the celebration of Easter." The natives of the south of Ireland had long since adopted the canonical rite of the observance of Easter, from the admonitions of the prelate of the apostolic see, "namely, Honorius the First, or Laurentius of Canterbury, acting under the directions of the pope, as appears from the second book, chaps. 4 and 19. When the popes had succeeded in removing the stain of heresy and schism from the southern Irish, they turned their zeal to the Irish of the north, and addressed letters to their prelates and other ecclesiastical dignitaries and celebrated men. The names found on the superscription of those letters, as given in Beda, are exclusively those of northern ecclesiastics,[b] as I have already clearly proved. Seeing that their countrymen of the south had been liberated from their errors, by the authority of the pope, they applied to the same quarter for help, and complained to the pope that the uncanonical rite of observing Easter and the Pelagian heresy[c] were still in their country. The pope's letter states that "only a part of the nation was infected with the heresy."

Though these words refer exclusively to the uncanonical observance of Easter, I am convinced they include the Pelagian heresy also. But, though Pelagianism was suppressed by the admonitions of the pope, the error in the paschal observance continued for many years later. Beda states that "very frequent controversies were raised by the northern Irish regarding the paschal question, and that they obstinately adhered to their erroneous computation until the year 700, when Adamnan succeeded in converting them." But it was not before the year 716 that the monks of Iona renounced their errors by the ex-

John (pope elect) cites expressly the authority of the northern bishops for the existence of the Pelagian heresy in Ireland. The latter says, "hoc quoque cognovimus," but from whom it doth not say.

[d] Regarding the Pelagian heresy, the words are vague, "denuo apud vos reviviscit;" but on the pasch they are more precise, "reperimus *quosdam* provinciæ vestræ—pascha nostrum—cum Hæbreis celebrare nitentes." The words which our author seems to apply here to the spread of the Pelagian heresy refer solely to the error on the pasch, and are so understood by Beda, lib. ii., c. xix.

cernit id ideo usu venisse, quod hæresis ista, non solum repressa, sed etiam compressa, et penitus extincta fuerit? etenim non credendum est viros tantâ scientiâ, et sanctitate claros purulentissimum hæreseos ulcus intra Ecclesiæ suæ viscera residere passuros, et in levioris erroris cicatrice obducenda tantopere desudaturos fuisse. Certum igitur est Catholicæ religionis in Hibernia cunas nulla Pelagianæ hæresis labe conspurcatas fuisse, et si quæ hæresis istius silix,[48] cum veræ fidei tritico post enata est, eam Pontificum industria, apud Austrinos Hibernos "jamdudum," apud Boreales, "Joannis" quarti operâ, salutis anno 640 radicitus evulsam esse. Deinde sicut obscurum non est Hiberniam an. Dom. 664,[49] hac hæresi non laborasse, quando disceptatione de Paschatis controversiâ ferventer initâ, nulla hæresis hujus mentio insinuata, nedum instituta fuerit; (non enim de summa cute curanda intimo morbo neglecto, viri tam præclari solliciti essent) sic exploratissimum est Hibernicæ fidei integritatem omni hæresis fece, anno salutis 681 vacasse, quo Wilfridus Hiberniæ nomine, fidei professionem, in Romana centum viginti quinque Episcoporum synodo emisit. Ut Beda his verbis testatur:[50] "Wilfridus Episcopus Eboracensis pro omni Aquilonari parte Britanniæ et Hiberniæ Insulis quæ ab Anglorum et Britonum, nec non Scotorum et Pictorum gentibus incoluntur, veram et Catholicam fidem confessus est, et conscriptione sua corroboravit."

Non enim par est credere, quadriennio tantum inter hunc et an. 685,

[48] Lib. 3, c. 3, lib. 2, c. 19. [49] Epitome Bedæ. [50] Lib. 5, c. 20.

* The arguments by which some of the Irish defended their Calendar or old Style may be seen from the conference between Colman and Wilfrid; Beda, lib. iii., c. 25. Others, like Columbanus, in his letter to St. Gregorius, classed Ireland among "barbarous nations," and cited a Canon of the second General Council, as a ground of exemption from the general law of the church on the pasch; "we ask permission to observe our own laws according to the regulation made by the 150 Fathers of the council of Constantinople, "quas autem in barbaris sunt gentibus Dei ecclesias, administrare oportet secundum patrum, quæ servata est consuetudinem." The objection which might be urged against his petition, from the fact

ertions of Egbert.[e] Now as the Pelagian heresy is never mentioned during these protracted disputes; it evidently must have been not only repressed but suppressed and extinguished. Men so holy and learned as the prelates of those days would not have patiently allowed the purulent ulcer of heresy to devour their church, while they labored so strenuously to heal the wounds of a much slighter error. It is certain then, that the primitive ages of Irish Catholicity were not tainted with Pelagianism, and if any tares of the kind sprung up with the wheat of the true faith, they were eradicated by the zeal of the popes long before the year 630, in the south of Ireland, and in the north by the letters of pope John, in 640. Had it existed in Ireland in the year 664, when the paschal controversy was causing the greatest commotions, it would certainly have been mentioned. Men so celebrated as the Irish of those days would not have been so careful in curing a mere scratch on the skin, while a mortal disease was preying on the vitals. Again, in the year 681 it is notorious that there was no stain of heresy on the fair name of Ireland, for Wilfrid then made a profession of faith on behalf of Ireland in a Roman synod of 120 bishops, as Beda records in the following words: "Wilfrid, bishop of York, confessed the true and Catholic faith on behalf of all the northern part of Britain, and the islands of Ireland, which are inhabited by the English and the Britons as well as by the Scots and Picts, and confirmed said confession with his signature.'[f]

It is highly improbable that in the four years from that council to

that he was then in France and not in his own barbarous country, he had endeavoured with genuine Irish sharpness to remove, by stating that the desert in which he was living might to all intents be considered as an Irish country, because none but Irish were living there.

[f] Giles' translation of the passage runs thus: "Wilfrid, &c. &c. made confession of the true and Catholic faith, and subscribed the same in the name of the northern part of Britain and Ireland, inhabited by the English and Britons, as also by the Scots and Picts." As a testimony to the faith of all those countries, the passage is clear enough: but whence had Wilfrid authority to confess the faith "in the name" of any part of Ireland. He had been asked to declare the faith "of the *province or island* from which he came." He spoke simply as a witness.

quo S. Kilianus Hibernia excessit elapso, tantam Hibernos Pontificis offensam incurrisse, ut tam gravi censuarum ejus telo configerentur ?[51] cum præsertim Cardinalis Baronius asserat disciplinâ monasticâ Hiberniam, ea tempestate, maxime floruisse: et alia S. Kiliani gesta ex ejus vitæ scriptore hausta memorans, mentionem hæresis Pelagianæ ab Hibernis imbibitæ aut execrationis ab iis contractæ missam faciat;[52] utpote aspernatus ejusmodi commenti narrationem suis scriptis inserere, quæ à veritate plurimum abhorrere videbatur, ipso Serrario ei fidem abrogante dum dicit: "Pelagium primo Britanniam occupavisse,[53] et non longo inde pelago, ut esset omnino Pelagius, in Hiberniam transmississe." In utroque allucinatus. Nam vernaculum ejus nomen erat "Morganus" quod Pelago natum significat, unde latinum Pelagii nomen effluxit.[54] "Et hæresis Pelagiana per Agricolam fidem Britannorum fœda peste commaculaverat, non per Pelagium, quem post suam hæresim propalatam. Usherus nunquam in Britanniam, nedum in Hiberniam pedem intulisse probat.[55] "Agricolam" etiam Prosper ait: "Ecclesias Britanniæ" (non Hiberniæ, ut Onuphrii habet editio) dogmatis sui insinuatione corrupisse."[56] Et Cælestius, "quem Pelagii" Phineam Orosius appellat, licet Scotus, sive quod idem est, Hibernus, sicut hæresim peregre "imbiberat," sic eandem peregre "vulgaverat,"[57] Britanniâ aut Hiberniâ nunquam postea ejus accessu attactâ.[58] Vivendi enim finem ambo ante fecerunt, quam Hiberniæ religionis tyrocinio imbuendæ initium S. Patricius. Itaque neque nuperi neque etiam olim (ut hic author vult) Hiberni hæresis Pelagianæ sordibus adeo mordicus adhæserunt, ut execrationis tam diuturnæ, castigationem nulli alteri præterea orbis parti hâc hæresi multo plus inquinatæ inflictam promeriti fuerint.

Quid ? fieri ne potuit ut ad fontem cœno hæresis infectam, et censurarum nævis sordidam, virtutis et scientiæ hauriendæ causâ, concursus

[51] Epitome an. 686, nu. 4. [52] In notis ad vitam S. Kiliani. [53] Usher in primord. p. 206. [54] Beda, lib. 1, c. 17. [55] Primord. p. 215. [56] Apud Ush. Ibid. p. 1097. [57] Ibid. 208. [58] Ibidem, pp. 214, 218.

[g] During what our author calls the golden age of Ireland, but there never was any golden age on earth since the fall of Adam, not even during

the departure of St. Kilian from Ireland in 685, the Irish could have so deeply incurred the displeasure of the pope as to deserve the extreme penalty of excommunication, especially as Ireland was at that period eminent for the perfection of her monastic discipline, according to Baronius. Hence, though he follows the author of St. Kilian's life in all other facts relating to the saint, he takes no notice of the assertion that Ireland was infected with the Pelagian heresy, or had been laid under interdict. Statements of that character could not be admitted into his work. He knew they were flagrantly opposed to facts. Serrarius himself destroys the authority of the statement, "by saying that Pelagius first took his stand in Britain, and then, that he might be a Pelagius indeed, sailed over a narrow sea to Ireland." These statements are both incorrect. First, his real name was Morgan, that is, son of the sea, whence the Latin name Pelagius was formed. Again, "it was not by Pelagius, but Agricola that the purity of British faith was polluted by the Pelagian heresy." Ussher proves that Pelagius never visited Britain, much less Ireland, after he had broached his heresy. Prosper also states "that Agricola corrupted the British churches" (not the Irish, as Onuphrius has it), "by the dissemination of his heterodox principles." Celestinus, styled by Orosius the Phineas of Pelagius, though a Scot, that is, an Irishman, imbibed his errors in foreign countries, and propagated them in foreign countries, having never afterwards visited either Britain or Ireland. Both the heresiarchs died before St. Patrick had commenced his apostolical labors in Ireland. There is no proof, therefore, that the Irish either in earlier ages or in subsequent times (as this writer pretends) had adhered so pertinaciously to the errors of Pelagius as to draw down on themselves the penalty of so protracted an interdict—an interdict, moreover, which was not pronounced on other parts of the church, which were more guilty than Ireland.

What! will it be said that the great mart of valuable learning; the nursery of the most holy and learned men, to which crowds flocked from all quarters to imbibe piety and knowledge,[g] was, after all, a

the three first centuries of the church, the memory of which is revered by all Christians. "Golden age," as applied to any period of time, is a

undique "tamquam ad bonarum literarum mercaturam" et virorum "sanctissimorum,[60] doctissimorumque officinam fieret?" Quid? an tot viris doctis ac sanctis sic obtusus fuit intellectus, ut has spurcitias non viderent, aut tam torpida pietas, ut ad eas eluendas operam dare neglexerint? Quid? an non religioni ducebant se sordium istarum contagione maculatos in alias regiones, fidei, ac eruditionis disseminandæ gratia conferre, et quorum vitia expurgare statuerunt, eosdem macu-
[235] larum suarum communione conspurcare? non eam | sane opinionem de sanctis Hibernis, qui per plerasque Europæ regiones fidem propagarunt, celeberrimi scriptores imbiberunt, ac inter cæteros, S. Bernardus, qui ait ex Hibernia,[61] "in exteras regiones quasi inundatione factâ se sanctorum examina effudisse." Comparatione fluminis quam appositissimâ usus, quod summas alvei sui oras ante implet, quam per

[60] Camdenus, p. 730. Vita S. Florentii. [61] Vita S. Malach. c. 5.

relative term, and so understood belongs to the three first centuries of the Irish church, during which the Christian religion produced splendid results, at home and abroad, notwithstanding the barbarous tenacity of the Irish for some of their Pagan institutions. Morbid prejudices of course exaggerate the glories of the past, just as they sometimes blind even the wise and benevolent to the anomalous realities of the present.

[h] The immense number of monks and students in many Irish establishments does not agree well with the common estimate of the population of Ireland in ancient times. In a preceding note, Petty's estimate for 1172 has been cited, but not as the opinion of the editor. Our author's estimate, ibid. is manifestly exaggerated, but Petty's appears entirely too low. Assuming as correct the proportion of the population of England to that of Ireland, as seven to three, ibid, Ireland should have at the close of the 12th century, nearly 900,000 inhabitants, if England then had 2,000,000. As a hint to others to pursue the investigation, the following facts are submitted for consideration: The ancient territory of Osraidhe paid, according to Keating, a tribute of a screabal per house to St. Columba's monastery of Dearmhagh, and the amount of that tribute paid to the head of the Columbian order in 1161 was 420 ounces of pure silver. Note, supra, p. 539. 420 ounces of silver would give about 9240 screabals. Petrie's Round Towers, p. 212, &c. 9240 houses, according to modern statistics, would give a population of 64,000, odd, for Osraidhe, and assuming what appears to be a fair estimate, that the ancient Osraidhe included a fourteenth part of

fountain polluted by the slime of heresy and corrupted by the brand of ecclesiastical censures? Were those learned and holy men so stolid as not to perceive, or so careless about religion as not to endeavour to purge away those corruptions? did they believe themselves bound before God, after being drenched to the lips in those contaminating principles, to go forth to foreign nations to disseminate faith and learning, but really to inoculate with the contagion of their own errors, those whose vices they pretended to cure? such certainly was never the character given of the Irish missionary: it is not thus the apostles of many European nations are described by the most celebrated writers—St. Bernard among the rest. "Myriads[h] of holy men," he says, "like bees from their hive, burst forth like a torrent over foreign nations." This metaphor was most happily selected: for as the river never inun-

the habitable land in Ireland, the total population should be about 900,000. This estimate of course supposes that the amount of tribute remained unchanged; also, that the screabal was of the value stated in the authority referred to, and that the "tres asses" mentioned by Keating's translator are the three pinginns contained in the Irish screabal. The whole extract from Keating is here subjoined from our author's translation: "Scanlanus ut Columbæ beneficio gratitudinis vicem rependeret sancivit ut singulæ domus suæ ditionis quæ monte Blamo ad mare protendebatur, *tres asses* monasterio de Durmaigh quotannis pensitare obstringerentur: quod astruunt hæc carmina in Amhra, id est encomio Columbæ perscripta.

Do riar oṁ ṫuaṫoiḃ oṁ ṫoiġ,
Cia ba lir luaċair is luiḃ
Sgreaboll gaċa haḋba soin,
Aṅ mir ó bhlaḋma go muir.

"Tellus dum vario depingitur alma colore
Dive Columba, tuo solvetur census honori,
Ruribus ex nostris, qua spectant fertilis arva
Ossyriæ pontum, qua Blamum collibus altum.
Nulla tui sedes, nec regia nostra tributi
Unquam immunis erit, solvent hæc jura nepotes."

Faustis etiam precationibus Ossiriam Columba prosecutus est, ea lege ut mulcta quam Scanlanus domibus inrogarat a futuris Ossiriæ regulis et incolis per venturorum temporum vicissitudines monasterio de Armaigh rite solveretur. Et ipse Columba in memorato libro faustas suas præcationes his carminibus proferens inducitur.

Beannacht air Osraiḋiḃ uaim
Air a mborgloine go gcéill
Beannacht do ṁuir, is do ṫir uaim
Tre beiṫ da riġ dom réir.

"Ossyriæ toti successus opto secundos
Indigenisque quibus palmæ candore notantur
Et quorum præclara sedet sapientia menti,
Det fruges tellus, det pisces pontus abunde."

adjacentes agros effunditur: sic Hibernia tanto virorum sanctorum numero abundavit, ut non nisi copiosâ eorum multitudine sibi suppetente, alios ad peregrinas gentes sanctitate doctrinaque imbuendas, citra dispendium suum transmiserit. Tantum autem abest, ut sanctis Hibernis plures Europæ gentes fidei et eruditionis disciplina excolentibus aliqua infamiæ nota inusta fuerit, ut potius, locupletissimo res ab iis gestas scribentium testimonio, omnibus veræ sanctimoniæ notis insigniti fuerint, ac proinde gerræ sunt, terram quæ illos effudit, aut in hæresi Pelagiana diutius perstitisse, aut Pontificum diris devotam unquam extitisse.

Imo summos Pontifices se quam indulgentissimos Hibernis præbuisse vel è subjectis Baronii locis perspici potest: "Illud" (inquit) "necessario præmittendum est Scotorum Ecclesiam licet diverso tempore[62] (quod etiam superius dictum est) à communi ritu Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Pascha celebraret, non tamen ob id à communione sedis Apostolicæ separatam fuisse aliquando. Etenim licet error gravis esset, utpote toties in Ecclesia Catholica condemnatus, tamen quod circa ritus, non autem circa fidei Catholicæ dogma versaretur, visus est in gente illa à sede Apostolica tolerandus, donec perfectius posset populus imbui veritate."[63] Idem alibi ait: Quod "meminisse oportet authore Beda constare hos quidem qui secus ac Catholici in Scotia Pascha celebrabant, non fuisse ejus erroris, ut cum Judæis celebrandum Pascha dicerent, ob idque, sententiæ in quartadecimanos in Nicæno Concilio latæ obnoxii fuerint; sed iidem secus ac illi, non decima quarta luna, sed die semper Dominico celebrarent, ut Catholici omnes. Cum quibus tamen in eo nequaquam convenirent, quod Catholici illum Dominicum diem

62 Ad. An. 634.

[i] The text "omni habenti dabitur et abundabit" was, in one sense, fulfilled in her regard; for, the acts of many saints, whose country was doubtful, were attributed to her.

[k] And hence one of the arguments of Cummian, founded on the council of Nice, was of no force against the Irish rite, except in as far as it proved that there ought to be uniformity in the celebration of Easter. The passage is: "Nicœna etiam Synodus

dates the adjacent lands, until it has filled its own bed to the brim, thus was Ireland so plentifully stocked with holy men, that from her own exuberant, spiritual and intellectual wealth, she could spare many of her sons to dispense the treasures of piety and learning among foreign nations. The Irish saints who enkindled the torch of faith and learning in most of the countries of Europe were so far from being branded with any stigma of infamy, that, on the contrary, their virtues are described in the most glowing terms of panegyric by their biographers, an evident proof that the mother land of those saints[i] was not long tainted with the Pelagian heresy, nor ever delivered over to Satan by the popes.

From the following passages of Baronius, it is clear that the popes were most indulgent to the Irish. "It is necessary to premise here that though the church of the Scots, as has been already observed, celebrated Easter at a different time from the common rite of the Catholic church, yet as it regarded a rite, and not a dogma of Catholic faith, the popes deemed it prudent to tolerate it among that people, until they could be better instructed in the truth." Again, in another place he adds, "we must not forget what Beda asserts, that though the Scots celebrated the pasch differently from the Catholic church, they never fell into the error of those who adopted the Jewish Pasch condemned by the canons of the council of Nice, against the Quartadecimans. Those schismatics celebrated the pasch on the fourteenth moon, on whatever day of the week it fell; the Irish, like all Catholics, always celebrated it on Sunday.[k] But in this the Irish differed from other Catholics, that the latter appointed for Easter day the first Sunday in the interval between the fourteenth moon in *the evening* and the twenty-first moon, while the Irish fixed the solemn observance of Easter

trecentorum decem et octo episcoporum est adjuncta, judicantium de observatione paschæ antiquum canonem esse observandum: per quem nulla de reliquo orietur ecclesiis diversitas, omnibus rite dispositis, et ecclesiarum pax et fides (inquierunt) in orientis et occidentis partibus, una atque eadem servaretur." Sylloge, Ep. p. 28. Cummian himself knew well that different cycles had been followed even after the council of Nice, ibid, p. 32.

ad agendum Pascha susciperent, qui à decimaquarta luna ad vesperam usque ad vigesimam primam lunam primus occurreret; Scotis autem, qui à decima tertia luna usque ad vigesimam, dies Dominicus primus occurreret, is dies Paschalis ipsis solemnis erat. Ex quo illud absurdum interdum contingebat, ut si quartadecima luna occurreret, dominica dies, ipsi eodem die unâ cum Judæis Pascha pariter celebrarent. Verum ejusmodi error irrepsit in Scotos, non ex refractaria contentione, ut agere voluerint contra totius Ecclesiæ Catholicæ usum, sed ex inscitia Paschalis computi. Porro cæptus est ejusmodi error an. Dom. 566, perduravit usque ad annum 716 ita vigens annis 150. Cæterum idem error in hunc usque annum fuisse illis venialis ostenditur, quod non ex contumacia, et schismate fuisset ortus, sed tolerabili quadam ignorantia, cum (ut idem testatur Beda) nemo illis ultra orbem positis Synodalia Paschalis observantiæ decreta porrexisset; quamobrem haud visi sunt Ecclesiæ Catholicæ ex albo sanctorum expungendi ii qui sanctitate insignes in hunc usque annum inter eos egregiis virtutibus claruerunt, plurimis etiam miraculis illustrati."

Scotos hic Baronius pro Hibernis,[64] et Scotiam pro Hibernia intelligit. Dixit enim ipse alibi "Hibernia Scotia dicta reperitur," et Anglorum in Hiberniam Egberti regis jussu excursionem ex Beda narrans parenthesi claudit hæc verba:[65] "Vocat author Scotiam Hiberniam."

[63] Ann. 664. [64] Ann. 491. [65] Ann. 648.

[l] Just as they persisted during a very long time, from the days of Gillibert to the synod of Caiseal, at least, in another error of practice, namely, not enforcing the general laws of the church on marriage.

[m] It is manifest from Cummian's letter, nevertheless, that the matter was fiercely debated among the Irish themselves, and that then unfortunately as in later times they freely applied to each other the term "heretic," where it was entirely out of place, "silete et nolite nos hæreticos vocare," p. 29. Some even of his own arguments appear at first sight to prove that he believed the Irish rite was heretical, but when he sums up at the close, he leaves no doubt of his meaning. "Adopt these things, if you wish; if not, renounce Catholic authorities: if you will do neither, let both of us say—'omnes nos manifestari oportet ante tribunal Christi,

Sunday on the first Sunday between the thirteenth and twentieth moon. The inconvenience of this arrangement was, that when the fourteenth moon happened to fall on Sunday, the Irish observed the pasch on the same day as the Jews. But if this error established itself among the Scots, it was not from rebellious obstinacy or contempt for the usages of the Catholic church, but from ignorance of the paschal computation. The error began about the year 566, and lasted 150 years,[l] down to the year 714. That the Irish incurred no deep guilt by persevering to that year in their peculiar system is obvious from a simple fact, that they were neither contumacious nor schismatical, but misled by pardonable ignorance,[m] for lying on the verge of the known world, as Beda remarks, there was no person to teach them the synodical canons on the observance of Easter: hence the Catholic church would not expunge from the calendar of her saints those Irishmen who were highly distinguished for their sanctity and even their miracles before the year 714."

Scotia, and Scots, are here taken by Baronius for Ireland and the Irish. In another passage of his work, he remarks "that Ireland was called Scotia," and when describing from Beda the invasion of Ireland by king Egbert, he inserts the following in a parenthesis: "(the author

ut referat unusquisque propria corporis," etc. etc. What I say is I know painful (onus) to you; what you say is painful to me (onus) unless you prove it by the sacred Scripture, "onera ergo nostra invicem portemus et sic adimplebimus legem Christi" Si enim alter alterius percutiamus infirmam conscientiam in Christo peccamus; si sanum sapimus vobis sapimus: si mente excidimus, Deo, etc. etc." Thus, if they would neither adopt his opinion nor renounce Catholic authorities, they should act towards each other as the Corinthians and Romans were ordered to act, when not agreeing in certain practices to which the texts cited by him expressly refer. But what the ultimate consequences of the controversy might be, he intimates clearly by the whole line of his reasoning, and by the solemnity of his exordium and conclusion. He begins: "In nomine divino Dei summi confido;" and closes: "Peccati vero stipendium mors est," quà nos divina majestas, et simplex Trinitas, et multiplex apex (subtus quem nihil est, intra quem nihil est, citra quem nihil, ultra quem nihil, supra quem nihil: sustinens omnia sine labore, penetrans omnia sine extenuatione, circumdans omnia sine extensione, superans omnia sine inquietudine) liberare dignetur. Amen. Amen. Grandis labor est prudentiæ.

Quæ tamen Camerarius (authorum in alienissimos sensus torquendorum mirus artifex) ita capi debere contendit, ut Scotiam suam Hiberniæ, non Hiberniam Scotiæ nomine denotari ea verba significent; in amphibologiis hujusmodi maximum causæ suæ præsidium sæpissimè collocans. Sed eum in Baronii sensu hic exprimendo gravissimè allucinari inde perspicuum est, quod Baronius narrationes è Beda depromptas, Bedæ plerumque verbis efferat, quæ alio à Bedæ sensu non vestit. Bedam vero Hiberniam Scotiæ, et non Scotiam Hiberniæ nomine expressisse, pluribus supra pervicimus.

[n] In the second or rather third edition of the work cited in a preceding note Pouvoir du Pape au Moyen Age, Paris, 1845, the bull of Adrian IV. is fully discussed, p. 554. The work is worthy of the best days of French ecclesiastical litterature, but the opinions which it adopts on that famous bull are not supported by Irish history, and are clearly at variance with the letter of Alexander III. to Henry II. Sept. 20, 1172.

To the grants of immunity of church property mentioned in a preceding note, p. 529, the following may be added: "the freedom (ꞅoeꞃe) of Clu-

calls Ireland Scotia)." Camerarius, however, that admirable adept in distorting a writer's meaning, maintains that his own Scotland is there called Ireland, and not Ireland Scotia; amphibologies of that class are the ordinary, the sole supports of his cause. But how grievously he misrepresents Baronius appears from the naked fact, that Baronius generally transcribes Beda's narratives literally, and therefore must use the words according to Beda's sense. Now arguments in abundance have already proved that Beda calls Ireland Scotia, but never calls Scotland Hibernia.

ain-Iraird (was granted) by Conghalach (king of Ireland) son of Mael-mithigh, no king or prince having claim of coiṅṁe (coigny) upon it." Four Masters, A.D. 949. "Donnchadh (son of Briain Borumha) gave perfect freedom (oġṡoeiṗe) to God and to Ciaran (Cluainmicnois) to the day of judgment," ibid. A.D. 1044. See also the same authorities, A.D. 849, 857, 889, 985, and 992, for some confirmation of St. Bernard's assertion that in temporal matters the kings of Ireland allowed great power to the archbishop of Ardmacha. Preceding notes, p. 467, &c. &c.

St. Patrick's College, Maynooth,
June 9, 1852.

ADDENDA.

ADDENDA, A.

Breiṫeaṁ Eireann as é Pádruig
Áird-ṗuirt Maċa,
Beannuiġṫe tré ḃiṫ-ḟíor an sruiṫ
Mionn ríġ-raṫa.
Ataid Uí Néill ar ċúl Cholaim,
Ní ar sgáṫ muine;
Ar sgáṫ Finéin Muiġe bile
Ulaiḋ uile.
Clár Cianaċta ar ċúl Chainniġ,
Fear maiṫ molaim;

As the author has given in the preceding chapter the names of many Irish saints, patrons of different countries on the continent, the following poem on the patrons of tribes or terrirories in Ireland is introduced here. Some extracts from it have been given by Keating in the reign of Aedh Mac Ainmirech, and by Colgan, in his Acta SS. p. 646. Neither its date nor its author is known to the editor; but Keating and Colgan quote it as from *Saltair na Rann,* a work usually ascribed to Aengus Ceile-De, who flourished about the year 850. It is printed from two copies written early in the last century.

[a] *The Judge of Eire.* It was a common belief among the ancient Irish that St. Patrick would be permitted to judge the Irish on the last day; a notion to which no parallel is to be found in any other country in Christendom.

[b] *Great city of Macha.* The word "port" is frequently used to denote town or city.

[c] *Holy man.* Sruiṫ is used in the best Irish MSS. to denote an ecclesiastic, a saint, &c.

[d] *Gem of grace.* Raṫ, which now means prosperity, denotes *grace* in ancient Irish MSS.

[e] The *Ui Neill,* i.e. the nepotes Neill, or descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, seated in Meath and Ulster. The principal families of this race were the O'Neills of Tir-Eoghain, the O'Domhnaills of Tirconaill, and the

ADDENDA, A.

The Judge of Eire[a] is Patrick
Of the great city of Macha,[b]
Blessed for ever is the holy man,[c]
The royal gem of grace.
The Ui-Neill[e] are under the patronage of Colum,[f]
It is not under the shelter of a brake,[g]
Under the protection of Finen of Magh-bhile[h]
Are all the Ulidians.[i]
The plain of Cianachta[k] is under the patronage of Cainneach
A good saint whom I praise,

O'Mael-seachlainns and their correlatives of Meath.

[f] *Colum*, i.e. of Columkill, who founded the monasteries of Dearmhaigh, Doire, Keannanus, Druimcliabh, &c. in Ireland, and that of Iona, in Scotland. He was born at Gartan in Tirconaill, A.D. 519, and died at Iona. A.D. 596.

[g] *A brake.* "*Non sub rubo.*" Colg. Colum was as strong a bulwark as Emania, or Aileach, to defend them against all the attacks of demons and other adversaries. He was not like the *muine*, or slender bushes or brambles which shelter cat-cattle, but rather like the wide-spreading trees called Bile-Tortan or Craebh Daithin, beneath whose shade all the race of Niall might rest secure.

[h] *Finen of Maghbhile*, or Movilla, in the County of Down. This saint died in the year 576.

[i] *Ulidians*, i.e. the inhabitants of that portion of Ulster extending from Gleann Righ, Loch n-Eachach and the Lower Bann to the sea, and comprising the Counties of Down and Antrim.

[k] *Cianachta*, now the barony of Keenaght in the County of Londonderry, the ancient chiefs of which were the O'Conchobhairs [now O'Connors] of Gleann Gemhin, of the Munster race of Cian, son of Olill Olum. St. Cainneach [Canice] of Osraidhe, who was of the race of Fergus Mac Roigh, was the patron saint of this family.

Dream do Laiġniḃ, ní cam ċuirim
Ar cúl Cholum.
Cinel Eoġain ar ċúl Rónáin,
Caeṁ an ġrianán.
Ó Charaiḋ go Gréin ag Ronan
Síol m-Briúin ag Ciarán,
Tiġearnaċ tréan-ṁór ba treise,
Dar ġaḃ deiġṫriaċ,
Cuirfiḋ go Maġ Ṁacha an maġ-ṡluaġ
Re sluaġ Oirġiall.
Beiḋ Breifniġ ar ċúl Maodoġ,
Mar deir gaċ seanċaiḋ,
Ar ċúl Molaisi insi diṫruiḃ
Beiḋiḋ Manċaiġ.
Beiḋ Laiġniġ ar ċúl Ḃriġde,—
Cúl go saiḋḃre;
Muiṁniġ n-Eoġain go n-a n-imliḃ
Ar ċúl Ailḃe.

[l] *Race of Eoghan*, i.e. the race of Eoghan Buac, son of Cormac, chief of Ui-Maine, and ancestor of the O'Madadhains [O'Maddens] of Sil-Anmachadha, in the S.E. of the county of Galway.

[m] *Ronan*. Ronan Finn of Druim Ineasclainn (Drumiskin) in the Co. of Louth, died in the year 664. See Colgan's *Acta SS.* p. 141, and Battle of *Magh Rath*, pp. 40, 41. There were many holy men of this name in different parts of Ireland, and the saint here referred to has not been satisfactorily identified.

[n] *From Caradh to Grian*, i.e. from Caradh na d-Tuath, in the County of Roscommon, to the river Grian in Thomond. This was the ancient extent of Ui-Maine in Connacht, of which the chief patron saint was St. Grellan, not St. Ronan, as erroneously stated in the text.

[o] *Sil-Briuin*, i.e. Race of Brian, eldest brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages. These were the O'Conchobhairs and O'Ruaircs of Connacht, with their various correlative families.

[p] *Ciaran*, i.e. St. Ciaran, son of the *artifex* of Cluain-mic-Nois, who died in the year 548.

[q] *Macha's plain*, i.e. the plain lying round Ardmacha. St. Tighearnach is the patron saint of Cluain-Eois, or Clones, in the west of the County of Monaghan.

[r] *Oirghialla*, a people in Ulster seated in the counties of Louth, Armagh, and Monaghan. The families of Mac

Some of the Leinstermen, I not unjustly place
Under Colum's protection;
The race of Eoghan[l] under Ronan,[m]
Beautiful is the Grianan.
From Caradh to Grian[n] belongs to Ronan,
The Sil-Briuin[o] under Ciaran,[p]
The powerful, great and mighty Tighearnach,
Who acquired high leadership,
He will lead to Macha's plain[q] the good host of the plain,
With the host of Oirghialla.[r]
The Breifnians[s] shall be under Maedhog's[t] tutelage,
As each historian says,
Under the protection of the Molaisi of the island of pilgrims
The Fermanagh men shall be.[rr]
The Leinstermen under Brighid's[u] protection
A rich protection!
The Munstermen of Eoghan's[v] race to their borders
Under Ailbhes's[w] protection.

Mathghamhna, Mag-Uidhir and O'h-Anluain were the most powerful of this race.

[rr] *Innsi-Dithruibh*, i.e. the island of the pilgrims, now *Daimh-inis*, or Devenish, in Loch Erne, near Enniskillen, in the county of Fermanagh, of which St. Molaise is the patron saint. These two lines are supplied from a MS. copy of this poem in the Library of T. C. D., H. 1, 10, fol. 148.

[s] *Breifnians*, i.e. the inhabitants of the present counties of Leitrim and Cavan. The O'Ruaircs and O'Raghallaighs were the chief families of these territories.

[t] *Maedhog*, now usually called Mogue or Aidan. He is the patron saint of Druimleathan in the county of Cavan, and of Rossinbhir in the county of Leitrim, and also of Fearna-mor in the County of Wexford.

[u] *Brighid*, i.e. St. Brighid or Bridget of Kildare. Colgan renders this, "Lagenii sub patrocinio Brigidæ nomine famosæ" [clu 5o ſaıbṗe].

[v] *The Munstermen of Eoghan's race*, i.e. the race of Eoghan, son of Oilill Olum, king of Munster in the third century. These were the Mac Carthaighs, O'Suilebhains, &c. situate in the plains of the present County of Tipperary before the English Invasion.

[w] *Ailbhe*, i.e. the patron saint of Imleach or Emly, in the Co. of Tipperary, who was contemporary with St. Patrick. Colgan renders this passage "Momonii omnes cum suis proceribus [5o ŋa ꝺ-ꞇoıṗꞇe] sub patrocinio Ailbei."

Dal g-Cais uile, an ġarra ġlan-úir,
    Ar ċul Ḟhlannáin.
Ar ċúl Ṁoċuille gan ġearán,
    Síol g-caoin g-Coilean.
Uí Eaċaċ ó Ċárn go Corcaiġ
    Suas ar áilne,
As é a rún as raṫ réiḋe
    Ar ċul Bairre.
Connaċtaiġ uile ar ċúl Ċiaráin
    Go na g-coṁroinn,
A's dal n-Araiḋe gan iomroll
    Ar ċul Coṁġoill.
Ard-naoiṁ Eireann, go n-a manċaiḃ,
    Aṁail ḟaġmaoid,
Suairc an cuire beidid uile
    Ar ċúl Pháḋraig.
Fir Éireann uile ar ċúl Ṗáḋraig,
    Ní sgél cleiṫe,
Mo ċean do ḃeiṫ ar ċúl na flaṫa,
    Lá na breiṫe.

[x] *Flannan*, i.e. patron saint of the diocese of Killaloe, in the County of Clare. He was of the race of Dal-g-Cais, and died in the year 639. See Ware's *Bishops of Killaloe*.

[y] *Mochuille*, i.e. the patron saint of the Church of Fiacail in Mac Conmara's country, in the County of Clare. Feast. 12th June.

[z] *Clann-Choileain*. This was one of the tribe-names of the Mac Conmaras, whose territory was originally coextensive with the deanery of O-g-Caisin in the County of Clare.

[a] *Ui Eathach*, i.e. the descendants of Eochaidh, grandson of Corc, king of Munster. The principal family of this race was O'Mathghamhna [O'Mahony].

[b] *From the Carn to Cork*, i.e. from Carn Ui-Neid at Misen head to the city of Cork.

[c] *Bairre*, i.e. St. Barry, patron saint of the diocese of Cork.

[d] *Ciaran*, i.e. St. Ciaran of Cluain-micnois.

[e] *Dal-Araidhe*, i.e. the inhabitants of the tract of country extending

The Dal-g-Cais all, the fine fresh host
  Under Flannan's[x] patronage.
Under the patronage of Mochuille[y] without complaint
  Are the fair Clann-Choileain.[z]
The Ui-Eathach[a] from the Carn[b] to Cork
  High in beauty,
Whose resolve is quiet prosperity,
  Are under Bairre.[c]
The Connacians all under shelter of Ciaran[d]
  With their subdivisions,
And the Dal Araidhe[e] without mistake
  Under Comhghall's[f] protection.
The great saints of Eire,[g] with their monks,
  As we find [written],
Joyous the host, all shall boast
  Of Patrick's protection.
All Eire's men are under the protection of Patrick,
  It is no hidden story,
I love to be under shelter of this chief saint,
  On the judgment day.[h]

from Iubhar-Chinn-tragha [Newry] to Sliabh Mis, in the county of Antrim. The Meg Aengusa [Magennises] were in latter times the chief family of this race.

[f] *St. Comhghall*, i.e. of Beannchor now Bangor in the County of Down. This saint died on the 10th of May, 601.

[g] *Great saints*. Keating gives this quatram somewhat differently, thus:

"Árd-naoiṁ Eireann go na manċuiḃ
  Is ea n-uiḋe,
Gaċ raon a d-téiḋ a m-beiṫ ar ċúl
  Phadraig uile."

Which is thus translated by Colgan, Acta SS. p. 646:

"Archipræsules sancti cum suis monachis finaliter, quacunque procedunt via, omnes sub patrocinio Patricii."

[h] *Judgment day*. This alludes to the belief that St. Patrick was to judge the Irish people on the last day.

ADDENDA B.

The following Acta of a synod of the province of Ardmacha, held in the reign of Queen Mary, are printed here, as illustrating a part of Irish history, discussed in chap. xxv. of this work. They were transcribed by the Editor from the MS. volume in Marsh's Library, entitled, Precedents of Armagh; and are now published for the first time. The style of their Latin is far below the contemporary standard on the continent, a fact that may be explained by one of the authorities cited in vol. i. p. 225, of this work. Canon xii. appears to prove that one of the decrees of the synod of Caiseal was a dead letter in the province of Ardmacha at least. Canon viii. has not acquired such celebrity as might be expected from the prevalent tone in Irish historical discussions. In the MS. there are some errors of the pen, but the sense is generally clear:

"Reformanda in Concilio Provinciali Rev$^{dmi.}$ in X$^{to.}$ Patris ac Dom. Dom. Gregorii (sic) Dowdall. Archiep. Ardmach. totius Hiberniæ Primatis, celebrato in ecclesiam (sic) St^{i} Petri de Drogheda, A.D. 1553.

"I. In primis. ut declarentur omnes sacerdotes qui hac in tempestate matrimonium contrahere præsumpserunt, verum et notorii fornicatores jam pluries moniti, ut (qui) scorta sua, non secus quam uxores in domibus suis publice detinuerunt, suis beneficiis privatos, et inhabiles ad regimen vel ad sacramentorum administrationem, donec cum iis super his sit sufficienter dispensatum; et alii fornicatores privandi sunt per superiorem.

"II. Item. Qualiter procedatur contra episcopos et alios quoscunque conferentes beneficia ecclesiastica illa quibus immanet cura animarum, laicis et pueris, sub tali fraudulento colore, ut aliquis presbyter collatus sit aut institutus, fructibus beneficii cedentibus ipsi laico, seu puero; diffinitum est quod episcopi conferentes ita beneficia suspendantur a collatione beneficiorum, et beneficia sic collata de novo per metropolitanum dignis conferantur.

"III. Item. Qualiter procedatur contra simoniacos episcopos qui prædicto vel alio quovis modo vendant ecclesiastica beneficia, et de dispositione beneficiorum sic collatorum; suspendantur episcopi ut supra, et beneficia conferantur ut supra.

"IV. Item. De beneficiis divisis sive illa, sive aliis pluribus viis et modis; diffinitum est quod vacant illa beneficia.

"V. Item. Quid agendum est de laicis et nobilibus qui per falsi suggestionem

et veri suppressionem impetrant a Sede Apostolica beneficia curata in simplicem præbendam, et dignitates etiam regulares in commendam, falso asserentes decorem et venustatem ecclesiæ Catholicæ per hæc augmentari; diffinitum est quod litteræ similiter impetratæ, seu in futurum impetrandæ sint surreptitiæ.

"VI. Item. Declaratum in quo statu consistant prælati et sacerdotes qui hac præterita tempestate juxta ritum hæreticorum, non solum divina celebrarunt officia et ecclesiastica sacramenta administrarunt verum per (sic) sectam illam et ritum in suis prædicationibus approbaverunt, et commendaverunt, diffinitum est quod omnes supradicti qui non voluntate sed metu hoc fecerunt admittantur ad gratiam et ad absolutionem per acta pœnitentia (sic).

"VII. Item. Decretum non modo prælati et sacerdotes verum etiam omnes laici fideles cujuscunque gradus, status, aut conditionis existunt per totam provinciam omnes ecclesiæ antiquos ritus et ceremonias in crucibus, imaginibus, luminaribus, thuribulis, horis canonicis, missis celebrandis, et sacramentis ministrandis, nec non in festis et jejuniis ab ecclesia indictis, pane et aqua benedictis, et cæteris aliis quibuscunque in ecclesia Dei hactenus usitatis, solitis et consuetis observabunt, custodient et ad posse manuteneant, ac illis, perpetuis temporibus peragant ut casus contingat, aut necessitas requirit, utantur et fruantur sub pœna excommunicationis et clericis privationis beneficiorum.

"VIII. Item. Quod omnes episcopi constituant et deputabunt in suis diœcesibus inquisitorem vel inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis, prout metropolitanus in sua Diœcesi et tota provincia. Si comperti fuerint aliquis vel aliqua vir vel mulier ex obstinantia, aut prava, aut hæretica opinione vilipendere, aut post hac hujusmodi ritus amplecti et sequi nolle, quod tunc unusquisque rector vel vicarius aut curatus cujusque ecclesiæ denuntiet huic inquisitori aut loci diœcesano infra dies * * illum vel illam qui de hoc vitio infra limites suæ paroechiæ sic repertus aut reperta fuerit, sub pœna suspensionis in divinis.

"IX. Item. Quod nullus cujuscunque gradus in ecclesia exigat aliquid pro administratione sacramentorum sub pœna suspensionis ab administratione ejusdem sacramenti et præsertim illud quod vulgariter dicitur, onus olei, ex sacramento extremæ unctionis.

"X. Item. Ut sacerdotes incedant in habitu et tonsura decente qua valeant ad minus discerni a laicis et maxime tempore celebrationis Divinorum sub pœna arbitranda per superiorem.

"XI. Item. Ut cogantur laici ad reparationem ecclesiarum per suspensionem et clerici et firmarii per fructuum sequestrationem et abstractionem.

"XII. Item. Ut fiat aliqua moderatio in exactione mortuariorum ubi paupertas adest, et relicta et orphani egent, statutum et ordinatum est, ut si tantum supersunt de bonis defuncti ut relictæ vel relicta et unusquisque de orphanis poterit habere unum animal, scilicet vaccam aut caballum ejusque (sic) estimationem in aliis jocalibus vel argento quod tunc animal quod supererit cedat ec-

clesiæ: sin autem tot non offendantur, quod tunc quilibet rector, vice vel curatus, seu firmarius, vel alius in ea parte aliquæ interesse prætendens contentus sit, ex quolibet animale vel ejus valore * * et fine accipere 12^{d}, et de quolibet bove, vel sue recipere sex denarios.

"XIII. Item. Quoad divortia a thoro et cohabitatione mutua, propter adulterium aut aliam quamcunque causam, si et ipsi postmodum adulterium cum aliis commiserunt, reintegrentur suis primis uxoribus et præsertim ut Carolus Boucher de Pontana, et Johannes Marnium, de Kearstan parœchiæ de Termonfeighan infra sex dies post publicationem præsentium reconcilientur, et accipiant suas antiquas uxores; Carolus prædictus Elinam Lewis, et Johannes ille Jenet Lawler sub pœna majoris excommunicationis.

"XIV. Item. Quod Thomas Darcy Midensis Diœceseos infra 12 dies sub eisdem pœnis conducat suam propriam uxorem Margaretam Gilbtall, rejecta moniali cum qua per plures dies in animæ suæ non modicum periculum, expulsa sua prædicta legitima uxore, adulterium continuavit.

"XV. Item. De Translatione jejunii purificationis Beatæ Virginis in Vigilia S. Brigidæ statutum est quod ita fiat.

"XVI. Item. Quod processio bis in hebdomada fiat pro statu regio Mariæ, et una collecta in missis.

"XVII. Item. Quod singuli rectores et vicarii qui non norunt prædicare, conducant quater in anno prædicatorem.

"XVIII. Item. Quod libri novi non (sic) lingua vernacula scripti pro illo hæretico ritu celebrando, ubique per provinciam ducantur ad metropolitanum, aut ejus commissarios comburendi.

"Statutum et ordinatum est in Concilio Provinciali Rev^{mi}. in X^{o}. Patris Dom. Georgii Archiepiscopi Armachani totius Hiberniæ Primatis celebrato in ecclesia St. Petri de Drogheda 16 die Mensis Februarii 1556; quod:

"Infrascripta Festa quoad divinorum servitia a ministris ecclesiæ, temporibus ut jam consuetum erat, observentur, et in ecclesiis celebrentur, et sic in pulpito temporibus debitis, sicut et alia Festa declarentur et exponantur paroechianis: non per hoc tamen prohibetur operariis agri cultoribus, et aliis laboratoribus, quo minus dictis diebus festivis sua opera ruralia exercere possint.

"I. Festum conversionis S. Pauli. II. Festum Visitationis B. M. Virginis. III. Festum S. Margaretæ. IV. Festum S. Annæ. V. Decollatio, S. Johannis Baptistæ. VI. Festum S. Francisci. VII. Festum S. Augustini. VII. Festum S. Clementis. IX. Festum S. Petri ad Vincula. X. Vigilia Purificationis B. M. Virginis debet observari (in ?) vigilia S. Brigidæ."

ADDENDA C.

The following account of the Synod of Rathbreasail is printed from Dr. Lynch's Latin translation of Keating's History of Ireland. See at p. 53, supra the different opinions on the date of this synod and the place in which it was held. Dr. O'Donovan is of opinion it may be inferred from a passage in an old life of St. Canice that Rathbreasail (which was situate in the ancient territory of Osraidhe) was the ancient name of Mountrath, [Móin na ráṫa, q. d. Móin Ráṫa Breasail,] which was in Osraidhe, and near Clonenagh, which was in Laeghis.

Anno. 1110. "Prout in vetustis ecclesiasticis Annalibus Cluonegnochæ [Cluain eidhneach, now Clonenagh] Fintani in Lesia scriptum legimus, celebria ecclesiasticorum comitia habita sunt apud Rathbreasil, Gilberto alias Gilles, Limricensi episcopo summi pontificis per Hiberniam legato, concilii præside. Quæ porro in eo consilio transacta sunt, sic se habent.

"Sicut in Anglia duodecim episcopi ad Aquilonarem plagam instituti sunt qui Eboracencis Archiepiscopi subjacent imperio, et ad Austrum duodecem alii qui ad Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum audirent; sic in eo concilio sancitum est, ut in Hibernia duodecem episcopi in Leihmmoa, et totidem in Leihcunnia, ac duo insuper[1] in Midia continerentur.

"Ibi præterea decretum est, ut episcopis, ecclesiæ, fundique illas spectantes in integrum conferrentur, a temporalium ut vocant dominorum, potestate omnino immunes.[2]

"Diœceses quoque singulæ statis circumscriptæ sunt limitibus.

"In Ultonia sex sedes episcopales stabilitæ sunt, nimirum 1. Ardmachana, quæ prima totius Hiberniæ est, quam qui Archiepiscopus obtinet, totius Hiberniæ primas dicitur, et cæteris omnibus Hiberniæ episeopis dignitate præcellit. 2. Clocherensis. 3. Ardstrathensis. 4. Derensis. 5. Connerensis; et[3] 6. Dunensis.

"In Midia. 1. Damliacensis; et 2. Cluanardensis.

"In Connacia. 1. Tuamensis, vulgo. Tuaim da gualann 2. Clonfertensis Sti Brendani. 3. Cungensis. 4. Killalensis, seu Alladensis; et 5. Ardcharnensis.

"Ita ut in universa Leihcunnia,[4] duodecim (primate in numerum minime revocato) censerentur.

[1] This would make a total of twenty-six: but from the last paragragh in this extract it appears there were only twenty-five. Others, not without good reasons, reduce the number to twenty-four. In the latter case, this clause should be, not "ac duo insuper," but "quorum insuper duo."

[2] A clear proof that the immunity of ecclesiastical property did not originate with the council of Caiseal.

[3] The editor has introduced those cyphers. There are good reasons for believing that this "et" should be "seu."

[4] All Connacht was thus included in Leath Cuinn, at this period at least, and the boundary line, the Eiscir

"In MOMONIA, porro hæ sedes episcopales sitæ sunt. 1. Cassilensis, quâ Leihmoæ Archiepiscopus potitur.[5] 2. Lismorensis, seu Waterfordiensis, 3. Corcagiensis. 4. Rathmaiensis in Desgirt. 5. Limbricensis. 6. Kildaluensis, seu Laonensis; et 7. Emblacensis Ibari.

"In LAGENIA. 1. Kilkenniensis. 2. Leighlinensis. 3. Kildariensis. 4. Glendalochensis. 5. et Fernensis, sive Wexfordiensis.

"Hi vero quinque episcopatus quos LAGENIA continet, et septem quos complectitur MOMONIA in unum si coalescant, duodenarius episcopatuum numerus in Leihmoa reperietur. Causa vero, cur hic Dublinensis sedes non recensetur, est, quod illius sedis Archiepiscopo in Anglia Cantuariensis, vel Eboracensis, consecrationis beneficium impendere solitus fuit.[6] * * * *

* * * * "Ut mea quidem fert opinio, *licet id author meus non exprimat*, Momonia sex episcopatibus et Lagenia sex[7] aliis, insigniebantur, citra Cassiliensem Archiepiscopum, qui universis præerat: sicut enim universam Leihmoæ rempublicam rex unus administrabat, sic in eadem Leihmoâ, rei ecclesiasticæ procurandæ unus archiflamen præficiebatur.

"Exhibeo hic elenchum episcopatuum, quos concilium illud Rathbrassilense in Hiberniâ designavit, et quibus terminis singulos definivit.[8]

Riada, from Cluainmicnois to Galway, appears to have been abandoned. Vide supra, p. 683, note.

[5] The see of Caiseal was certainly archiepiscopal at this period, A.D. 1110. It had been made a metropolitan see by St. Celsus, "de novo," as St. Bernard says; which, however, does not by any means prove that Imleach had not been an archiepiscopal see. The annals of Innisfallen, A.D. 545, and 913, call the archbishop of Ardmachà, bishop of Leath Cuinn, which implied as correlative a bishop of Leath Mogha.

[6] But not without protests from the Irish clergy, though this synod acquiesced. In 1122 the burgesses and clergy of Dublin wrote to Ralph of Canterbury: "Episcopi Hiberniæ maximum zelum erga nos habent, et maximè ille episcopus qui habitat Ardimachæ, quia nos nolumus obedire eorum ordinationi, sed semper sub vestro dominio esse volumus. Sylloge Ep. p. 100. The other two sees, Waterford and Limerick, over which the archbishops of Canterbury had occasionally, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, exercised jurisdiction, were by this synod clearly restored to the Irish church.

[7] Keating's own conjecture is not of any weight against the assertion of his author, that Dublin was not an Irish see at this time. Some of the Dubliners were not content with the arrangement, as they elected, in 1121, St. Celsus (then archbishop of Ardmacha); but his Danish opponent appears to have succeeded: see last note, and Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 47.

[8] The boundaries of the dioceses, it will be seen, are very indistinct at the present day, but not more so than the boundaries assigned to kingdoms and

"Sedis ARDMACHANÆ ditio a monte Bragho[9] ad Cuaillekianachtam[10] et a Bioro[11] ad Fluvium magnum[12] extenditur.

"CLOCHORENSIS Diœcesis a Fluvio magno ad Gabhuilliunam,[13] et a Monte Batho[14] ad Montem Largum[15] porrigitur.

"ARDSRATHENSIS episcopatus Monte Largo et Carnglassiâ,[16] necnon Lochcruio,[17] et Benfoibhnio[18] clauditur.

provinces in a document nearly contemporary with this synod. Book of Rights, p. 12, &c. To persons living at the time the boundaries were, no doubt, sufficiently fixed by a few well known land-marks. As the division of the island into two ecclesiastical provinces was founded on the old territorial or civil division of Leath Mhogha and Leath Chuinn, so it is probable, from the well ascertained limits of many of the following dioceses, that the same principle was adopted in dividing the two provinces into dioceses, though the boundaries cannot now be in all cases accurately determined.

[9] *Sliabh Breagh*, i.e. *Mons Bregarum* (Adamnan, lib. 2, c. 3), now Slieve Brey, a range of hills in the barony of Ferrard, in the south of the county of Louth.

[10] *Cuaille Cianachta*, i.e. the pole or the tall tree of Kianachta, now Coolkeenaght, in the barony of Omagh, county of Tyrone, still forming the boundary of the diocese of Ardmacha. There is another locality of this name in the parish of Faughanvale, county of Londonderry, with which the place here referred to as the boundary of the diocese of Armagh should not be confounded. (J.O'D.)

[11] *Bior* was the ancient name of that part of the river Foyle, near Lifford, county of Donegal.

[12] *Abhainn Mhor*, i.e. the great river, now the Blackwater. All the territory comprised within these four points was originally possessed by the Oirghialla.

[13] *Gabhail liuin*, now Galloon, a townland situate at the extremity of Upper Loch Erne.

[14] *Sliabh Beatha*, now Slieve Beagh, a mountain on the confines of the counties of Fermanagh and Monaghan.

[15] *Sliabh Larga*, now Slievelargy, a mountain in the parish of Airegal Dachiarog [Errigal Keerogue], in the county of Tyrone. See Ordnance Survey of Tyrone, sheet 44. (J.O'D.)

[16] Carnglass, now the Tops, a hill between Raphoe and Donaghmore, in the county of Donegal. See Ann. Four Mast. 1417. (J. O'D.)

[17] *Loch Crui*, a lake in the south of the county of Tyrone.

[18] *Beann-Fhoibhne*, i.e. Fevny's or Evenue's Ben or peak, now Ben-Evenew, or, as it is more usually but incorrectly written, Benyevenagh, a mountain on the east side of Loch Foyle. See the Ordnance Memoir of the Parish of Templemore, and Reeves's Ecclesias. Antiq. p. 250. This diocese was nearly co-extensive with Cineal Eoghain, as marked on the map prefixed to the *Circuit of Muircheartach Mac Neill.*

"DERENSIS seu RAPOTENSIS Diœcesis ab Assruao,[19] ad Srubhbroniam[20] et a Carnglassiâ ad Srubhbroniam pertingit.

"CONNORENSIS Diœcesis metæ sunt a Bennfoibhniâ ad Torbhorgum,[21] Porto Murbhulgo[22] ad Holorgbhum,[23] et a Cuansnamhaignia[24] et Glanrigh[25] ad Colbangarmain.[26]

"Meus author non indicat quibus finibus DUNDAGLASENSIS, seu DUNENSIS Diœcesis circumscribitur.[27]

"DAMHLIACENSIS (Duleek) Diœcesis a Monte Brago ad Carnduncuaram,[28] et a Torrente Hinnergensi[29] ad oceanum [mare] versus orientem petit.

"CLUANARDENSIS episcopatus inter Clochanum[30] et Sinneum amnem, (Shan-

[19] *Eas Ruaidh*, now Assaroe, a celebrated cataract on the river Erne, at Ballyshannon. (J.O'D.)

[20] *Srubh Brŏin*, now Shruve-Brin, or Stroove-Brin. It is the name of a well-known place in the north-east extremity of the barony of Inishowen, in the county of Donegal. Water oozes from the bank, and forms a well near high water-mark, which is believed to possess a medicinal quality, which cures madness, like the well at Gleann na n-gealt, in Kerry. This diocese was chiefly occupied by the Cineal Conaill. (J.O'D.)

[21] Now Torr head, in the county of Antrim, the nearest point to the coast of Scotland.

[22] *Port-Murbhuilg*. This was the ancient name of an inlet of the sea at Rath-Murbhuilg, now Maghera, at the foot of Slieve Donard, in the county of Down. (J.O'D.)

[23] *Ollarbha*, now the Larne Water, in the county of Antrim.

[24] *Cuan snamha aighneach*, was certainly the ancient name of Carlingford Loch. (J.O'D.)

[25] *Gleann Righe*, the valley of the Newry river, nearly parallel with which "the Dane's cast," the boundary between Oirghialla and Uladh, extends. See Circuit of Muircheartach Mac Neill, p. 31, note 34.

[26] Not known. In another copy the reading is "O *Ghleann Righe go h-Aelmhagh*." By far the greater part of this diocese was occupied by the Ulidians.

[27] Nor is any space left for it, as it is included in the last. See Reeves's Ecclesias. Antiq. St. Mael-maedhog divided the dioceses afterwards.

[28] *Carn Duin Cuair*. Dun Cuair was the ancient name of Rathcore, a small village in the barony of Lower Moyfenrath, county of Meath. Ann. Four Mast. 799.

[29] *Torrente Hinnergense*, in Irish *Lochan na h-imrime*, i.e. the small lake of the rowing. Now unknown.

[30] *Clochan*, i.e. a row of stepping-stones in a ford. Situation uncertain. It is certainly not Cloghan, in the King's County, but some place on the boundary of East and West Meath. It should be observed that the diocese of Daimhliag, [Duleek] and Cluain-Iraird [Clonard] comprised ancient Meath; that the diocese of Duleek, extending

non) Urchultum,[31] et Cluanconiriam[32] sita est.

"CLONFERTENSIS episcopatus a Sinnæo amne ad Burinnam,[33] et a Sliabhachto[34] ad Succum amnem extenditur.

"TUAMENSI Diœcesi limites assignati sunt a Succo amne ad Ardcharnam[35] et ab Ath-an-Tearmainn,[36] id est a Vado Asyli, ad Sinnæum amnem.

"CONGENSIS sedes a fluvio Ombriuino[37] versus aquilonem ad arduum Nemfhinnæ montem[38] et ab eodem Asyli Vado ad oceanum protrahitur.

"Quæ regio inter montem Nemfhinn, et Asroam[39] occidentem versus ac inter Sruhantearmainn[40] et Killalam jacet, ALLADENSI episcopo subjacet.

"Qui tractus ad Sliabhaniaran[41] ab Ardcharna et a Kescorin[42] ad Hibhorchollin[43] protractus est, ad sedem ARDCHARNENSEM, seu ARDACHENSEM spectavit.

from Sliabh Breagh to Rathcore, on the frontiers of ancient Leinster, comprised nearly all East Meath, and that the diocese of Clonard, extending from Clochan to the Shannon, comprised nearly West Meath. This latter diocese comprised that of Ardagh.

31 *Urchoillte*, or Hibhorchollin, is now unknown.

32 *Cluain Conaire*, now Cloncurry, in the north of the county of Kildare, which was also on the boundary between the ancient Meath and Leinster.

33 Burren, in the north-west of the county of Clare.

34 *Sliabh Echtghe*, a chain of mountains between the counties of Clare and Galway. The Succus is the river Suca [Suck.] In the tribes and customs of Ui Maine, there is a map of the territory included in this diocese. It was occupied principally by the Ui Maine and their tributaries.

35 *Ardcharna*, now Ardcarne, near the town of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon.

36 *Athantermainn*, i.e. the ford of the termon, i.e. the ford of Termon Caelainne, near Castlerea, in the west of the county of Roscommon.

37 *Abhainn O m-Briuin*, i.e the river of Ui-Briuin-Seola, in the barony of Clare and county of Galway.

38 Nephin mountain, in the county of Mayo.

39 Assaroe, on the river Erne, at Ballyshannon, in the county of Donegal. See note 19, supra.

40 Sruthantearmainn, i.e. the stream of the termon, i.e. of Termon-Dairbhile, in Erris. In other copies it is called *Cill-Dairbhile*, which is a church in the west of the barony of Erris, county of Mayo. See Ann. Four Mast. 1248, note [g].

41 *Sliabh-an-iarainn*, i.e. mountain of the iron, now Slieve-in-ierin, a mountain in the county of Leitrim.

42 *Kescorin*, a mountain in the barony of Corran, county of Sligo, usually called Keshcorran. This seems to have included the diocese of Achonry.

43 *Hibhorchollin*. In some Irish copies the reading is *Urchoillte*, see note 31, supra. This diocese was principally occupied by the different tribes of the

"Quod si hæc episcopatuum distributio Conaciensi clero minus arrideat, esto eorum arbitrii aliam quæ magis ex ipsorum animi sententia sit,[44] partitionem instituere, ea cautela semper adhibita, ut non sit in eorum potestate, plures in tota CONACIA quam quinque Episcopatus erigere.

"CASSILENSIS archiepiscopatus ditio a Monte Eblinneo[45] ad amnem Suirium, et a Cnamhchoilla[46] prope Tiperariam ad [Grian-Airbham, i. e.] Crosgreniam[47] protenditur.

"LISMORENSIS, seu WATERFORDIENSIS sedis fines a Millahacha[48] in Bervi amnis (Barrow) margine, prope trium Fluviorum confluvium, ad Corcagiam, et a Suirio amne ad oceanum excurrunt.

"CORCAGIENSIS Cathedræ termini ab ipsa Corcagia ad Carninedam[50] et ab Abhanmora[51] ad oceanum tendunt.

"RATHMAIGHENSIS[52] diœcesis a Buibera[53] ad Kinnbera,[54] et a Feila (Feale), ad Dairbriam[55] sese extendit.

"Qui agri a Slighdhalia, seu a Semita Magna Ossiriæ,[56] ad Saltum Conculani,[57]

Ui Briuin and was then in the province of Connacht.

44 These are evidently the words of Keating.

45 *Sliabh-Eibhlinne*, now Slieve-Phelim, mountains in the north-west of the county of Tipperary.

46 *Cnamhchoill*, now Cleghile, or Cneamhchoill, near the town of Tipperary.

47 *Grian-Airbh*, i.e. *Cros-Greine*, now Greane-hill, in the barony of Cranagh, on the borders of Tipperary and Kilkenny. This was the ancient province of Ormonde, minus Kilkenny, as far as Gowran, which it sometimes included.

48 *Mileadhach*, a place in the county of Kilkenny, at the meeting of the Suir and Barrow.

49 This diocese included the greater part, if not the whole of the territory of the Deise.

50 *Carn-Ui-Neid*, near Mizen-head, in the south-west of the county of Cork. See Ann. 4 Mast. 1569, 1580.

51 *Abhanmora*, now Avonmore, or the Blackwater river, in the north of the county of Cork. This diocese was Desmond proper, in its restricted limits.

52 *Rathmaighe*, i.e. *Rathmaighe deiscirt*, now Ratass, a very ancient church, near Tralee, in Kerry. This diocese was afterwards called after Ardfert, which, after the English invasion, became a more important church. (J.O'D.)

53 Baoi-Bheirre, now Dursy island, at the north-eastern point of Bantry bay.

54 Kenmare.

55 *Dairbhre*, now Valentia island. From the river Feale to Dairbhre was Iar-Mhumhain, or west Munster.

56 *Slighe-Dala*, now Ballaghmore, near Borris in Ossory.

57 *Leim Conchulainn*, i.e. Cuchullin's-leap, now Leap-head, or as it is corruptly called, Loop-head, at the mouth of the Shannon, in the county of Clare.

et a Sliabhachto ad Sliabhoighinrighum,[58] et ab hoc ad Glancœnum[59] extenduntur KILLDALUAENSIS seu LAONENSIS episcopi potestati subjacent.

"Ad LIMBRICENSEM episcopatum spectant [agri quos limtant] Mælcherna[60] orientem versus, Athircinnia[61] Lodana,[62] Lochgurius,[63] Palus magnus monti [Colli] Anæ ab occidente adjacens,[64] Ardpadrig[65] versus Austrum, Belachfebra,[66] Tulachlisa,[67] Felsiara,[68] Tairbearta,[69] Unchia[70] in Tomonia, Crossa[71] in Sliabhoighinrighio, et Fluvius Niger.[72] Qui se hisce limitibus opponit sciat

[58] *Sliabh Oighidh an righ*, now called the Cratloe or Glennagross mountain, in the county of Clare. This diocese comprised Thomond or north Munster.

[59] Now Glankeen, near Borrisokeane, in the county of Tipperary.

[60] Maelcherna, now Muilchearn, or Mulkern, a river in the north-east of the county of Limerick. See *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, p. 89, note *l*. Dr. Lynch does not here translate Keating's words satisfactorily. The following is the true version:

"Limbricensis diœcesis fines ita limitantur: Orientem versus a Maelkerna flumine, Vado Lodano, Lacu-Guro, et Palude Magno Knockaniæ ab occidente adjacente; versus austrum ab Ardpatraig, i.e. Colle Sancti Patricii, Bealachfebhra et Tulachlesa; occidentem versus a flumine Felia et Tarberta; et septentrionem versus a Quinchia in Tuomonia, Crucibus Montis Regii, et Fluvio Nigro, continentur."

[61] & [62] *Ath-ar-coinne Lodain*, i.e. the ford opposite Lodan, now obsolete. It lies somewhere on the line between the Mulkern river and Loch Gur.

[63] Loch Gur, a celebrated lake in the parish of Knockany, county of Limerick.

[64] *Palus-magnus*, i.e. an Lathach mhor, now Baile-na-lathach, (Ballynalahagh) in the parish of Knockany.

[65] *Ard-Phadraig*, i. e. Patrick's height, or hill; now Ardpatrick, in the barony of Coshlea, and county of Limerick. (J.O'D.)

[66] *Bealach-Feabhradh*, now Ballaghawry, in the parish of Kilbolane, in the barony of Orbhraidhe and Coillmhor, county of Cork.

[67] Tulach lias, now Tullylease, in the north of the county of Cork, barony of Orrery.

[68] *Felsiara*. This is a mistake for *Feil siar*, i.e. the river Feale being at the west side. (J.O'D.)

[69] Now Tarbert on the Shannon, at the junction of the counties of Kerry and Limerick.

[70] *Unchia*. This should be Cuinche, now Quince, or Quinn abbey, in the county of Clare.

[71] *Crossa in Sliabh-Oighidh-an-righ*, i.e., the Crosses of the Glennagross or Cratloe mountain. From the Crosses here mentioned Gleann-na g-cros derived its name.

[72] *Dubh-abhainn*, i.e. Black river, now the Blackwater. It rises in the parish of Kilsealy, and falls into the Shannon, opposite Newcastle, and nearly opposite the Mulkern river, about two miles to the east of the city of Limerick.

se Dei et Petri Apostoli, necnon Divi Patricii, et eorum vicem gerentium, ac denique ecclesiæ Catholicæ præcepta impugnare.[73] Templum Divæ Virginis Limbrici est diœcesis, ecclesia Cathedralis.

"EMBLACENSIS, seu IMMOLACENSIS St. Ibari[74] Diœcesis a Cluancoyna[75] ad Fluvium magnum,[76] et a Cnamhchoillia[77] prope Tiperariam ad Fluvium Ellam[78] porrigitur.

"Quidquid agri a Monte Bladhmo[79] ad Milahacham [Mileadhach] patet, et a Grenarbhia[80] ad montem Margium[81] KILKENNIENSI episcopo paret.

"Fundi a monte Bladhmo ad Montem Uighlaighnum[82] extensi, et a monte Margio ad Belachcarcracham,[83] et a Semita Mugnoæ[84] ad Techmolingum[85] cum ejusdem Techmolingi asylo episcopi LEIGHLINNENSIS potestati obnoxii sunt.

"KILDARIENSIS episcopi authoritati obnoxii sunt a Rossafinglas[86] ad Nassam

[73] This sanction and the more accurate determination of the limits of Limerick diocese than of the others, arose probably from that see's being then occupied by Gillebert, the papal legate, who presided in this synod.

[74] Imleach Iubhair is the Irish form of the name, which signifies strath or holm of the yew.

[75] *Cluain-caoin*, now Clonkeen, near Abington, in the barony of Owneybeg, and county of Limerick. It is, perhaps, worth notice, that in almost all the dioceses of Munster, there was at least one royal tribe free from tribute. Book of Rights, p. 67.

[76] *Abhainn-mhor*, now the Avonmore, or Blackwater river, in the county of Cork.

[77] *Cnamhchoill*, now Cneamhchoill, or Cleghile, close to the town of Tipperary.

[78] *Abhainn Ealla*, now the river Allo, in the barony of Duhallow and county of Cork.

[79] *Sliabh Bladhma*, now Slieve Bloom, in the King's and Queen's Counties.

[80] Grian airbh, now Greane, in the barony of Crannagh, county of Kilkenny.

[81] Sliabh Mairge, now Slewmarague, in the south-east of the Queen's County. This diocese was and is co-extensive with the ancient Osraidhe; except, perhaps, the south-western portion of the Queen's County.

[82] *Sliabh Uidhe Laighean, recte* Sliabh Suidhe Laighean, i.e. Sessio Laginensium, (Vit. Maidoci). It is now called Stuagh Laighean, or Mount Leinster.

[83] *Bealach-carcarach*, i.e. the steep narrow way. Now unknown. It is quite clear that it was the name of a remarkable place on the western boundary of this diocese, as Slievemargy is on the eastern.

[84] *Semita Mugnoæ*, i.e. Bealach-Mughna, now Ballaghmoon, in the Co. of Kildare, about two miles north of the town of Carlow. See Ann. Four Masters, A.D. 903 (908).

[85] *Teach-Moling*, i.e. St. Moling's house, now Tigh-Moling, or St. Mullin's on the Barrow in the south of the county of Carlow.

[86] *Ros-fionnghlaise*, i.e. wood of the bright stream, now Rosenallis, in the

(Naas) in Lagenia et a Nassâ ad Cumor Cluanerardiæ[87] ac ad Glindalochæ montes.

"Episcopus vero Glendalochensis a Grianoga,[88] ad Begerinnam,[89] et a Nassa rursus ad Reachranum[90] sese extendit.

"Fernensis seu Wexfordiensis Diœcesis fines a Begerinna ad Milahacham quæ Bervo amne ab occasu alluitur [*recte* ad Mileadhacham quæ Bervi amnis occidentalem ripam attingit], et a monte Uighlaighno [Suidhe Laighean] ad oceanum porriguntur.[91] Quod si hæc a cleri Lageniensis voluntate

barony of Oregan or Tinnahinch in the north-west of the Queen's County. In Colgan's *Trias Thaum.* p. 628, the diocese of Kildare is described as extending in length from Claonadh [Clane] to Bealach Garbhain, in Sliabh Bladhma, and in breadth from Baile-Sonan [Ballysonnan] to the river Boinn [Boyne]. (J. O'D.).

87 *Cumar-Cluana-Iraird,* i.e. the confluence of Clonard, was the old name of the place where the stream called the Blackwater unites with the Boyne near Clonard, in the county of Meath. These two dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin appear to have had then their present limits, and perhaps were the north and south Leinster of the Book of Rights. (M.K.) They comprised the territories of Leix and Offaly (Laeighis and UiFailghe) as well as those of Omurethy and Offelan (Ui-Muireadhaigh and Ui-Faelain). A little stream near Geshill, which at present forms the boundary between the dioceses of Meath and Kildare, was the boundary between the territories of Ui-Failghe, in Leinster and Feara-Ceall, in Meath. (J. O'D).

88 *Grianog,* now Greenoge, a well known place, in the barony of Rathoath, and county of Dublin. (J.O'D.)

89 *Beg-Eire,* i.e. parva Hibernia, now Begery island in the harbour of Wexford. Four Masters, 819, note z.

90 *Reachrainn.* It is now clear from several ancient and modern authorities, that this was the ancient name of Lambay, in the parallel of Greenoge, off the coast of the county of Dublin. This diocese of Glendaloch, like that of Killala, comprised a long tract of sea coast. It comprised the territories of Fine Gall, Ui-Dunchadha, Cualann, Ui-Garchon, Fortuatha, Ui-Mail, Ui-Teigh, Ui-Fineachlais, the eastern Ui-Deaghaidh and the southern Ui-Feilmeadha. The two latter territories are in the now county of Wexford lying between the river Slaney and the sea, and nearly co-extensive with the baronies of Gorey and Ballaghkeen. These two territories were afterwards added to the diocese of Ferns. Book of Rights, p. 221. (J.O'D.)

91 *Ferns.* This diocese then comprised that district lying between the Barrow and the Slaney, the territory of Odea, or Mac Davy More's country, and Offelimy or O'Murphy's country, have been since added to it. It was occupied principally by the Ui-Ceinnsealaigh, who were royal and free from tribute. Book of Rights, p. 221.

aliena sunt, per nos licet, ut hæc ipsi aliter decernant : vetamus[92] autem plures in LAGENIA quam quinque episcopos institui.

"Benedictione Dei omnipotentis, Beati Petri Apostoli, ac Beati Patricii, hi viginti quinque[93] episcopi muniantur, qui moneantur ne omittant ad Pascham quotannis oleum de more ecclesiæ sacrare.

Multa etiam alia bona statuta sunt in sancta hac Synodo quæ hic non scripsimus propter brevitatem. Chyrographus episcoporum[94] cruce singulorum nominibus apposità subjiciebatur.

† "Gillebertus Limbricensis Ep. Legatus Apostolicus.[95]

† "Ghillchallus,[96] St. Patricii successor et totius Hiberniæ primas,

† "Moellisus O'Hainmire Cassilensis Archiepiscopus,[97]

etc. etc. Omnes Episcopi in hoc concilio sedentes, omnisque cujusvis ordinis clerus fausta omnia iis precantur, qui hujus Sanctæ Synodi decreta ad amussim observaverint; diris vero eos devovent qui vel eadem violaverint vel iis refragari attentaverint."[98]

[92] *Vetamus.* This form of expression shows that these are not the words of Keating or of his author, the annalist of Clonenagh, but of the Synod itself. The limits of the dioceses of Leinster have been less changed than those of any of the other provinces.

[93] *Viginti quinque.* This number cannot be correct, if, as appears manifest, there were only twelve dioceses altogether in Leath Chuinn, Down and Conner, forming only one.

[94] Our author does not give the number of bishops who assisted at this council.

[95] The date of his appointment as legate is not known, nor of his promotion to the see of Limerick.

[96] *Gillchallus.* Giolla Ceallaig is the form of the name in the Irish copies of Keating. By St. Bernard and others it is universally Latinized "Celsus."

[97] Dr. Lanigan's chief argument for dating this synod not earlier than 1118 is founded on the fact that this prelate was present. His predecessor Maelmuire O'Dunan, it is said, died in that year; an assertion, however, which though not conclusively refuted, is made at least so very doubtful by authorities cited in the Irish Archæological Miscellany, vol. ii., p. 155, that the date 1110-1, assigned by Keating and Ware, is retained here as most probable. Keating states that Maelmuire O'Dunan, archbishop of Munster, died before 1110. The date of the erection of a metropolitan see in the south by St. Ceallach has not been ascertained. His first visitation of Munster is chronicled by the Four Masters both at A.D. 1106 and A.D. 1108; and at the former year, they state that, at the request of the men of Ireland, he conferred the order of noble bishop, "agus airroet Ceallach grad uasal epscop doin chor sin." Whether this may mean the institution of a metropolitan see or not, the editor cannot say.

[98] Suppressed in the English translation of Keating. See Lanigan, vol. iv. pp. 43, 45.

ADDENDA D.

BREHON LAWS.

The finding of the jury of the corporation of Kilkenny empannelled under the Commission of Grievances in 1537, presents, amongst other things:

"Item. The statutes of Kilcas [Kilcash] be commonly used in the country by the Lord of Ossory, and by his Irish judge called a Brehon, and by all other freeholders of the countrey, and they have none other lawe but the same, and divers of the bookes of the same statutes are in the safe keeping of the shiref of the shire of Kilkenny, and the bishop of Waterford, and one book is in the possession of Rory Mac Loughire, being Judge of the countrey."—*State Papers Office*, vol. ii. Irish Papers. The Rev. James Graves of Kilkenny states that none of these "divers books" are now to be had; that there is not a trace of them in the Ormond Evidence Chamber.

The presentments taken in 1537 were not published with the rest of the State Papers of Henry VIII.'s time, which looks rather strange.

In the report of the great case of Tanistry in Davies' Reports (Dublin, 1762), a plea roll of the third year of Henry II. is quoted, which states that five septs of the Irish had the benefit of English law. This curious record, which is given in full, would show that these five septs were acknowledged before Richard II.'s time. [J.O'D.]

END OF VOL. II.

THE CELTIC SOCIETY,

OR

IRISH HISTORICAL AND LITERARY ASSOCIATION.

(From the original Prospectus, 1847.)

"The Materials for Irish History, although rich and abundant, have hitherto been only to a small extent available to the student. The few accessible authorities have been so often used, and the works compiled from them are so incomplete, that the expectation of any History worthy of the Country has been generally deferred, under the conviction that vast additions must be made to our stock of available materials before any adequate work of that kind can be produced.

These materials consist of Manuscripts in the Irish, French, Latin, Italian, and English languages,—of the architectural and monumental remains still spared to us,—and of the numerous vestiges of arms, implements, golden ornaments, and other articles in use among our ancestors, evidencing their skill in workmanship and their advancement in civilization. Many of these are in England, or scattered over the Continent; many, happily, are at home.

In recent times the earnestness displayed in other departments has excited throughout the Country a strong wish to become acquainted with objects which possess so much interest for men of cultivated minds; and a desire has sprung up among the people to study for themselves those historic originals, rather than to expect a future historian's representation of them at second-hand. This wish seems now widely spread and firmly seated in the national mind.

The Irish Archæological Society, founded on St. Patrick's Day, 1840, have earnestly labored in the publication of original historic documents, of which twelve volumes are now completed,—all works of great importance, and ably edited; and it is earnestly to be hoped that their useful labors may be long continued, and meet with that public support which they so eminently merit.

However, the field of labor is so large, and long neglect has so increased the necessity for exertion, that it has been thought advisable to establish another Society; the office of which will be to aid in making public and elucidating the valuable and neglected stores of our National literature, to cultivate the study of our native language, the greatest record of the Celtic world, and to watch over the preservation of the monumental and other materials of Irish History.

The success which has attended similar societies, in other countries, affords encouragement to the promoters of this arduous undertaking. England and Scotland have their Roxburgh, Maitland, Bannatyne, Spalding, Camden, Percy, 'Hakluyt,' and Chetham Societies. But France is the country to which it is most important to look for the successful cultivation of History in the present day; and the labors and publications of '*La Société de l'Histoire de France*,' (instituted in 1834,) afford great and encouraging examples.

But this French Association has done nothing which an Irish Society, resting on a broad popular basis, served by willing laborers, and drawing on materials so rich and abundant, may not reasonably hope to emulate.

Ireland has yet Celtic Scholars of ripe and accurate learning, profound and erudite antiquaries, and was never more rich in that wise public spirit which is alive to the honor, and athirst for a true knowledge of the Country.

From archæology this knowledge must come; the genius which has peopled the hills of Scotland once again with the men of the dead past, and made the Norman Conquest familiar to our daily knowledge, drew from such a source. To give back to the imagination the races that have flourished and passed away in our Country is not the work of invention. The historian, the poet, and the artist, must collect from the materials, which the Celtic Society seeks to preserve, the colors that will give life and reality to their labors; and enable them to adorn their Country with great memories and associations, which will make her dearer to her sons, and more honored and interesting in the eyes of the world."

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CELTIC SOCIETY.

1847.

Leaḃar na g-Ceart,

OR

THE BOOK OF RIGHTS;

A Treatise on the Rights and Privileges of the ancient Kings of Ireland, now for the first time edited, with Translation and Notes. By John O'Donovan, Esq. M.R.I.A. Prefixed to this volume are the following historical and critical dissertations by the Editor—i. On the various Manuscripts of the Book of Rights. ii. On the Saltair Chaisil, or Psalter of Cashel. iii. On the will of Cathaeir Mor and other pieces introduced into Leabhar na g-Ceart. iv. On the references to Tomar as King or Prince of the Danes of Dublin. v. On the Tract prefixed to the Book of Rights entitled 'The Restrictions and Prerogatives of the Kings of Eire.' vi. On the division of the year among the ancient Irish. vii. On the chariots and roads of the ancient Irish. viii. On Chess among the ancient Irish, (with engravings.) ix. On the Irish text and translation. The large paper copy contains full-length portraits of Archbishop Ussher, Luke Wadding, and Roderick O'Flaherty.

1848.

CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS;

Or Refutation of the Authority of Giraldus Cambrensis, on the History of Ireland, by Dr. John Lynch, (1662) with some account of the affairs of that Kingdom during his own and former times. Edited, with Translation and copious Notes, by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth.—Vol. I.

1849.

MISCELLANY OF THE CELTIC SOCIETY,

EDITED BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, ESQ. L.L.D., M.R.I.A.

CONTAINING

The History of Corca Laidhe, in the County of Cork, from the *Book of Leacan*, with a map showing the ancient boundaries. The History of the Race of Lughaidh, son of Ith. Of the Race of Aenghus, son of Maicniadh, son of Lughaidh, son of Maicniadh. Of the Race of the Gascon (Gascoyne). Of the Ui Maine. Of the Genealogy of the Ui Duibh-fhleasc, and of the Ui Aenghusa in general. Of the Genealogy of the Race of Aenghus Bulga. Of Aes Coinchinne. Of the Ui Aenghusa. Of the Ui Mic Eirc. Of the Cairbre of Cliach of the Plain. The Genealogy of Ua Conchobhair (O'Conor)

of Corca Laidhe Guile. The Genealogy of Ua Baire of Ara. The Hereditary Proprietors of Corca Laidhe. The Mearing of the middle Cantred of O'Cobhthaigh's Territory. The Genealogy of Ua Eidirsceoil (O'Driscol.) The Genealogy of Ua Cobhthaigh. The Genealogy of Uaithne Thire.

Appendix.—Documents relative to Lughaidh Mal. Lughaidh Laidhe and the other Sons. Mac Fhlannchadha or Mac Clancy. The Family of Dun-Cairbre. Pedigree of O'h-Eidirsceoil or O'Driscol. On the Topography of Corca Laidhe [By the Rev. John Quarry, Rector of Clonakilty]. Extracts from Records relative to the Territory of Corca Laidhe. Remarks on the preceding Tract.

Poem on the Battle of Dun, (Downpatrick,) A.D. 1260, by Gilla-Brighde Mac Conmhidhe, with remarks by the Editor. Illustrated with a fac simile engraving of the seal of Brian O'Neill, lately found at Beverley, in Yorkshire.

Docwra's Tracts—i. His Relation of Service done in Connacht, by Sir Richard Bingham, (1586). ii. Narration of the Services done by the Army ymployed to Lough-Foyle, vnder the leadinge of Mee Sir Henry Docwra Knight, Charles Lord Mountjoy being then (1599) Lord Deputie (afterwards Earle of Deuonshire and Lord Lewetenant) of Ireland. Togeather with a Declaration of the true cause and manner of my coming away and leaving that place. Written in the sommer 1614, and finished the first of September the same year. With Notes.

Appendix.—I. Documents relative to the O'h-Eidirsceoils (O'Driscols)—i. Eoin Masach Ua Maethagain's poem ; A.D. 1508. ii. Tadhg, son of Diarmaid Og O'Dalaigh's poem, on the death of Sir Finghin O'h-Eidirsceoil; A.D. 1614. iii. Fearfasa O'Cainte's poem, on Conchobhar O'h-Eidirsceoil and his wife Eibhilin; A.D. 1617. iv. Donnchadh O'Fuathail's poem, on the death of Sir Finghin O'h-Eidirsceoil and his son Conchobhar; A.D. 1619. v. Excerpta; Notices of Corca Laidhe, and of the family of O'h-Eidirsceoil, with Extracts from the Harl. MSS in the British Museum. II. Fearghal Og Mac an Bhaird's poem on the O'Canes (O'Catbain) and the Battle of Dun, A.D. 1260.

Various Readings in the Corca Laidhe, as found in the Book of Baile an Mhuta, compared with the text in the Book of Leacan.

1850—51.

CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS:

Vols. II. and III., completing the work.

1852.

Caṫ Ṁuiġe Léna: THE BATTLE OF MAGH LENA.

An ancient historic tale; including Caṫ Ṁuiġe Tualaing, Caṫ Ṁuiġe Cairnn, (The Battles of *Magh Tualaing* and *Magh Cairnn.)* Edited from MSS. in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, by Eugene Curry, Esq.

Report of the Council to the Annual General Meeting of the Celtic Society, held on the 21st of February, 1851.

When the Council presented their last Report to the Society, on the 26th of February, 1850, they thought themselves justified in promising the speedy completion of the volume for 1849. They regret that they are only able to-day to lay that volume before you; but they feel confident that its size and importance will be their justification for those delays which arose from various unforeseen causes. Had the completion of the "MISCELLANY" been in the least hurried, its contents would be less valuable and less interesting than they now are. Nevertheless, the Council trust that the arrangements they have made for future work will secure the Society against the recurrence of the delay on this occasion found unavoidable.

The "MISCELLANY" now before you forms a volume of nearly 500 pages, which may still be obtained on payment of the subscription (£1 for large paper, or 10s. for small paper copies.) It contains, as promised in the Report of the Council last year, the following important documents which are fully illustrated from all accessible sources by John O'Donovan, Esq. L L.D.

I. A treatise from the '*Book of Leacan,*' on the ancient history and topography of a portion of the county of Cork with an account of the family of O'h-Eidirsceoil or O'Driscol. This district (*Corca Laidhe,*) never having been before noticed at length by our historical antiquaries, is illustrated by a map showing the ancient boundaries, for which the Society is indebted to the Rev. John Quarry, Rector of Clonakilty. II. An historical poem on the Battle of Downpatrick, A.D. 1259, by the Bard Gilla Brighde Mac Con Midhe. III. An account of Sir Richard Bingham's services against the Bourkes in Connacht, in the reign of Elizabeth, from a manuscript in the Ordnance Office. IV. A very in-

teresting autobiography, written by the first baron of Culmore, and entitled "A Narration of the services done by the Army employed to Loughfoyle, under the leading of mee Sir Henry Docwra, Knight, Charles Mountjoy being then Lord Deputie (afterwards Earl of Deuonshire and Lord Lewetenant) of Ireland, togeather with a declaration of the true cause and manner of my coming away and leaving that place. Written in the summer, 1614, and finished the first of September the same year." The volume also contains five original Irish poems and translations, selected by Mr. Eugene Curry, from the MSS. in the Library of the University of Dublin, &c.

Since the last general meeting the Society has profited by the accession of the following twenty-four new members, besides the subscriptions of the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and the Library of the Writers of the Signet, Edinburgh.

The Right Rev. M. Blake, Bishop of Dromore.
The Rev. Henry Beardwood, Maynooth,
Thomas Boylan, Esq., Drogheda.
His Excellency the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
Lord Cloncurry, Blackrock, Dublin.
Earl of Cawdor, Llandovery, Wales.
Richard Carroll, Esq., Fermoy.
The Rev. J. Cogan, Dublin.
The Rev. Henry Dennehy, Maynooth.
The Rev. B. Durcan, ib.
Archibald Leckey, Esq., Paisley, Scotland.
R. D. Lyons, M.B., T.C.D., Dublin.
The Right Rev. Dr. Murphy, Bishop of Cloyne.
James Mathew, Esq., Cork.
James Moran, Esq. Dublin.
John Nicholas Murphy, Esq., J.P., Cork.
J. W. McKenzie, Esq. W. S., Edinburgh.
Rev. H. Neville, Maynooth.
The O'Driscol, R.W.C., Plymouth.
The Rev. J. O'Laverty, Maynooth.
The Rev. P. Russell, Irish College, Lisbon.

The Rev. D. W. Stevenson, Leith, Scotland.
The Right Rev. C. Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's, Wales.
George Waters, Esq., Dublin.

Besides the subscriptions of the above new members, the Society has also received the life composition (£10) subscription of nine members.

Having so far reported the progress for the past year, the Council desires to call attention to the very large quantity of valuable matter which has been placed in the hands of the members of this Society, in return for their subscriptions for the first three years, to an extent which far exceeds anything accomplished by any similar Society at so small a rate of subscription as we, at the beginning, resolved on. When that low rate of subscription (there being, let it be remembered, *no entrance fee,)* was determined on in undertaking works of such magnitude, and selecting a form of printing so beautiful, the principle relied on for success was, the combined support of very large numbers; and those who projected the Celtic Society did not hesitate to count on such support. It would be needless now to recall to mind all the distressing circumstances under which our Country has labored during the years of the Society's existence; for those circumstances will at once occur to every one as supplying ample explanation for the partial disappointment which we have met with. It is, indeed, a matter of congratulation that we have been able to come out safe from the ordeal of these times; and that we have done so is owing to the generous conduct of one of our members. The abstract of accounts which will be laid before the Society appended to this Report, will explain the details of our past difficulties, as well as our present satisfactory position; and the Council desire to let those accounts speak for themselves.

They think it right, however, to state candidly to the Society that the result of the first two years' expenses, including the cost of the original establishment of theSociety, combined with a support so much less at first than had been anticipated, was, that heavy debts were incurred, which must necessarily have put an end to the efficiency, if not to the existence, of the Society, had not steps been taken on the

commencement of our third year to prevent their increase and to provide for their reduction. The effect of those steps will be best understood by comparing the size and cost of the large "MISCELLANY" produced for 1849, and now laid before the Society, with the accounts respecting the similar publication for 1847, with which, as an inexperienced body we commenced our labors. We have not only produced this volume, but we have besides paid off no small portion of the debts incurred on account of the former volumes, but in doing so the Council made a provision by which they bound themselves not again to encroach on the receipts of any year for past liabilities, till the expenses of the works undertaken for that year should have been paid. That resolution will, in future, effectually preserve us from exceeding our income, and, therefore, from ever again being compelled to have recourse to the measures we have taken during the past year. Those means were, however, determined on, because we felt they were *necessary*. The resolution was equally advisable because the confidence of members can only be secured by the conviction that further subscriptions will be invested productively and will bring their full fruit within a reasonable time.

The Council in resolving to spare the funds of the present and future years as much as possible, have, in the first place, devoted to the payment of past liabilities, the amount of the life composition subscription above referred to. They have, in the second place, resolved to make the publications of those first two years bear as much as possible of their expenses. With this view, they have after much deliberation determined to permit future members paying for the current year to buy those volumes—namely, the *Book of Rights* and the first volume of *Cambrensis Eversus*, at the respective rates of 10s. each for large and 5s. for small paper copies—thus reducing them to future members one-half. The proceeds of this arrangement would, however, have but slowly contributed to release the Society from the balance of its liabilities. But this difficulty has also been removed. Mr. W. E. Hudson, to whose zeal, ability, and knowledge, the Society already owes chiefly, if not its existence, at least much of the reputation it has hitherto acquired, has again come forward to put a finishing stroke to his work

by finally setting the Society to-day on a strong and firm foundation. He has taken on himself to discharge the balance of your debt for the first two years, and to take in exchange a corresponding number of copies of the books of those years at the value now placed on them for future members, consenting to trust to gradual repayment by the sale of those books under the reduction just referred to.

While the Council, with the deepest sense of the obligation we are all under to Mr. Hudson, and in the expression of which they only anticipate the Society at large, congratulate the members upon this termination of their difficuities, they feel bound to remind them that this alteration of price in the past volumes is for once only. The resolution under which the expenditure of the Society *must* in future be kept within the income of the year prevents the possibility of our being again compelled to deviate from the principle of selling the books published by the Society except in return for the full subscriptions received; and, as they will never again be compelled to do so, they need hardly assure the Society that the original plan will in future be inflexibly adhered to, and that the present and forthcoming publications shall not at any time, while the Society exists, be attainable save by members paying regularly the full subscription settled by our rules.

That subscription is extremely small, but the Council feel persuaded it will be found sufficient. It is impossible, however, to undertake publications with the regularity and frequency which we should all desire unless the Council know, towards the commencement of each year, what income they may depend upon. A large number of members is necessary, to enable us to do much; but, under our present arrangements, we shall do far more, with any respectable support, than has ever been accomplished at so low a cost. The printers at present employed for the Society supply us with creditable work at rates extremely low, and the Council has so limited its other expenses that not a pound will be lost to the Society. Their calculations, and the experience of the expenses of the present volume (1849,) enable them to declare, that so small a support as that of *two hundred* one pound subscribers annually will be sufficient to secure the distribution among them each year of a volume so large as the present, and

that any extension of numbers beyond that amount will be attended by a corresponding increase of the product in books of equal value and beauty. The accounts will be published each year, and the Council believe that a simple statement of what they are doing and can do will form the best appeal for that support, which they are persuaded the Society will eventually obtain wherever it is made properly known. They would, therefore, earnestly urge on every member the necessity of bringing under the notice of all his friends the existence, the objects, and the past performance of the Celtic Society, and the statement embodied in the present Report.

Abstract of Receipts and Expenditure of the Celtic Society for the years 1846–7–8.

DR.

	£	s.	d.
To cost of producing the "Book of Rights," and current expenses o' the Society for the years 1846–7, ...	397	14	5
— cost of producing "Cambrensis Eversus," Vol. I. and current expenses for the year 1848, ...	429	13	9
	£827	8	2

CR.

	£	s.	d.
By amount of Annual Subscriptions received for the year 1846–7, ...	291	10	0
— amount of Ditto for the year 1848, ...	176	0	6
— Do. Life Subscriptions, ...	90	0	0
— Interest on Cash lodged in Bank, ...	3	3	8
— portion of Subscriptions received for the year 1849, and allocated to the liquidation of arrears on the year 1848, ...	28	0	9
— Sale of Books for the years 1847–8, ...	238	13	9
	£827	8	2

(Signed,)

JOHN EDWARD PIGOT,

Treasurer.

THE CELTIC SOCIETY.

MDCCCLI.

An annual payment of £1 for large, or 10s. for small paper copies, entitles each Subscriber to one copy of the publications of the Society for the current year. Subscriptions become due in advance on the first of January, and are payable to HODGES AND SMITH, 104, Grafton-street, Dublin; to Mr. EUGENE CURRY, Royal Irish Academy; or to the Local Agents of the Society. Any Member may compound for his annual subscriptions, including the subscription for the current year, by a payment of £10.

The books are delivered *gratis* at the residences of Subscribers in Dublin, and in towns in which Local Agents are appointed.

The Annual Reports of the Society may be had *gratis*, from Messrs. HODGES AND SMITH, from Mr. CURRY, Royal Irish Academy, or from any of the Local Agents.

Persons desirous of becoming Members are requested to communicate with the Secretary or Treasurer, at 104, Grafton-street, or 96, Lower Leeson-street, Dublin.